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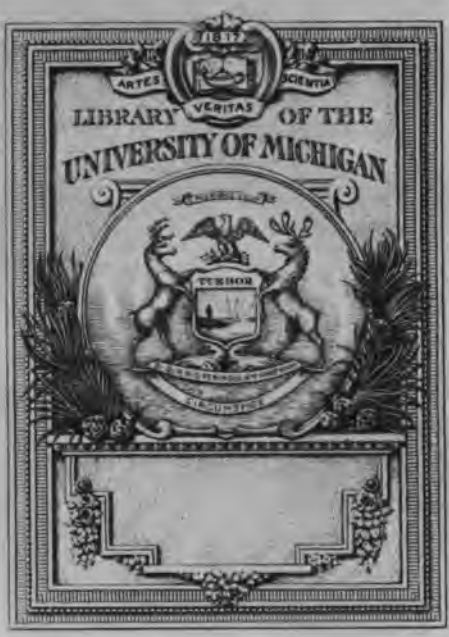
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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

MDCCCXXXVIII.

JANUARY——JUNE.

NEW SERIES.

VOL. III.

Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουρεῖον τε καὶ Ἀριστοτελικήν· ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἑκάστη τῶν αἱρεσίων τούτων καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μετὰ εὐσεβοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σύμπαν το ΕΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ *φιλοσοφίαν φῆμι.*

CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* L. 1.

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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JANUARY, 1838.

Art. I. *Tracts, Charges, Visitation Sermons, &c., &c., by various Authors, in defence of the Church of England;* 1836, 1837.

THE advocates of religious establishments do not pretend that these institutions are matter of express command. A passage of the New Testament adduced to prove this, would be a novelty in the great controversy. They content themselves with affirming that they are not *forbidden*, and by a strange misapplication of the old adage, that 'silence gives consent,' fallaciously argue that what the law has not expressly prohibited, it cannot disapprove. They would be very sorry, we sincerely believe, to see this maxim carried out as far as it might be; for it would serve, and has been made to serve, as an apology for half the superstitions by which the church of Rome has deformed and depraved Christianity. It surely seems much more rational, before we proceed to sanction even the most insignificant innovations on the institutions of Christianity, to demand proof that its statute-book, (which so severely denounces those who either 'add to it or take from it,') not only does not prohibit, but expressly permits them. It is especially fit that we should have this warrant before we introduce an element of such importance as is involved in the civil establishment of Christianity; an element which alters its whole aspect, and relations to the world; which exposes it to influences as new, as they are powerful and subtle; which was totally unknown in its earliest history; which its Author and founders never recognized, or even intimated that they ever *intended* to recognize; and, lastly, which had *no share whatever* in its first and most splendid triumphs.

We repeat, that to justify the infusion of such an element as

this, requires something more than the mere *silence* of Scripture. The *silence* of Scripture, even supposing it were 'silent,' (which we are far enough from admitting; for, by implication at least, it speaks plainly enough,) is totally insufficient to warrant so hazardous an experiment. The advocates of establishments, at all events the more judicious of them, seem to feel this; and they therefore place their great reliance on *expediency.*

In arguing that establishments are *expedient,* our opponents of course mean—at least all those with whom we should think it worth our while to argue the matter at all—that they are *expedient* with reference to the whole purposes, the ultimate designs of Christianity;—that they are a more effectual means of maintaining its purity, extending its influence, facilitating its triumphs, than could be found in its own resources, and self-created apparatus of instruments and agencies. It is in this enlarged sense that we shall suppose it argued that establishments are *expedient;* not in the sense of Hume; not in that of some of the high-churchmen of Charles the Second's time—aye, and even of later days—who have betrayed an ignorance quite as profound, of the the nature and designs of Christianity. Such men will lay the chief stress on its subserviency to the purposes of civil government. With them it is mainly considered as an excellent engine of policy! an effectual instrument for keeping the people in a state of subordination!

In the highest and most enlarged sense, then, of the word 'expedient,' we deny that civil establishments of Christianity are expedient; and that because, (as we trust we shall show in the sequel of this article,) they involve in their very nature, principles and modes of procedure, utterly repugnant to its spirit and designs.

None who peruse the New Testament with an intelligent eye can doubt that the grand *ultimate* end of Christianity is to set up a kingdom in the hearts and wills of men, founded on a spiritual and moral renovation of character,—and to render this kingdom co-extensive with the world; while it will calmly move on towards this sublime consummation,—this universal triumph,—whatever the forms of civil polity which may obtain in the world, and amidst all the changes and vicissitudes of human things. On this its eye is fixed; whatever else it may accomplish, in its progress towards the completion of its grand project, or whatever benefits of a temporal nature may accrue from its dominion over the hearts of those who yield to it, must be considered accidental—*τα παρεργα*—blessings which it scatters by the way—the overflowings of the stream of immortality—the fruits which drop from its piled-up 'horn of plenty.' It will be contented with nothing less than the homage of the soul; and whatever else it gains, if it gain not this, it considers as nothing. If this be the case, it may reasonably be supposed that the whole appa-

ratus of its means and instruments shall be in harmony with its nature and designs; that those who preside over its movements, who execute its purposes, shall be themselves deeply imbued with its spirit, capable of appreciating its sublime object, and, like itself, more intent upon advancing its spiritual ascendancy over the hearts of men, than upon any inferior object. It may be expected that, however it may render all political changes indirectly subservient to its designs, it will not entrust even its meanest interests, much less the most momentous, to those who are strangers to its influence, and who cannot sympathize with its objects; nor sanction the introduction of maxims and principles of action repugnant to its nature, and obstructive of its purposes. All this seems the necessary consequence of the maxim, that the means shall be always adapted to the end; while we *know* from the history of the New Testament, that it was on these principles Christ and his apostles scrupulously acted. Let us see how far political establishments of Christianity are in accordance with them.

We must premise, that the greater part of the observations we are about to make are applicable, with some slight modifications, to all religious establishments, whatever the form of civil polity with which they may be connected. The evils these institutions engender flow out of the principles involved; they may differ in *degree*, but that is all.

But as, from our position, we naturally regard the church of England with peculiar interest, our remarks will have a special reference to that establishment, and are deduced principally from its theory and constitution.

I. The first and most hideous feature of our own state-church, viewed in relation to the genius and designs of Christianity, is that it commits *(directly)* the highest ecclesiastical appointments—those which are to determine the complexion of all the rest, and the character of all inferior officers—into the hands of men, the vast majority of whom, cannot be regarded, even in the eyes of the most catholic charity, as Christians at all; and who, until the world shall have undergone a strange revolution, are not likely to be such;—men, all whose habits, occupations, associations, and (usually) complete absorption in secular cares and interests, peculiarly unfit them for superintending and controlling the affairs of a spiritual society. The ruling principle of that society is, that 'it is not of this world;' and it demands, at all events in its supreme rulers, not only zeal, but elevated and ardent piety; minds as little exposed as is consistent with the performance of social duties, to the engrossing and exciting influences of secular politics; happily at liberty to surrender themselves to the impressions of invisible and eternal realities; calm, elevated, self-collected. Are these likely to be paramount considerations with courts and ministers—especially

when we consider the powerful, secular reasons, they have for determining their choice? In the church of England we find the highest appointments, — of the bishops, — the fountains of all ecclesiastical influence—who are to ordain all the teachers of a holy and spiritual religion throughout the empire,—upon whom depends the nature of that instruction on which millions of souls are to be fed—or poisoned,—entirely under the control of kings and ministers. Now, the world need not be informed that neither do kings reign, nor are ministers usually chosen, because they are *Christians;*—it is an accident, and, alas! so far as past history goes, a rare accident when they are such. Ministers are chosen, for various reasons; because they are possessed of great genius, prudence, or experience as statesmen; because their opulence and family influence are great; often because they are favourites of the reigning sovereign; but *never* because they are peculiarly fitted to dispense the patronage, and exercise an influence over the affairs of the church of Christ. Whoever and whatever they may be, all this power and all this influence over the momentous and infinitely important interests of religion, accrue to them by mere accident; are an appendage of an office which demands quite other qualifications; and for the possession of which alone they were advanced to such offices.

But not only have the bulk of ministers and courtiers been destitute, even in the eyes of the most candid and charitable, of the high religious qualifications imperiously demanded in those who have the ultimate distribution of all ecclesiastical influence; but even when they have been religious, their official duties, and the habits and associations formed thereby, have still rendered them totally unfitted for the exercise of such patronage. Of all the places in the world, courts and senates are the least friendly to a ripe and mature Christianity. At this we do not wonder; and can truly say we pity rather than blame the Christians whose engrossing and absorbing—often *necessarily* engrossing and absorbing occupations—rob them of that precious leisure, and of those intervals of quiet and retirement which are so necessary for the health of the spirit; of that calmness of mind, and that comparative insulation from the subtle and infectious influences of the world, which are requisite to develop and mature the Christian character. Difficult indeed is it for the "heavenly plant" to strike root when perpetually shaken and loosened amidst the storms and tempests of political life.

Immersed in the cares of office from morning till night, and often both day and night; engrossed with the consideration of present pressing interests; incessantly breathing a secular atmosphere; involved in one perpetual whirl of turmoil and excitement; continually tempted to abate something of that unbending integrity and high-minded purity which become the Christian, in deference to the opi-

nions of their more pliant colleagues, or for the sake of *expediency;* often betrayed by public excitement into such moods of mind, that they know not 'what spirit they are of,' except that they are possessed by that demon, '*party*-spirit,'—how can we hope, till we can gather grapes of thorns and figs of thistles, that statesmen (even when they *are* Christians) should exhibit that pure and elevated Christianity, which can alone warrant men to 'touch the ark of God.' To touch the ark, did we say?—rather to superintend and control all the principal movements and ultimately determine the character of the church of God. Assuredly, if the Saviour said 'it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to be saved,' it may be said with equal truth, because for at least equal reasons, 'How hardly shall statesmen enter into the kingdom of God!' Not impossible, God be thanked, but difficult enough, to render it a mockery of all prudence and common sense, to entrust to such hands the destinies of the church.

Christian people do not act thus absurdly in other cases. A man may be truly religious, yet if he be engaged from morning to night in his counting-house,—amongst his clients,—at the sick bed,—in pressing cares and solicitudes, though they may not be half so injurious in their influence, not half so secularizing, not half so alien from the duties of religion as those which oppress the statesman, we never think of imposing upon *him* the most responsible and awful of all functions connected with the church. We justly deem it quite enough if such a man can redeem sufficient time to keep religion alive in his own bosom.

All this, however, is an argument *ex abundantiâ;* no candid man, no man, with whom we should think it worth while to spend five words in argument, will deny that, as the world is, has always been, and for at least hundreds of years to come will be, the *bulk* of those who are the prime agents in political movements, have little sympathy with vital religion; in other words, and to speak the truth plainly,—for it is not our wont, nor indeed our duty, to study courtly euphuisms on this subject,—have not been *Christians*, unless a man may be a Christian and give no sign of it. There is no class of men, we hesitate not to say, and we appeal to all history in proof of it—in which Christianity can boast of so few illustrious examples, as in that of statesmen and politicians. We exult in the thought that there is *no* class which is destitute of them; but in this they are fewer than in any other, and the dimmest and the least lustrous.

We say not these things in any bitterness of spirit; least of all, under the influence of low envy at those who enjoy power and station—which we are grateful we possess not. We are contented with the silent but distinct assurance of conscience, that we covet *not* their perilous elevation. Neither do we mean to say that

statesmen and politicians, as men and citizens, have not quite as much social worth and excellence as their fellows; they may be very good and very estimable in these capacities, and most wise and prudent in what is their proper business. We are merely exclaiming against the monstrous absurdity, nay impiety, of depositing in their hands and suspending on their intrigues, ambition, worldly wisdom, and party-interests, the destinies of the souls of men, and the affairs of the church of Christ.

That the *mass* of those who preside over the movements of the political world are such as we have represented them, is notorious, and every page of history authenticates the assertion.

Yet these are the men, no matter into what strange hands administration may fall,—no matter how flagitious and unprincipled their public conduct, or how licentious and profligate their private life,—these are the men, to whom by the theory of our *state-church* is committed the task of selecting and appointing those who are to open or shut the portals of the church to all inferior ministers; these are the men who are to fill up the vacancies in the bench of bishops! The result has been generally such as might be expected from an arrangement so completely at war with propriety and common sense; the miracle of Marah has been reversed; the waters of life have been poisoned by all the impurities which might be expected from their transmission through such conduits. It will not be pretended by any who have read history, or who have any character for candour or honesty to maintain, that *in general*, or even once in twenty times, elevation of piety, eminent zeal for the extension of Christ's kingdom, *peculiar* qualifications for the discharge of sacred functions, have been the reasons which have determined the ministry in the selection of the objects of its patronage. It is notorious that, whether that patronage has been exercised by Tories or Whigs, (and none can doubt that it would be the same if exercised by any other party;) secular considerations have entered largely into the calculation. The political sentiments, the political connexions of the party, his power, by his personal talents or in the shape of family influence, of supporting or opposing government,—these have been the main topics for deliberation; the points which have generally determined the question—Who is to be bishop? Where opulent and powerful connexions have not been the principal recommendations, eminent ability or eminent learning has sometimes done the business.—The same system has regulated translations.* But the abstract fitness

* Such have been the general principles on which not only the highest ecclesiastical preferments, but all the patronage in the hands of government, has been disposed of. The infectious example has been followed by those who possess private patronage. On this whole subject we cannot do better

of the man for holy and sacred duties has been in comparison little regarded; nor, we suspect, would a prime minister who should be told that it was his solemn duty to appoint the individual whom he conscientiously thought (however destitute of influence or connex-

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than cite the *candid* admission of the Christian Observer. We could not wish that the nefarious system should be characterized in terms of severer censure. Even Mr. Binney could not have more completely satisfied us.

'With respect to the evils resulting from the present administration of patronage, it is impossible to speak in terms of too great regret. We quoted in our last number some remarks of Mr. Southey, which *in principle apply as much to the state of the church now as ever they did. It is not even pretended* IN NINETY-NINE CASES OUT OF A HUNDRED that either a private or an official patron *seriously sets himself to look out for the person best qualified for an appointment;* it is quite sufficient that the friend whom he wishes to oblige is not legally or scandalously incompetent. Mr. Simeon, we know, and a few other individuals, have been accused of the atrocious crime of expending large sums of money in purchasing advowsons for the sole object of nominating to the incumbency the best men they could find, without any tie of relationship, or private interest, or friendship. *But no one pretends that such crimes are known.* The auctioneers who DAILY *knock down advowsons to the best bidder.* never suspect that they are bought upon such Utopian principles. *It is enough that the purchaser has a son, a nephew, a friend, whom he wishes to* PROVIDE FOR, and who is not disqualified for holding the preferment. AND SO ALSO IN THE CASE OF PUBLIC AND OFFICIAL PATRONS.'

Nor can we withhold from our readers, although we doubt not many of them have seen it before, the following burst of honest and eloquent indignation elicited from Dr. Smith in his controversy with Dr. Lee. What we ask must be the errors of a system which could excite such warmth of feeling in one whom even his opponents respect and love for his meekness and gentleness. Oh! that churchmen would take to heart the noble expostulation with which it closes.

'Is not the union (as it is improperly called) of Church and State, productive of the most irreligious and mischievous effects? Does it not consist in a prostration of the most holy rights and most solemn duties of Christians, under the feet of the ministry for the time being? Can a more monstrous, a more unchristian thing be imagined, than that the political party which happens to be in ascendancy, should have the absolute authority over the very life-power of the church, in its primary pastors, who, upon the episcopal system are the sources of the authority and the validity of all the clerical ministrations? The ministry appoints your bishops as it does its lords of the treasury, or its governors of colonies; and it proclaims its own usurpation and insults your sense and feeling with a *congé d'élire.* With scarcely an exception, are not these appointments made from motives and upon reasons perfectly political and worldly? and is not the same principle dominant in the patronage of your church livings? * * * Seven thousand, at least, are in the gift of the government or of private persons: and you know that one part of these are constantly made oil to assist the motion of the wheels of the existing administration; and the others are often advertised, sold, bought, or bartered, like stalls in a cattle market. Now and then, a good man, like you, is presented to a rectory, or higher dignity; and then we rejoice and thank God, who often causes good out of evil. But this alters not the wrongfulness of the system. And as to its general working, YOU KNOW that this very feature of the system produces *the grand motive* which brings to your university hundreds of young men, whose ignorance of real religion, their profaneness, their indubitable ungodliness, even if they

ions) best adapted to promote the advancement of Christianity and the reign of God upon earth, listen to such a declaration without a smile. It may be said perhaps, that there are exceptions to our statement; we rejoice to admit there have been, but they are exceptions which prove the rule; for they are very few. That the general influences at work in the appointment of supreme officers of the church, and the general results are such as we have stated, who that can blush, will deny?

It may perhaps be said, and triumphantly by those whose habits of thought are so perverted as to suppose that Christianity has no other or higher ends than to keep the people loyal and obedient, to subserve the objects of civil government, and to maintain the decencies and proprieties of social life: 'If, indeed, ministers 'promoted to the bench notoriously debauched and profligate men, 'then there would be ground for all this invective. But can there 'be men in general of more becoming gravity, of more edifying 'decorum of manners than the bishops? Is the lawn often stained 'by immorality, by low and vulgar vices?' We are far from denying all this. We with pleasure admit it all; and just as much might be said of the judges—of the bulk of the members of all our professions,—of hundreds of thousands of our merchants and tradesmen. We admit that a minister would seldom offer an insult to public opinion so outrageous, as to elevate to the Bench, a man who deserves transportation. But decency and propriety are but moderate qualifications for a bishopric. To say that a bishop is

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'be externally of decent behaviour, make the grief and burden of life to you, 'and such university-men as you. You know that it causes the cradle-des- 'tination, and the ultimate introduction into *the most sacred and awful office* 'upon earth, of a perpetual shoal of men who would be, deeply affronted at 'being described by the attributes laid down in the Scriptures as INDISPENSA- 'BLE qualifications for the Christian ministry; and you know that (though 'we exult and bless God for the *increasing* proportion of young men of well 'evidenced piety at your universities, and studying for orders) the sad ma- 'jority is of this description. Oh, abomination that maketh desolate! Foul 'and crying impiety! Systematic robbery of the most precious rights of the 'flock of Christ: and a method the most likely to secure a succession of 'false pretenders, hypocrites, wolves to ravage the flock! Hence is your 'total want of a godly and efficient discipline: hence the heart-difficulties 'and secret agonies of many devoted clergymen and others among you: 'hence the delusion of myriads of souls, the blind led by the blind, and both 'falling into the pit, the blackness of darkness for ever! Well might you 'excuse my pious, and honest, and warm-hearted friend, Mr. Binney, con- 'templating the tremendous extent of soul-delusion from this cause, and 'your baptismal formularies, for exclaiming, 'She ruins more souls than she 'saves.' Oh, Dr. Lee, and all ye other clergymen in every rank, who feel the 'importance and enjoy the power of vital religion, whom the love of Christ 'constrains, and who watch for souls as they that must give account,—why 'do ye not arise as one man, in prayer to heaven and protest upon earth, 'against this SACRILEGIOUS, THIS IMPIOUS PATRONAGE?'

not a sot, or a profane swearer, that he is not openly immoral, or in debt, is (when we consider *how much more* is required of him,) rather an insult than a compliment. According to our conceptions of what Christianity contemplates, and of what the supreme officers of the church ought to be, he may be all this, and yet be utterly destitute of *every* qualification necessary to fit him for his functions. To say that a bishop was not grossly immoral, or that he was an amiable, estimable man, would be, in our opinion, about as high praise as to say of a lawyer or a physician that he was not an idiot, or of a schoolmaster that he was not *entirely* ignorant of the alphabet.

With such moderate notions of the functions of bishops, and such narrow views of the nature and design of Christianity (though these notions are the legitimate offspring of a political Christianity), we have nothing to do, nor feel disposed to argue with men who defend the one, or are contented with the other. But we appeal to those, whether in the church or out of it, who form their opinions of the gospel from the New Testament itself, as to whether much more than decency of character is not to be expected in the *supreme officers* of the church,—in those who are entrusted with the administration of this awful and spiritual economy, and who are to consecrate to the sacred office all its ministers; in a word whether, much more is not expected than statesmen usually *seek* in the object of their patronage, or than we usually *find*. Will it be pretended that they ever take the directions of Paul to Timothy or to Titus as their guide in their laborious search after the fittest man on whom to place the mitre? For our own parts we would as soon believe that it was with difficulty they could tear themselves away from the duties of devotion, to attend to those of the council-chamber, and that the study of the Fathers kept them awake at night.

The maxims on which courts and ministers have acted in the disposal of the highest ecclesiastical preferment, have been just such as we might expect. And on such maxims, till the very dawn of the millennium, they will continue to act. What but "midsummer madness" could expect it to be otherwise?

Custom, if it cannot reconcile, can at least familiarize us to any enormity: and it has accordingly familiarized us to this. But who can seriously peruse the New Testament, and reflect upon the gospel as preached by Christ and his apostles; can ponder on the high, holy, spiritual character of the Christian economy,—the moral transformation it contemplates in all its votaries,—the paramount importance it attaches to this object,—and *the consequent loftiness of motive and purity of heart it demands* in all who venture to direct its movements,—can fail to perceive the monstrous inconsistency of *systematically lodging the appointment*

of its highest officers, and the power of determining the spiritual condition of a whole country, in a class of men generally most imbued, both from their character and position, with a secular spirit; —of lodging this power in their hands *quite irrespectively of their personal character*, and as a mere casual appendage to the seals of office, no matter who may bear them? We verily believe that, however prejudice, custom, and whatever else glosses over ancient absurdity and makes error venerable, may now blind our eyes, the time will come when the scales will drop from them, and when men will stand as much astonished that Christian communities should ever have sanctioned with their authority so dreadful a perversion of truth and right, as we now do that our fathers should have tolerated for a moment the atrocities of the slave-trade. We believe in our hearts that there is but this difference between the two systems, that the one is a traffic in men's bodies, and the other a traffic in men's souls.

II. The next anomaly which strikes one in contemplating the theory of a state-church—at least, in contemplating that of our own,—is that it makes no provision whatever *for the personal piety of its supreme head.* The spiritual vicegerency of Christ's kingdom in these realms, is an heir-loom of royalty, no matter who may fill the throne; it goes along with Windsor Castle to the next comer, and whether he be a Charles the Second or an Edward the Sixth makes no manner of difference. We will yield to none in sentiments of loyalty,—to none in maintaining the necessity and duty of obedience to civil governors irrespectively of their personal character, so long as they revere the laws which secure the liberties of the subject. Private virtues may make us love our monarch more; but no private vices should make us obey him less. All this we freely admit; but we cannot therefore admit the propriety of making him, irrespectively of his personal character, the head of a *spiritual* empire; an *ex officio* representative of Christ, although he may live in habitual and flagrant violation of the laws of that kingdom, the sceptre of which has been so strangely consigned to him. Yet such is the theory of the church of England. He may be the shame of his country,—a libel on human nature,—a monster of impurity and impiety; he may live in the open perpetration of every species of gross iniquity; he is still the *Supreme Head of the church of Christ in England;* he still presides over that kingdom, "which" (take the words how we will, they still rebuke this horrible mockery) "is not of this world." Such was Henry VIII.,—such Charles II., that incarnation of almost every vice which can degrade our nature, under whose happy auspices, and whose pious care the church of England received the last touches of perfection; such was another and more recent monarch, of whom charity herself can say nothing

kinder than that it is best to say nothing; all these in their turn were the *Supreme Heads of the church of Christ in England!* Men whose very touch, if they had occupied a private station, would be deemed contamination, were made purely in virtue of their rank, as a mere accident of their birth, the earthly representatives of him whose name and whose kingdom are holiness! The mockery of investing departed royalty with crown and sceptre is not to be compared with this,—of placing the ensigns of spiritual authority in the hands of such 'bodies of sin and death.'

III. The third anomaly in the constitution of the state-church is, that its affairs, and sometimes not merely those which concern its temporalities, are the subject of hot and unseemly discussion in our legislative assemblies; assemblies which consist of men of every variety of religious opinion, and of no religious opinion at all; who belong to the church, and who do not belong to it,—orthodox and heterodox, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Evangelical, Socinian, Infidel. Of such heterogeneous materials is 'that general 'council' composed, before which the affairs of the state-church are discussed, and on whose decisions its vital interests depend. To make the inconsistency complete, the purely religious element, (whether amongst churchmen or no churchmen,) has always been the most feeble in those assemblies. The mass of the representatives are, we doubt not, very worthy honest men, very fairly representing the opinions of their constituents, and quite competent to discharge the duties which properly devolve upon them. Few of them, however, would even pretend (if our anomalous ecclesiastical constitution did not impose the burden upon them) that they were fit to legislate for religion. Then they come to these discussions with minds heated by political animosity; irritated by party-conflict; inflamed by violent differences of opinion, which those very subjects connected with the church tend to multiply and exasperate. None we think who has pondered well the nature and design of Christianity, and has read the debates of parliament on certain topics, would ever wish to see its affairs made the subject of legislative discussion. The lesson which the Helots taught the Spartans is the only lesson with which such exhibitions are calculated to impress us.

Yet such will be the motley exhibitions to which the Christian church will be treated, so long as these assemblies take upon them to legislate for religion. Knowing how these bodies are constituted, and how they *must* be constituted while human nature remains what it is, there is something grossly indecent in committing to such hands the decision of such matters; and their debates would form, if the subject were not so serious, a ludicrous satire on the theory of state-establishments,—that it is the *duty* of civil governments to take under the wing of its protection the religious interests of the people. For our own parts, we think there

would be just as much propriety in commissioning an 'Odd Fellows' club,' to be pleased to re-consider and revise the canon of Scripture.

The exhibitions to which we refer, whenever the parliamentary *synod* gets upon the more serious of these topics, reminds one of those curious dramatic spectacles, called the 'religious mysteries,' which were so common just before and about the time of the Reformation. They were a strange combination of the farcical and the serious—of the sacred and the ludicrous; the jests were very dull, the acting very bad, the incongruities very absurd, and nothing in the whole grotesque exhibition impressive, except the profanity and the absurdity.

We know it is very plausible to say that it is the duty of *Christian* states to provide religious instruction for the people,—to be the patrons of Christianity. But it is .forgotten that Christian states, like all other states, (except where the monarch can say, like Louis XIV., 'L'Etat? C'est moi,') consist of an aggregate of individuals. Now, if all these individuals were 'Israelites indeed,' there would be more significancy in the above proposition, though we should still doubt the propriety of their assuming any such jurisdiction. But we all know that the majority of this aggregate of individuals are, and from the causes already so frequently spoken of, are likely to be, Christians *only in name*,—and not always in that. They are selected not merely, nor mainly, and in many instances not at all, because they are Christians, but because they are supposed by those who elect them to be best qualified to fulfil the more immediate duties (and those duties are strictly political) for which they are sent to parliament. On this principle all parties act; and though it is common to hear Tories exclaiming most vehemently against the impiety of such and such constituencies, in sending to parliament, merely for their political qualities, men who do not even wear the *cloak* of religion, the world knows very well that these loud-tongued purists act upon the same principle. They are more solicitous indeed that the candidate should be duly labelled with the name of a Christian, but as to whether he really possess vital religion, or as to whether his supporters are generally at all solicitous on the subject,—why let the Tory benches answer these questions. The Tories, like all other parties, prefer, for the specific purposes for which they send him to parliament, a man who is only nominally a Christian, provided he be a good statesman, to the best Christian that ever lived, if his Christianity be his only recommendation.

We have already said we are willing to accord the houses of parliament all that they can fairly claim. We believe that, as a body of men, they are to the full as respectable, as honourable, as estimable, and possessed of as much social worth, as any body of men convened for some purely secular purposes; and that they

are quite competent to the civil and political duties they are called upon to discharge. But we should be egregiously perverting all history, and blinding ourselves to facts which, at this moment, stare us in the face, if, taking any party (we care not which), we were to say that the majority of them, or the half, or the tenth, or the twentieth part, were qualified to discuss the religious interests of the nation; let them first take care of their own. If there were no other objection, their general occupations and habits would be abundantly sufficient.

IV. Another anomaly in the theory of a state-church is, that the principle on which it relies for carrying out the theory,—the *taxation* of the whole community,—was utterly unknown to the primitive times of Christianity. As far as we can ascertain the designs of its great Founder from his conduct and that of the apostles, from the *spirit* of that moral system which he preached, from the constitution of the earliest churches, and from the universal practice of those churches till long after the death of the apostles, we have every proof that it was the intention of the Divine Author of Christianity (and it is a sublime and illustrious comment on the nature of the kingdom he came to establish), that not a single penny should be thrown into his treasury, except what was given by a willing heart; that not a single penny should go to the support of religion, unless it came in the shape of a free-will offering; that it should never be matter of taunt to the infidel and the malignant scoffer, that Christianity, contrary to its avowed nature and designs, preached love, but practised violence, and had stolen his property to lay upon its altars. We must conclude, if we would believe the New Testament, that Christ intended that his kingdom should *be* what it *professes* to be, and that the means and the end should harmonize with one another.

As if to demonstrate the inefficacy of the compulsory system, as if to shame it by its comparative feebleness, Christianity has always, even in the darkest ages, done, and is at this moment doing, far more by her own inherent energies than has ever been done for her by the aid of taxation and civil penalties. By far the largest portion of the wealth of the church has consisted of the donations and bequests of private munificence, and though such munificence has often resulted from a *mistaken*, or superstitious zeal,—still from a zeal legally unconstrained; while at the present moment the voluntary system is annually raising to meet the increased demands of the population, double, triple, quadruple the amount raised by Act of Parliament. But into this subject we need not now more fully enter, as it was so recently discussed in the present journal. The contrariety of the compulsory system to the spirit and design of Christianity, its tendency to repress an expansive benevolence, its comparative feebleness even when most

energetic, and its utter decrepitude *now*, were fully shown in the article on 'the Voluntary and Compulsory Systems Compared,' inserted in the number for last March.

V. Another glaring inconsistency of civil establishments of religion with the genius and designs of Christianity is, that according to the theory of such institutions, *the nation is the church;* every one who belongs to the one—this is Hooker's theory—is a member of the other:—at least unless he explicitly renounce its communion by avowing himself a Dissenter. This monstrous absurdity, as it must appear, if we judge of Christianity from the New Testament, is nevertheless in perfect harmony with the theory of establishments, the tendency of which is obviously to confound spiritual with political distinctions. Instead of regarding *those only* as Christians who exhibit a certain character, wherever and in whatever numbers they may be found, they measure the church by the census of population, and circumscribe it within the political territory. It is quite true that we cannot always say who are Christians (and here there is plenty of room for the exercise of charity), but there are hundreds of thousands of cases in which we can but too plainly tell who are *not*. Now there are multitudes in this country who show by all their conduct and habits, that they are utter strangers to the spirit of the religion they profess, who live in the communion of the church of England—who will tell you that they are orthodox members of that church—and would resent, and as the church is actually constituted and administered, justly resent, any attempt to question their title to be so regarded. How indeed, can it be otherwise, when we reflect upon the principles of the church as exhibited in the facts we have already insisted upon; when we reflect on that strange and heterogeneous machinery by which it is governed and regulated. It is but congruous, that a church whose supreme head is *any* king, should admit as members *any* subjects. The whole building is in harmony, 'fitly put together,' (though not precisely in the apostolic sense,) from the foundation-stone to the topmost pinnacle.

VI. Another point in which civil establishments are inconsistent with the spirit and designs of Christianity is, that they necessarily involve to some extent the menace, and often more than the menace of 'civil pains and penalties,' to enforce their claims. Now, if we look at Christianity as she exhibits herself in the New Testament,—the spiritual character of the empire at which she aspires,—the disdain with which she regards any thing like a reluctant, a compulsory homage, nothing can be more hateful to her than this. And yet to a certain extent, it is involved in the working of every *consistent* religious establishment. Even in our own country, where the religious establishment is of a happily anomalous character, and does not carry out the theory,

these civil pains and penalties are not altogether unknown. A man refuses to pay church-rates; his goods are seized, and sold; he may be sued in the ecclesiastical courts; he may be imprisoned. But the present position of our establishment is no fair criterion of the general spirit of these institutions.

It affords a proof, it must be admitted, that it *is possible* for an Establishment to exist without resorting to bloody and violent persecution. But it was long before the church was brought to this point; and (let it never be forgotten) it was *reluctantly* brought to it at last. It was not till the various religious parties had inflicted an incalculable amount of human misery on each other, both in the struggle to obtain the perilous advantages of a state alliance, and in abusing it to the purposes of persecution and oppression when it was obtained. Indeed, all history, from the days of Nero downwards, proves that the alliance with the state has been the prime cause of religious persecution. We are far from denying that the will to persecute,—the religious rancour in which that diabolical disposition originates, may still exist where there is no such alliance. But then where there is no dominant sect, and the magistrate, as his duty is, holds the scales *even*, it is the *will* without the *power*. There is all the difference in the two cases, that there is between a madman with his hands tied, and a madman with his hands loose. Secular power must in some way have been transferred to a religious party, before persecution on a large or systematic scale can commence; for except where persecution is carried on under his sanction, the magistrate perfectly understands that it is his duty to prevent such oppression. We may, moreover, remark that though religious animosities may exist without the power to persecute, it is the possession of the power which maintains the feeling in its intensity, by rendering its indulgence possible. It operates as a perpetual provocative. People who wear a sword will often be tempted to use it. It is not desirable that the church militant should wear *side-arms*. Let them be taken away, and the temptations to indulge a hasty and vindictive spirit will be diminished. We are seldom children enough long to entertain wishes which we know it is impossible to gratify.

But let us take the mildest forms of coercion which Religious Establishments employ;—is it possible for any one with the New Testament in his hand, and its spirit in his heart, not to feel that they are at total variance with Christianity? If we could suppose the apostle Paul an eye-witness, even of a common seizure for church rates, in one of our country towns, and then told that this was the *modern* mode of supporting that religion for which 'he suffered 'the loss of all things,'—would even the most hardy abettor of the system dare to lay his hand upon his heart, and tell us 'that he 'solemnly believed that the apostle would look on such a procedure 'with an approving eye, and say, 'this is in beautiful harmony

'with the principles I preached, and for which I died. How 'gladly would I have acted *thus* if I had had the *power!*''

VII. Civil establishments of Christianity must, so long as they last, render 'that communion of saints' which it enjoins, and for which all sincere Christians sigh, an absolute impossibility; and therefore, if the designs of Christ are to be followed out, they must fall: since they cannot by their very nature and position fraternize with those (however eminent their piety) who dissent from them. I know it may be said that the time will come when church-establishments will exist universally, undisturbed by a single dissident. If we regard past history, or the constitution of human nature, or above all, the present *tendencies* of the public mind, this unanimity amongst Christians can scarcely be expected much before the completion of the Platonic year. It seems less unreasonable to seek some basis of intercommunion more hopeful than absolute uniformity. This the various sects, who do not differ on fundamental points, supply. Mere differences of opinion on non-essential matters between sect and sect, are not incompatible with that reciprocity of kindnesses between ministers, and that intercommunion of members, which would serve to set forth their substantial union. Establishments cannot act thus. There is a great gulf between them, and any body of Christians dissenting from them. Their ministers are in the anomalous condition of being *compelled* to admit that there are multitudes of sincere Christians with whom they can hold no fellowship; many a BROTHER whom they cannot and dare not treat as such, till they get to heaven. It is establishments, and not *non*-established sects, which embody most effectually the spirit of schism; for they *cannot* hold communion with those whom they dare not, even in thought, deny to be Christians.

VIII. We cannot close these observations without remarking that, if the principle of establishments be fairly carried out, that is, acted upon by all civil governments, it *must* be—must be, did we say? it already is—the most formidable obstacle that has ever arrested the triumphs of the gospel. That principle, is that all civil governments are bound to provide and maintain a religion for the whole population. There is no argument which will serve to justify this with regard only to *some* governments. It must be sanctioned as applied to all or none. It is of no use to say, it is only those who possess the truth who may establish it; for each government is necessarily the judge in its own cause; if so, every civil government must and will provide and maintain that religion which it *deems* true. Now the greater part of civil governments are Antichristian, or at best, most corruptly Christian; and if it be expedient to sanction the principle of religious establishments, it is expedient to sanction a principle by which the greater part of civil governments are at this moment employing their power and influ-

ence in patronizing deadly error. How much good ought the two or three Christian establishments to effect, to pay for all the mischief effected by the other applications of the system, and to render that upon the whole expedient which is obviously inexpedient nine times out of ten! It is precisely the jealousies of these state-religions, the prejudices they nurse, the stability they give to forms of error by associating them with political authority, with power, rank, and wealth, which at this moment present the most formidable barriers to the progress of Christianity, as all who are familiar with the history of Missionary enterprises well know. Most auspicious would it be for the interests of Christianity, if these tremendous barriers were all thrown down to-morrow, and

'Kings sat still with awful eye,'

while the conflict between the elements of light and darkness took its unobstructed course.

It is a shuffling and dishonest reply to the above argument, that, though all civil governments are bound to provide and maintain some form of religion, they are equally bound to maintain none but the true. If they must establish some form of religion, they must establish that which they *deem* true, for there is no authority to control them; and then the results will be just what we have stated, or rather just what *they are*. Scott, more fairly and candidly stated the matter when he said, 'This is the Palladium 'of those who oppose establishments! And how shall we deprive 'them of it?'

Whether civil establishments of *Christianity do* compensate for the evils occasioned by the civil establishment of all *other* sorts of religion, and which rests on precisely the same principle; let the reader judge from the *facts* upon which we have already insisted. We believe that civil establishments of religion are equally successful in corrupting truth and maintaining error; they are unfriendly to the one for the very same reasons that make them friendly to the other.

For our own parts, we verily believe that it is the design of Christianity to discountenance the alliance with the state, scarcely more to secure her own internal purity than to facilitate her further triumphs. Those triumphs are impeded in two ways by this pernicious principle. 1. Her own energies are trammelled and fettered by being connected with the movements and constrained both by the forms and the interests of politics. 2. It is by this pernicious principle that almost all the nations of the earth are embattled against her. In the first instance the free play, the flexible movement which distinguished the early church, are constrained by that artificial

dress which the state has provided for her.* In the second, her enemies are allowed the greatest possible advantage against her. All she asks is, a fair and open field; that, as by the confession even of the advocates of establishments themselves, those insti-

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* That a state-religion, *as such*, can do nothing to secure the *foreign* conquests of Christianity, has been often urged by the opponents, and even admitted by many of the abettors of the system. These institutions have certainly done nothing for this purpose yet. There are indeed voluntary efforts made for this purpose in the church of England, and we rejoice to know it; but they originated and are maintained quite independently of the church establishment,—in some instances, *in spite of it*,—and would exist, aye, and in increased efficiency, if the connexion with the state were dissolved to-morrow.

On this subject, the following admirable observations from Conder's work on Nonconformity, are well worthy of attention.

'As to Church Establishments,' ingenuously remarks an excellent clergyman, 'they cannot be sent into heathen nations. It is the labor of the Missionary which in this service the church must employ.' The cumbrous machinery of a hierarchy is obviously not adapted to it. Nay, the principles upon which Establishments rest, both forbid such an invasion of the prerogative of a foreign state, and supply a directly counter-active force. The episcopal minister must not only go forth unprotected by an Establishment; he goes to encounter, to subvert one; to oppose spiritual to carnal weapons, to fight against the very policy which at home he pursued. He must lay aside, he must forget his former principles, or they will incapacitate him for action. He must take his stand upon opposite principles, and he must promulgate sentiments the very reverse of those which, as a member of an ecclesiastical Establishment, he may have once avowed. He will have now to contend, that the State has, in matters relating to human salvation, no authoritative claims: that men at the peril of their souls accept its bounty, as an inducement to believe; or fear, in obeying the dictates of conscience, any other being than 'Him who is able to cast both body and soul into hell;' that the word of God must be their only rule and standard, and that this is of itself, 'able to make them wise unto salvation through faith in Christ Jesus.' The preaching of the Gospel will now approve itself as the *only* means of operating a change on the hearts and characters of men; and the rudest teacher, who is evidently acting under the influence of a concern for the souls of men, will be hailed by him as an auxiliary. All the state trappings of legitimacy will be thrown off as a useless incumbrance. It is the king's armour, but he has not 'proved it;' he 'cannot go with these;' he must go in all the plainness of a defenceless shepherd. The enemy may come, as befits him, 'with a sword, and with a spear, and with a shield;' but his armour and his weapon must be, 'The name of the Lord of hosts.'

'But it is not with regard to heathen countries alone, that the genius of an Establishment exhibits itself in direct opposition to the genius of the Christian ministry. Here the contrariety is glaringly palpable. By whom have missionary labours been discountenanced, ridiculed, deprecated, but by members of the Establishment? By whom are heartless objections petulantly and malignantly brought forward against the only attempts made within the Church of England, to emulate the exertions of other denominations of Christians, but by ministers, by dignitaries of the Establishment? The country appreciates the fact.'

If the advocates of state establishments are compelled to admit that Christianity possesses in herself the energies and resources necessary to subdue the world, how very odd it seems that they will not give her credit for being able to maintain her own interests where she has once enthroned herself,

tutions, when professedly on her side, can do nothing to aid her assaults on heathenism, so she may have no *opposition* from them when against her. Happy—thrice happy, will be that day when the intermeddling governments of the earth, shall consent to grant the moderate request of Christianity—'that she may be 'left alone;'—to take her own course, to pay her own charges, to provide (as is the case with all the machinery set up by the same supernal wisdom) out of the evolution of her own movements, the means and appliances necessary to secure her continual progression.

It may be said, we have pointed out the evils of establishments but have not pointed out their advantages; we reply, we know of none that counter-balance them. If we were merely casting up an account of the comparative advantages and disadvantages of the system, we should have pointed out many other subordinate evils which attach to it, as well as its occasional and incidental benefits. But we have been simply anxious to insist upon those characteristics and tendencies of the system, which, contravening, as we verily believe they do, the nature and principles of Christianity, no subordinate advantages can serve to sanctify. If 'these things be so,' no advantages can render the system expedient with reference to the whole designs of Christianity.

It may be said that the evils we have pointed out may exist in some establishments, but it is possible to conceive of an establishment without them. It is possible to *conceive* of many things which nevertheless are not possible as the world is constituted. We deny that, while human nature remains what it is, it is possible that there should be an establishment in which these evils are not found to a greater or less extent. We grant they may vary in degree; they may assume different forms; but, to adopt the language of the philosophic Thucydides, they are amongst the things which γιγνόμενα μὲν, και ἀὲι ἐσόμενα ἕως ἂν ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις ἀνθρώπων ᾖ; in the present case, it is the HUMAN NATURE of statesmen and politicians. The character and dispositions found in the mass of them, and naturally fostered by all their habits and occupations, must render them eminently unfit to be entrusted with the interests of the church of Christ. The close contact of such men will exert in a thousand ways, and must

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without the assistance of the state. 'It can conquer, but it cannot hold its conquests. It can introduce by the energy of the voluntary principle alone, a pure and heavenly faith into the regions of the darkest heathenism; yet it cannot perpetuate its sway where it has been introduced, except by calling in to its aid the compulsory system! In other words, it can accomplish the greater, but it cannot accomplish the less!'—*Eclectic Review.* March, 1837. '*Voluntary and Compulsory Systems Compared.*'

exert, a most pernicious influence; and, whatever the decencies with which the 'alliance' may invest the state, it has ever been the undoing of the church.

The connexion between the church and state has frequently been illustrated by similes and metaphors; it is like that between the oak and ivy, we are told; it resembles marriage; &c., &c., &c. If we were asked what was the fittest emblem of this union, we should reply that it was that cruel punishment of ancient times by which a living man was chained to a dead one; at once imprisoning him, and imprisoning him within the sphere of all that is loathsome and pestilential. And we believe the time is coming —aye, and is already come in some quarters,—when the oppressed and deeply injured church shall cry out—'Oh! wretch that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?'

It has been sometimes urged that the doctrine we have endeavoured to set forth is a 'novelty of this latter age.' We are not careful to answer in this matter. If this were the fact, it would be nothing to the purpose; and if it were ever so much to the purpose, it is not fact. The doctrine is at least as old as the Reformation, and, (as we believe,) as the New Testament. But this is a matter of little moment; it is just a repetition of the old taunt by those who were most and first exposed to it, 'Where was your religion before Luther?' Error is none the better because it is ancient; nor is truth the worse because it is new. This however is no new truth; like many other truths which the opponents of this are not ashamed to patronize, it has been long buried; but like them, it has found a day of resurrection. It has come forth from the sepulchre of ages, as we confidently believe, 'to die no more'—to put on immortality.

'In that day,' says Milton, in anticipation of still further reformations in the church, and at the close of a passage of marvellous sublimity, 'in that day, it shall no more be said as in scorn, this 'or that was never held so till this present age;—when men have 'better learnt that the times and seasons pass along under thy 'feet, to go and come at thy bidding: and as thou didst dignify 'our fathers' days with many revelations above all the fore-going 'ages, since thou tookest the flesh; so thou canst vouchsafe to us '(though unworthy) as large a portion of thy Spirit, as thou 'pleasest; for who shall prejudice thy all-governing will? seeing 'the power of thy grace is not past away with the primitive times, 'as fond and faithless men imagine, but thy kingdom is now at 'hand, and thou standing at the door. Come forth out of thy 'royal chambers, O Prince of all the kings of the earth, put on 'the visible robes of thy imperial majesty, take up that unlimited 'sceptre which thy Almighty Father hath bequeathed thee; for 'now the voice of thy bride calls thee, and all creatures sigh to 'be renewed.'

Art. II. *A Memoir of the Life and Writings of John Albert Bengel, Prelate in Würtemberg; compiled principally from original Manuscripts never before published.* By the Rev. JOHN CHRISTIAN FREDERICK BURK, A.M. D. Phil., Rector of Great Bottwar, in Würtemberg. Translated from the German, by ROBERT FRANCIS WALKER, M.A., Curate of Purleigh, Essex, and formerly Chaplain of New College, Oxford. With a Portrait. 8vo. London: W. Ball, 1837.

THE attempt to render justice to the memory of a great public benefactor, is a labour peculiarly attractive to noble minds, and one for which the author of this Memoir has been eminently qualified, by congeniality of character with its subject. That nearly eighty years should have been permitted to roll by, from the decease of John Albert Bengel, before a memorial of him, equal to the claims of his important labours and their own expectations, should be presented to the learned Christian world, is perhaps only to be accounted for from the unobtrusive character of his useful course, and the dispersion of those autographical and other remains from which a life so little varied by incident must mainly be illustrated, and to which the narrative must owe its chief attractions. The author of the present Memoir, however, a descendant, we presume, of 'Philip David Burk, the familiar 'friend, curate, and son-in-law of the deceased,' has at length undertaken to collect and use these scattered records, from which, with the help of the various minor notices to be found in biographical dictionaries or separately published, he has furnished a memorial, which we hope the excellent translation of Mr. Walker will render as acceptable and useful to our British public as the original has been to Bengel's countrymen.

John Albert Bengel, 'the father of New Testament criticism,' was born at Winnenden, near Stutgard, in Würtemberg, where his father was assistant parochial minister, on the 24th of June, 1687. On the decease of his parent in 1693, his education was superintended by a benevolent friend * till 1699, when he was admitted into the senior class of the middle school at Stutgard. In 1703 he became a member of the Theological College of Tübingen, where, in the following year, he took the degree of

* This friend's name was David Spindler. Though not essential to the brief sketch offered in the text, we cannot forbear appending it, in this place, and must plead the sanction of Matt. xxvi. 13, and xxv. 40. Mr. Spindler, who had been previously master of a seminary at Winnenthal, and was compelled, by the French invasion, which laid waste the whole neighbourhood, within a few months of the elder Bengel's decease, to wander about the country with his little charge, earning a precarious livelihood, obtained, in 1699, a permanent situation as tutor in the High School at Stutgard.

Master of Arts, showing 'such proficiency in academical studies 'that he was placed first of the men of his year, though most of 'them were older than himself.'

'Having, in the twentieth year of his age, completed his 'academical course of theology, he underwent examination for 'holy orders before the consistory of Stutgard, in December, '1706; held an academical disputation 'de Theologia Mystica,' 'at the commencement of the year 1707, and conducted a public 'disputation of students terminating their academical course of 'philosophy. He then quitted Tübingen to enter on a parochial 'charge, as provisional curate of Metzingen-under-Urach.' The following year he was called to take the office of junior divinity tutor at Tübingen, and in the beginning of 1713 was promoted to the head tutorship of a new theological seminary at Denkendorf. The duties of this situation, upon which he appears to have entered in the September of that year, he discharged with growing usefulness and reputation till 1741, when 'he was appointed 'to the prelacy of Herbrechtingen, and to the station of Aulic 'counsellor. In 1747, he was chosen a member of the *general* 'States Assembly; in 1748 he was advanced to a seat in the '*Special* Assembly; in 1749 he was made councillor of Con-'sistory, and prelate of Alpirsbach, and created Doctor of 'Theology in 1751.' He died the 2d of Nov. 1752.

We have been thus particular in setting down with their respective dates, the few prominent steps of Bengel's more public career, not only because such notices when concentrated are often found useful to the readers of biography, but principally because when to these are added a chronological list of his writings, and a few domestic facts, but little in the way of incident remains to be narrated. From the time that he became a tutor, what Johnson says of Watts, may, with equal truth be said of Bengel, 'his life was no otherwise diversified than by successive 'publications;' as truly, however might we add in the same author's words, that the 'number' and 'variety' of these 'show 'the intenseness of his industry, and the extent of his capacity,' and that 'few men have left behind such purity of character, or 'such monuments of laborious piety.'

To those who are acquainted with the history of religion and theology in Germany, there are few indeed, we believe, who will be disposed to deny, that Bengel was an instrument of Providence, raised up for eminent and long enduring usefulness. In no part, perhaps, of that wide territory which glories in the common name of Germany, has the truth of God been so signally preserved against the inroads of error as in the kingdom of Würtemberg, and the mantle of the Würtemberg divines is a bequest from Bengel. As in the sixteenth century, the efforts of Spener, at Dresden, and after him of Franke, Anton, and

Breithaupt, at Halle, came, though late, in aid of the earlier evangelical labours of J. V. Andreä; so in the seventeenth did Bengel follow them in striving to maintain among his fellow-countrymen the flame of practical religion. Not that we would say that genuine piety had at any time since the Reformation been at so low an ebb in Würtemberg as in many other parts of Germany. This we neither believe, nor would the glimpses afforded in the present memoir of Jäger, Reuchlin, Hochstetter, and others of Bengel's tutors and earlier friends, justify such an opinion. But it is unquestionable that, during Bengel's subsequent career, whatever of sound theological and biblical learning existed in the country, attached itself to him as its centre; that from his unwearied efforts to give a practical tendency to theological studies, he rendered, during his whole life, the most essential service to the cause of vital godliness; and that that more recent school of evangelical divines, whose light so long rendered Tübingen a spiritual Pharos, while all the rest of Germany (not even excepting Halle, which, first sinking into a spurious pietism, had exchanged her Francke for a Semler, and from the cradle had become the mummy-chest of Christianity) was shrouded in the cheerless night of infidel neology,—we mean Storr, the Flatts, Süsskind, and their fellow-labourers—always have regarded him with filial reverence as at once the ornament of their church, and the luminary of their learned men.*

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* It will not, we trust, be deemed impertinent, in relation to the subject above treated,—the abiding influence, we mean, of Bengel's admirable spirit on the Würtemberg divines,—or at variance with the obligations of private correspondence, if we extract from a letter received during the progress of this article, and indeed since the above was penned, from an unexceptionably competent witness residing at Halle, a passage bearing on the present situation and prospects of religion in Germany. 'As respects the church 'and theology, my anticipations are far from cheering. I see that the darker 'side of Hegelianism, that is, its anti-christian side, is exposed with greater 'shamelessness and audacity. It is true that Strauss has hitherto, upon the 'whole, met with less success among theologians than I had feared, nay, 'that in the third number of his controversial pieces he has made conces-'sions, and that in the third edition [of his life of Jesus] he will retract 'something, and thus retire nearly on the path of ordinary rationalism. But 'still the so rapid disposal of a second edition of 2,000 copies, proves his ex-'tensive influence; and it is really frightful to consider with how high a 'hand, a wanton lascivious pantheism encroaches upon our secular litera-'ture, especially among the younger literati. All opposition to Strauss is by 'them branded as pietism. . . . Very disheartening is also the want of 'Christian young men to come forward as teachers in our schools and col-'leges. The chair of Ullmann [formerly professor of church history at 'Halle, now removed to Heidelberg] is still vacant; they are looking out for 'some distinguished church historian,—but such a one, and at the same time 'a man of Christian feeling, seems no where to be found. God grant, there-'fore, that Dorner's life [a young theologian and preacher at Tübingen] may

The character and claims of Bengel as the 'father of New Testament criticism,' are no where, we conceive, more fairly stated than in the brief notice given of him by Dr. Leonard Hug, in the 60th section of his Introduction to the New Testament. The truth and succinctness of this statement induce us to believe that the following transcript of it will be far from unacceptable to the studious reader:

'Bengel is the first of the Germans who gained honour in this department of learning. He was occupied for several years during his ministerial duties, in the study of Mill's New Testament, and soon consulted some Latin and Greek MSS., particularly *Evang.* 83, 84, 85—the two last of which contain only fragments of the Gospels; also Ev. 86 at Presburg, 97 of John and the *Evangeliar.* 24. Also 54, Epist. of Paul to the Romans,—55, Paul, 46 Acts, Cath. Ep.—53, Paul, respecting which, see the following monograph: '*Cod. Uffenbach. qui fragm. ad Hebræos continet, recensus, et specimen ære excultum* (by Dr. Henke). *Helmstadii*, 1800.'—52, Paul. Acts, Cath. Ep. 45., Rev. 16, and *Augustanus* 7, '*chartaceus, continens Apocalypsin,*' as he says, '*cum Exegesi Andreæ Cæsareensis,*' which Wetstein and Griesbach neglected to mention in their catalogues. He procured through others the collation of *Wetst.* 87, of V., one of the Moscow MSS. of Matthæi, and hasty extracts of readings from *Basil.* E., as also *Ev. Bas.* 1. and 2.

'But his merit did not consist in this; he collated only enough to develope his critical talents. But he was not indebted to circumstances or to valuable aids; his merit was based on himself and his own genius.

'By long study he acquired a thorough knowledge of all the phenomena of the text, and was so well acquainted with the peculiarities and habits of the numerous critical documents, as to deduce from his observations new principles of criticism for his guidance.

'He first discovered that a number of MSS. coincided in certain characteristics, and continued tolerably alike throughout. He distinguished for the time being two families of MSS., one of which he called the African, and the other sometimes the Asiatic. This observation led him to simplify his mode of procedure in criticism, as all the various testimonies were easily referred to a few classes; and thus he really obtained rules, and gave the first impulse to the progress of criticism, the influence of which will last, though his Bible should be forgotten.

'His edition of the New Testament, which was published at Tübingen by Cotta in 1734, 4to., exhibits in the outset nothing more than the text with select readings in the margin below; but an apparatus

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'long be spared, from whom great things in Doctrinal Theology may be ex-
'pected! In Würtemberg, however, I have every where throughout my
'recent journey experienced great comfort. How many able and pious young
'men are there in that country among the clergy!' &c. &c.

follows the text, the first section of which presents rules of criticism; the second details authorities for the selected readings; and the third answers some objections which might be made to his undertaking.'

*Hug's Introd. to N. T., § 60, Fosdick's Translation.**

The memoirs of so eminent and good a man, however void of extraordinary incident, cannot, if faithfully recorded, be destitute of either interest or value; and we do not hesitate to class the present work along with the most precious contributions to our biographical treasury. Can it be necessary to guard the reader against supposing that we approve of every jot and tittle of the work, if we be bold enough to express our feeling that it is hardly possible to light upon a page of it which does not either illustrate or recommend something correct in principle or excellent in practice?

The memoir is distributed into four parts; in which are successively described: Bengel's education; his official engagements; his literary works; and his private life. In the collection of the necessary materials for this, the industry of the author has been most conspicuous; and so far as an opinion may be formed in the absence of any portion of them, we should infer that his judgment and taste have been equally so in their selection and arrangement.

In the first part of the work, the chapter devoted to Bengel's religious education possesses a peculiar interest. We have in him another instance added to the many previously recorded, of the paramount value of early religious education, and of the far superior quality, at least in ordinary circumstances, and in point of harmony, regularity, constancy, and general usefulness, of a character, in which excellence is the gradual, and in appearance, natural and spontaneous development of youthful piety, to one which in maturer years is the fruit of new convictions and impressions. Of the yoke of religion, as well as that of suffering, how truly may we say, 'it is good that a man bear it in his youth!' On

* We cannot resist, what appears to us, the duty of recommending this valuable translation, from the pen of one of our transatlantic brethren. Mr. Fosdick's work, published at Andover, though as yet, we fear, but little known in this country, is every way calculated to supersede Dr. Wait's very imperfect and incorrect version. Our theological students should also know, that of all the New Testament introductions which have appeared in the German language, Hug's is the best. A valuable one by Dr. H. A. Schott, of Jena, published in 1830, under the title of, 'Isagoge historico-critica in libros N. F. Sacros,' is also, being in Latin, generally available; and with the French or American translation of Neander's 'History of the Planting and Government of the Christian Church by the Apostles,' will supply to those who are unacquainted with German, the best of what Germany has produced upon this subject.

this point, however, let our author be heard. He is speaking of the childhood of Bengel:

'Thus with child-like simplicity he followed his heavenly Father's guidance, and submitted to God's inward and outward discipline; and though he did not yet fully understand what a high and rare privilege he enjoyed, the power of the divine word took such possession of his heart, that he had confidence in God, like that of a little child in its parent; took great delight in prayer, longed for the better life to come, loved the Scriptures, enjoyed the church hymns, and the simplest books of devotion; had a tender conscience, dreaded doing wrong, and showed complacency in every thing that was excellent.

'Nor could these beautiful blossoms of his early piety long be entirely concealed from observation. Young Bengel possessed a large share of the love of his school companions and of every older person of his acquaintance. It was seen that there was something in him above his years, although the cause was not inquired after: indeed it was well for him in respect of his future development, that 'his *piety* was not made very much of,' so that he went on growing in grace, like 'the grass, that tarrieth not for man.'* 'I went on in simplicity,' he said, 'under the idea that no one observed me, and was glad that I could proceed thus quietly.' Did he then feel within him no stirrings of our common corruption?—'I was no stranger,' he says, 'to sudden and injurious suggestions and sallies of thoughtless, foolish levity, natural to youth, but the danger of my being led away by outward temptations was not frequent, as, in addition to our public lectures, I had always something to attend to in private, and thus was entirely preserved from idleness.' At one time he had to instruct the junior scholars; at another he was busied in some recreative study or employment that was set him; at another he had some new book put in his way to read. But he most preferred spending his leisure hours in perusing that book which he had so early learnt to love more than every other—the Bible. Disrelishing all bustle and noisy distraction, he often retired for 'serious and salutary meditation; for he ever deliberately preferred soberness to trifling, and loved above every thing that which had a pious tendency, finding his delight in devout, solid, and seemly words and actions, and feeling an aversion to whatever was loose, idle, and ungodly.' Whenever he discovered any thing wrong in himself, though it was generally what no one would have noticed in him, his inward monitor instantly reproved him, and thus preserved him from stumbling upon outward temptations.'—pp. 13, 14.

Happily fortified, however, as young Bengel was by this 'interior discipline of the spirit—' we use here the appropriate words of Mr. Walker's translation—' he was not entirely free 'from temptation while studying classical literature and the ele-

* Micah v. 7.—That is, as the growth of the grass eludes the observation of man, though it is continually advancing under the blessing of heaven.

'ments of philosophy' He speaks of his understanding being 'assailed by doubts (p. 14), his natural reason putting in its 'claim, whether right or wrong, to demonstration and certainty 'upon truths which had already taken possession of his heart,' (p. 15); on the perplexity occasioned in his mind, by finding himself unable to realize the strong experiences expressed in certain Psalms,—and at other times by the contrary burden of blasphemous and bad thoughts (p. 16). On the second point referred to, his biographer adduces the following remarks of Bengel as much to the purpose:

'A raw, unconverted man, living after the course and fashion of this world, and therefore indifferent to the truth altogether, meets with no difficulty in subscribing to any form of doctrine. He takes a thing for granted, just as he finds it, and cares not for the trouble of proof. But a really converted man feels truth to be a precious thing; is disposed to inquire after it; preserves it when found; and handles it, as he would an invaluable jewel, with great care and circumspection. Finding it impossible to go on in a careless, trifling spirit, he is obliged to 'prove all things,' whatever trouble it may give him. Now as truth upon every point is not attainable without many a hard struggle, his progress is often, in the mean time, very slow, during which he may easily be mistaken for a person of heterodox opinions. But how lamentable is it when such ingenuous inquirers are thought worthy only of harsh treatment; when their brethren bear down upon them at once with puzzling propositions and perplexing interrogatories, and can think of no other method of dealing with them but the method of coercion; whereas, we ought rather to allow them the free liberty of disclosing to us every private scruple, that by their acquiring a confidence in us they may by and by suffer us to make an attempt to remove their difficulties.'—p. 15.

How true and valuable these observations are needs no discussion; our readers, we are persuaded, will find it also interesting to observe how, under the guidance of an all-wise Providence, even the temptations of a Christian youth may have a beneficial influence upon his future labours, and that not only in the department of pastoral or experimental divinity, to which such appear more especially to belong, but in a sphere of service which would rather be imagined to be completely exempted from their influence.

'We find him regretting at a later period, that during his two first years at Tübingen he had lost much time in doubts and difficulties about the purity of the text of the Greek Testament. He commonly at that time used the edition which, with an excellent preface by Professor Francke, is, in all other respects, copied from the Oxford one, which contains a mass of various readings, without showing which of them are preferable. Being at that time occupied in studying dogmatic

theology, and having to look for proofs in his Greek Testament, he was perplexed with this medley of uncertainties; especially as in the divinity lectures of those days, at more Universities than one, very undue attention was given to textual criticism. Our timid young student thought he stood alone in these perplexities, for he had not confidence enough to ask for their solution; and having long busied himself in them to no purpose, he found it necessary to lay aside this edition and to study the simple text. But such a season of discouragement had its advantages, for it 'stirred him up to diligent prayer; and his being tempted to doubt as to the purity of textual readings was overruled into an early habit of accurately investigating every nice peculiarity of the word of God, which led him to ponder over some of its most important passages, prevented him from leaning to his own understanding, or to mere human authority, and left him but little leisure for extravagant fancifulness; in a word, it wrought to the very best effect upon his future critical labours.'—pp. 16, 17.

As a theological tutor Bengel was most exemplary. Regular and persevering in his habits of study, thoroughly evangelical in spirit, firm, yet mild and conciliating in his intercourse with the students, it was not possible but that his influence should be considerable. As to discipline, he appears to have most happily steered the middle course between undue strictness and a too lax indifference. His ideas upon the object and method of study, are not, it must be confessed, at all times such, as can be recommended in the present times; as where, for instance, (p. 50) he seems to discourage 'nicety in the selection of words and 'phrases;' advises 'that more attention should be bestowed upon 'promptness in (Latin) writing and speaking, than upon neat 'composition,' and recommends Castellio's version of the Scriptures 'for acquiring a good general knowledge of the Latin lan-'guage.' But even if no allowance should be granted to the fact, that he is in this paragraph advising a parent respecting the preliminary training of his child before going to the University, we have no right to cavil, for it is no disparagement to Bengel that he did not anticipate all the pædagogical improvements of the present age. Our objections, after all, however, are of very limited application, for were we to lay before our readers all that is sound and worth extracting in the advices of this able tutor, exhibited in the letters to his pupils or their parents, which have been preserved, this article would leave no room for the consideration of any other work. The following are two brief specimens taken almost at random; thoroughly to appreciate them, however, neither the date inscribed above them, nor the prevailing bias of the times when they were written, should by any means be overlooked.

'*Nov.* 24, 1723.

'I see, my dear friend, you are beginning the study of divinity with

conscientiousness and self-distrust; let these put you upon diligent prayer. Be contented at first with the public lectures, and with your own private diligence in the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. Be master of every particular in the Compendium upon which the first course of lectures proceeds; then study at large each article separately; in which you may be directed by Hoffmann's 'Synopsis,' and Buddei 'Instit. Theol. Dogm.; no third author for the purpose do I advise you to take in hand, till you are thoroughly acquainted with both of these. Beware of relying on the representations of human authors more than on those of Scripture. It is only in the Bible that the all-pure Spirit of God breathes; I am afraid of human theology, lest it 'savour the things which be of men.' Francke's 'Idea Studiosi Theologiæ' will give you many useful instructions. Read this excellent work through and through; twice or three times in continuance.'

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'*May* 13, 1724.

'If you desire further theological information, take up Francke's book, entitled, 'Christ the Substance of the Holy Scriptures.' This treatise excellently proves the deity of Christ. I beseech you, my dear friend, to abide by that one dictum, 'It is written;' and leave 'It appears to us,' to the philosophers. All the real advantages which *divines* can derive from *philosophical* training may be comprised in a very small compass; its chief use to *them* is for teaching good arrangement and methodical inference. But theological verities themselves, in their harmony and beauty, are to be looked for in the Scriptures alone; it is there we find their best mutual illustration; and we must ever consider the sacred volume as its own safest and best interpreter. For this reason I have given the humble name of *Gnomon* to my 'Annotations on the New Testament;' for they simply *indicate* what lies within the compass of the sacred text.'—pp. 56, 57.

This reference to the author's Gnomon, suggests to us that we must hasten on to the notice of his literary works, which occupies the third portion of the Memoir. This, therefore, we proceed to do, only hoping that the intervening pages (76 to 212), which are devoted to the portraiture of Bengel as preacher and pastor, prelate and counsellor, may receive from those whose functions are described in them, that attention which our limits unavoidably proscribe.

The writings of Bengel, adopting the order of his biographer, may be classed under the following heads:—1. His researches in the Classics and the Fathers. 2. His criticism of the Greek Testament. 3. His exegetical and chronological inquiries. 4. His sketch of the United Brethren, minor publications, and literary correspondence. The general character of his critical labours has been already given in an extract from Hug's Introduction, which we also find inserted with a few trifling variations in page 247 of the present Memoir. We have but little room

for any further additions on this subject, but a remark or two on these critical and exegetical labours, may perhaps be permitted.

His classical and patristical researches, though comparatively, were not altogether unimportant. Their results were a new edition of Cicero's epistles; followed by a translation of them into German; a republication of Gregory's Panegyric upon Origen in the original Greek, with a Latin translation and appendix of notes; and a similar edition of Chrysostom on the Priesthood. Of these the third was the most valuable undertaking. Mr. Walker has, in a note to page 222, referred to Tauchnitz's stereotype reprint of its Greek text 'as a probable memorial of 'the value of this edition;' but he was perhaps ignorant that the whole of it, with the exception, if we remember correctly, of the Latin version, has been recently republished in a much handsomer form, and with additional notes, by the care of Dr. Edward Leo. Of all the writings of the Greek fathers, there is probably no work, as Bengel has observed, more deserving of perusal by aspirants to the Christian ministry than this, and we can cordially recommend the edition just referred to as every way worthy of their choice. The importance of reading some such productions of ecclesiastical antiquity, in our own theological seminaries, may also fairly be assumed.

On the controversy into which Bengel was drawn, by his critical labours on the New Testament, with Wetstein on the one hand, and the misguided enemies of all critical inquiry on the other, the memorial presents us with a copious, fair, and interesting statement. It is also properly explicit on his apocalyptical studies; but the peculiar difficulty of such investigations must be our excuse for not following the author here.

Of the three principal works by which the name of Bengel is illustrated,—his Revision of the New Testament Text, his *Apparatus*, and his Gnomon,*—the third is beyond all question

* On the subject of the Gnomon, Bengel's biographer has very judiciously added in a note, page 364, the following characters from Hengstenberg and Hamann:

'Bengel's Gnomon is a rare performance of the kind, concise, original, vigorous, eloquent, and sprightly; it is an erudite exposition, delivered in a spirit of fervent christian love. It evinces the deepest reverence for the sacred text, and a most profound acquaintance with its contents. With remarkable simplicity and humility it follows the drift of the inspired meaning, and induces the soul to open itself, even to the softest of those breathings of the Holy Ghost, which pervade the written word. Its full but artless description in the title-page, bespeaks the true tenor and spirit of the work. A plenitude of sound knowledge, hallowed and animated by deep piety, here sheds itself over the very words of Scripture, and serves to elicit from every part of it the inherent glow of its interior divine illumination.'—*Evangelical Church Chronicle*, edited by Dr. Hengstenberg, of Berlin, vol. ii. p. 228.

of most permanent value. It has been found easier for his successors to sift his critical researches, and to incorporate the precious ore with their own discoveries, than to transfuse into another form the peculiar beauties of this last mentioned work. Bengel himself rejoiced in the thought that his critical labours would be superseded. But in the brief and pithy sentences which abound in the Gnomon, the light which is reflected on the sacred text, glances in many instances with such rapidity and brightness, as excites a strange feeling of delight, while it beams at the same time with such purity and sweetness, as seems to bespeak it light from heaven. That this precious volume is not more extensively known in Britain is to us astonishing. No person adequately acquainted with its true character will wonder at the following statement respecting the spirit of the author's labours.

'He used prayer for becoming collected and fitted to his work; and the success which attended and crowned it, often drew from him grateful praises and thanksgivings. Thus, when his *Gnomon* was sent him completed from the Tübingen University press, on the 28th of March, 1742, his spirits were quite raised to thank God and take courage; and he sang that evening the well known hymn—

'O Thou, who our best works hast wrought,
And thus far help'd me to success,
Attune my soul to grateful thought,
Thy great and holy name to bless;
That I to thee anew may live,
And to thy grace the glory give.

'I thank thee, Lord;—my gifts are thine;
More than I sought hast thou bestow'd;
Then let me henceforth claim as mine
Nothing unpromis'd by my God;
Henceforth, O make me more and more
Humble in mind, in spirit poor.'

'When he began the revisal of his 'Exposition of the Apocalypse,' he said, 'O what cause have I to ask continual help of God in this important business!'

'*Hamann* like wise thus expresses himself:—'I am at present studying with much benefit Bengel's Gnomon upon the New Testament. It is an exegesis altogether *sui generis*. No expositors, or very few, have caught the *full* import, impressiveness, and spirit of Holy Scripture. In this respect, Bengel's commentary is one of the best of its kind.'—*Hamann's Works*, vol. iii. p. 15.'

We can also fully concur in Mr. Walker's recommendation of Steudel's reprint of it in two handsome volumes, 8vo. This work deserves to range with Tholuck's Calvin. We are grieved to add that the same letter whence we have already given an extract (p. 23) also mentions the sudden death of Steudel, who, in October was perfectly well. Matt. ix. 38.

'He wrought not like a hired servant working only for others, but his heart and mind liberally enjoyed the fruit of his labours. Thus we find him saying: 'I have been quite delighting myself for some time in the Epistle to the Colossians. How dazzlingly does the incommunicable glory of the Lord shine forth in this epistle; and yet what striking condescension does he here display towards ourselves!' —'I experience particular enjoyment of the second Epistle to the Corinthians. St. Paul, when he wrote it, was continually exposed to *perils of death*; and yet the epistle breathes nothing but *life*.'—'I have often been in such a frame of mind, that those chapters of the Book of Proverbs, in which I had formerly looked for no connexion at all, have appeared to me as though their sentences followed one another in an order truly beautiful.'—On 1 Tim. vi. 12, he said, 'O God, thou hast called *me* to eternal life; thou too hast laid hold on *me*; withdraw not thy hand from me, until *I* have laid hold on that eternal life.'—On 2 Cor. vii. 1, 'O God! impress more deeply on my own heart thine exceeding great and precious *promises*, that I may *perfect holiness in thy fear!*''—pp. 265, 266.

These extracts are sufficient to show how admirably the life of Bengel illustrates the Saviour's declaration: 'A good man out of 'the good treasury of his heart bringeth forth good things.' Matt. xii. 35. His spiritual excellence is still further developed in the concluding section of the work, which describes his private and domestic life, his last illness and death. The letters written on the death of his children and grand-children, are beautiful beyond expression. They remind us of the heavenly breathings of Shaw in his 'Welcome to the Plague.'

''Our joy of late has been considerably moderated by many a concern about our dear children. In endeavouring to cheer myself and others under the cross which continually attends us, I find use enough for what Christian knowledge and experience I have acquired.

''Our heavenly Father has again brought my dear wife safely through her sorrows. On the morning of the 29th of August, the same day on which, three years ago, our little Joanna Regina, now reposing in the church-yard, was born, we received in safety a healthy little girl, to whom, as she was born on the same day of the year, we have given a similar name, Anna Regina. We would not choose quite the same name, because we thought it ought to have some distinction from hers whom we still regard as one of the family, though she is fallen asleep.'

'That child, however, lived only a year. The following very interesting and affecting letter was written by Bengel to his parents immediately after her funeral.

''*Regina's Day, Sept.* 7, 1722.

''We thank you for the wreaths you sent us to dress the coffin, &c. of our departed and still beloved babe, Anna Regina, and we thank you still more for your affectionate and parental sympathy, as

also for your consoling letter. I feel constrained in return to give you some simple account of what God has discovered to us under this visitation of his love.

"When, six weeks before our child's illness, I was suffering by scarlet fever, I endeavoured, as I had done during a former illness, to get my heart into a state of more than ordinary tenderness; but I was unable, this time, to bring my feelings into such entire self-abasement as I wished. I complained of it to a friend who visited me; and expressed to him my expectation, that some severer affliction, which would better answer the purpose, awaited me. It has arrived, and has answered my wishes. While our dear child was lying under so much suffering, and very near its end, I felt the keenest pangs at the thought of losing it; far more so than I had ever felt before, even when I lost our other dear children. Indeed no occasion of the kind ever distressed me so much. Still I was enabled, without feeling the presence of others any interruption, to attend the dear child with prayers, supplications, and tears, till its soul had gained the victory. I was led, during the whole time, to meditate deeply upon two things: 1. The righteousness of God, which had thus disfigured and destroyed such a little tender frame of body, on account of sin inherited from its parents, and through us from the stock of Adam: and 2. That grace of God by which such a transit through death conducts to life everlasting. Hence our little sufferer's pitiable convulsions and labourings for breath no longer aggravated my distress. My spirit became so cheered and strengthened, that notwithstanding this additional affliction at the prospect of another bereavement, I felt in the inward man, more comfort and enjoyment than I had ever realized in the best pleasures of my life. And as I reclined my head upon my dying child's little couch, I thought I could gladly die with it that moment. After its precious soul was departed, I went into the room where it was laid out, and reclined again by the side of it to repose awhile; and again thought how desirable such an exchange must be. David, at his wretched Absalom's death, was urged by his feelings to exclaim, 'O that I might have died *for* thee!' But there was no need for me to use such a lamentation as this for a child that had never lived to enter into the seductions of a wicked world. In my own case it was a satisfaction that I could utter the sweet plaint of a Christian parent's love, 'O that I might have died *with* thee!'

"The bills of mortality show that more than half the human race die in infancy and childhood. As God then gave us *five* children and has now taken away *three*, we are not to think ourselves more hardly dealt with than others; especially as these dear little ones have doubtless entered upon a good exchange. There is much in the consideration, that so many immortal human beings are just shown to *this* world, and so quickly removed into *another;* and that the number of the elect is mainly accomplished in this way. They are as those plants which are gathered and housed the moment they are in season; while others, who arrive at maturer age, are as the fewer plants, which, being left for seed, remain longer out in wind and weather. What pains one's natural feelings most is, that we so much miss the

delight we have enjoyed in the lovely innocent ways of a thriving child. But even this is made up for by the sure and certain prospect of what is far better. We do not regret the fall of the sweet and delightful blossoms of our plants and trees, though they soon drop off in such multitudes, because the fruit which succeeds is attended with more substantial enjoyment. Had we had no such child born to us a year ago, it is true we should not have been in our present sorrow; but having attended it this day to its grave, we are temporally in the same situation as if we had never possessed it. And yet we can count it gain to be able to reckon one more child of our own in heaven. It therefore was neither 'made for nought,' nor brought into the world in vain, nor has the care we expended on it been thrown away. And now that such care has ceased, and our responsibility with it, we have the more leisure to attend to the one thing needful, and to direct to this great object, in a more undivided manner, the attention of our two surviving children.

'' No sooner was its last struggle over, than the little corpse, with ashes put into its hand, was adorned again with clean linen, flowers, citron, wreaths, &c., which, indeed, could only die and decay with it; and which afforded but a poor and momentary agreeableness to the eye; but how beautiful must that adorning be, with which our heavenly Father clothes the soul in his own presence, in the presence of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of his holy angels!

* * * *

'' At the funeral I accepted the condolence and consolations of kind friends, as heartily as if I had possessed no stock of these for myself; and thus God by their mouth sent me many a good word in season, particularly about the communion we still share in the *total* number of our dear children, who are distributed at present between heaven and earth; likewise about the mutual recognition of friends, whom we shall meet in a better world, &c. As we walked from the house behind the corpse, I looked up to the serene heaven, and my mind itself became as serene, as if no such funeral were going on. In the churchyard, after the coffin-lid was removed, and the bunches of flowers, which had been fastened to the white pall, were added to the rest inside, I beheld once more the face of our blessed child. The sun was shining with overpowering brightness in the cloudless sky, and I could not forbear saying to the bystanders, as I pointed first to the corpse and then to the sun, 'so will that dear child look, which is now no longer like itself!' Animated as I felt with such a hope, I could easily have taken the shovel out of the sexton's hands, and myself have done the office of closing up the little chamber of rest; although when my first-born, our dear little Albert Frederic, was buried, the sight of the ceremony at that time made such a sad disturbance in my heart. But on the present occasion, I went from the grave into the church with so much cheerfulness of spirit, that I even wished the remainder of the funeral service could have been reserved for the time of my own departure.

'' We are now, once more, outside the burial gate, under our own roof, and returned to the necessary occupations of this vain and

shadowy life. But we feel more sensible than ever, that things are rapidly preparing us for the time when these mortal bodies must be borne back through that gate. 'Blessed be the name of the Lord!' '—pp. 452—456.

The length of the preceding extract must be our apology for passing cursorily over the narrative of this holy man's last illness and death. He died as he had lived. This portion of the work contains some precious notices of his state of mind in various illnesses when death seemed even at the door. Thus, under date of Nov. 10, 1735, we find the following:

'"I commit myself,' he said, 'to my faithful Creator, my intimate Redeemer, my tried and approved Comforter. I know not where to find any thing comparable to my Saviour. Only let *me* be made no account of, especially when I am gone. I wish my spiritual experience to be no more obtruded upon the world after my death, than it has been during my life. As 'man's judgment' can neither benefit nor hurt me, so things will appear in quite a different light at the great day. 'Judge nothing before the time.' Is it not better that it should be said to me in that day, 'Art *thou* also here?' than that it should be said, 'Where is such and such a renowned saint?' Much human infirmity still adheres in this life even to gracious characters. Let nothing be made of any expressions that I may happen to utter upon my death-bed. Jesus, with his apostles and martyrs, is light sufficient for all that survive me. I am no light. The example of a dying Christian in the present day, is for the benefit of his family in private; not for the gaze of the world. Human beings are often made too much of by one another, and things are cried up about them which turn out to be nothing at last. I can fully confide in pious persons, as such, however the world may despise them. But still they are creatures, and they are human; so that it seems impossible to confide to any one of them implicitly one's whole *self*. I delight to think of young and active disciples now engaged in the heat of the battle, many of whom were not born when I was in my vigour. I look upon myself as a tree decaying with age. My work on the Holy Scriptures, (Criticism of the New Testament,) it gives me pleasure to think of before the Lord, harsh as are the human judgments which it brings upon me from the good as well as the bad. The dawn of its future usefulness already rejoices my heart; posterity will have more light still, and will profit by it. Yet though my own mind were now full of the most important discoveries, it would not keep me a moment from wishing to go home.' '—pp. 521, 522.

Again; under date of January, 1741:

'During one of his illnesses, Bengel, desiring consolation from some spiritual brother, and no one being at hand except a student of the Institution, he sent for such an one, and requested him to impart a

word of consolation. The youth replied, 'Sir, I am but a pupil, a mere learner; I don't know what to say to a teacher like *you*.' 'What!' said Bengel, 'a divinity student, and not able to communicate a word of scriptural comfort!' The student, quite abashed and confused, then contrived to utter the following text, 'The blood of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, cleanseth us from all sin.' 'That is the very word I want,' said Bengel, 'it is quite enough;' and, taking him affectionately by the hand, he dismissed him.'—p. 524.

'At the point of his departure the following words were pro-'nounced over him: 'Lord Jesus, to Thee I live; to Thee I 'suffer; to Thee I die; THINE I AM, in death and in life; save 'me, and bless me, O Saviour, for ever and ever. Amen.' Upon 'hearing the words, '*Thine I am*,' he laid his right hand upon 'his breast, evidently signifying his full assent; and so he fell 'asleep in Jesus, on Thursday, the 2d of November, 1752, be-'tween the hours of one and two in the morning, having lived in 'this world sixty-five years, four months, and eighteen days.'

We had marked for citation a number of passages which occur in the chapter headed, 'His General Principles of Exposition;' but must, however, reluctantly refer our readers to the work itself, merely observing that in the 254th p. they will find some suggestions on expository preaching well deserving of attention; and in the 259th some paragraphs, beginning with 'the truth of God must be our dearest object,' which cannot sink too deeply into any Christian mind. But when shall we have the gratification of seeing another book like this, combining in such natural union, piety, simplicity, and learning? Like all human productions, it is referrible to the apostolic canon, 'Prove all things, hold fast that which is good;' but its author has accomplished his task with very great ability, and in a noble spirit; and the hasty reading we have given to his volume, that we might lay our judgment of it before the public, has but served to quicken our desire for a reperusal, of which the peculiar interest and benefit, we trust, will be its application to ourselves.

What now remains is, that on the behalf of English readers, we should return our sincerest thanks to Mr. W. for the benevolence which suggested, and the care which secured, so precious an addition to our books of piety. Not having the original in our possession, we can only say that the translation reads just as we should wish it to do. The language is so pure that it may be called an English book. Indeed, if we have a fault to find, it is that the book is too English. We are not going to commit the absurdity of supposing that Mr. Walker represented the German word 'Pfarrer' by the English Rector, from any other motive than to render his translation as familiar to the English reader as the original is to the German, but we think he has erred in

doing so. We speak under correction as liable ourselves to mistake, but we have never met with the term 'rector' in any other signification in Germany than that of the head of an academy. It is not, we believe, in strictness an ecclesiastical term at all, though academies and colleges in that country often stand, as in our own, in close connexion with the ecclesiastical establishment. The same is the case in Scotland, which, like Würtemberg, is a presbyterian country, if we may be excused the solecism. But in England the term is entirely ecclesiastical, and denotes a special subdivision of the episcopal priesthood, i.e. one who has the great tithes of a living, in contradistinction to a vicar who has only the small. A similar error we consider to be the use of the term Esquire, which occurs at pp. 3, 474, and perhaps elsewhere. But enough of these things, which we have mentioned to preserve our impartiality. Mr. Walker could not oblige us more than by finding out some other German work as good, and translating it as well. The 'getting up' of the Memoir is also deserving of great commendation. It is well printed, with a very clear and attractive type, on good paper; is embellished with a portrait of Bengel, and a very moderate price is attached to it. It is with eminent propriety dedicated to Dr. Steinkopff.

Art. III. *Proofs and Illustrations of the Attributes of God, from the Facts and Laws of the Physical Universe; being the foundation of Natural and Revealed Religion.* By JOHN MACCULLOCH, M.D. F.R.S. &c. &c. 3 Vols. 8vo. London: J. Duncan.

A MORE egregious misnomer it would be difficult to produce than is to be found in the modern use of the term *philosophy:* for instead of designating, as it did anciently, the love, and by inference, the pursuit of wisdom, it has come to signify simply the study of second causes; and nothing can be more displeasing and discomposing to the schools of the philosophers, than any references to the *wisdom* which reigns supreme over all, or arguments which aim to establish the connexion between the laws of nature and the only eternal and self-existent Lawgiver. The history of the modern philosophy, if fairly traced and comprehensively written, from the time of the new institution in the Baconian method, of which we so loudly and complacently boast, down to our own days, would supply ample materials for a serious, and as we conceive, unanswerable impeachment, both as to the spirit and the tendency of the argumentation, which has passed current in the schools. It must have struck the mind of every acute and serious observer of what has been going forward, that the love of

wisdom, of the highest, purest wisdom, has had little to do with the researches and speculations of our most eminent philosophers; and that on the contrary, they have laboured unwittingly or maliciously, (we choose not to determine which; the reader, if he will, may incline to the side of charity,) but at all events, they have laboured as by common consent, and with fearful success, to close every avenue by which the light of true wisdom might fall upon their own minds, or be reflected upon those of their disciples. Even those from whom better things were to have been expected, have been contaminated or bewitched by the atheistical spirit; and have tacitly agreed that philosophy shall concern itself only with second causes—that it shall sever the link between creation and the Creator; and that it shall involve a forfeiture of the philosophic character to discourse or argue upon any causation beyond the point of the mechanism of the universe; the organization of bodies, or the ultimate atoms, if there be such. Now the whole of this procedure has presented a series of treasons and outrages against what is, and must unalterably remain, *philosophy* —the love of wisdom. It is not philosophy: call it *naturalism*, and its advocates *naturalists*—but not *philosophers*. For in all this, they display an indifference to the only thing worth knowing, the only knowledge which can ennoble and bless the human intelligence.

It were well if indifference and ignorance were the full amount of the charge to which they are liable. Reluctant as we are to push the crimination on to weightier considerations, yet it cannot be, it ought not to be concealed, that there has been, and still prevails, a dark and malignant spirit of Atheism in many of our modern philosophers; and even where that spirit has not gained an absolute ascendancy, there appears too great a disposition to envelope the first cause in clouds of darkness which, it is presumed, are never to be pierced by any rays of illumination; or too great a readiness for the sake of science, to sink the question with those who embrace the negative, and to repudiate the soundness of all further argument. But assuredly if this is to be the ultimatum of our philosophy—if we are to pause with these guides on the brink of the dark abyss of Atheism, we owe them small thanks for their services, and can acknowledge no debt of honour or of gratitude to such a philosophy. We were happier in our ignorance than under such illumination. The world will clearly grow no *better* under tutors of this class. They can hardly fail to be conscious of this themselves. It might suggest no unsuitable question for the sober and serious decision of their consciences, whether in their eager pursuit of what they have worshipped as science, they ever reflected that there was still a higher science, to which pertained this idea of *better*; or whether, in their *beau ideal* of knowledge and wisdom, they have not excluded the con-

summation and perfection of both, in *goodness?* We know perfectly well that there is to be observed throughout human nature a singular degree of indifference to the knowledge of God; an extraordinary deficiency of information and just apprehension of his attributes. There is scarcely any subject on which they are so ignorant and to which they feel so averse.

It is well, and we construe it as one indication of good among much of a contrary character, that efforts of no mean pretensions have of late been made, to draw public attention to this momentous subject; and that philosophers of a better school have been induced to connect the researches and discoveries of natural science with the higher interests of our moral and spiritual nature. The Bridgwater Treatises are noble and opportune advances in the path that Paley opened, but which had remained too long unfrequented. In some respects, particularly in point of simplicity, compression and directness, they have fallen short of their exemplar; yet they are to be set down as a clear accession in the main to the general argument, and from their extensive circulation, and the high character of their authors, can hardly fail to prove serviceable to the cause of religion. Though unequal, as was to be expected, and taken as a whole, wearisomely tautologous, through the want of a well arranged plan, and connected course of argumentation; yet as few readers may have perused them, or perhaps even will peruse them continuously, except those who read professionally, these drawbacks may not be felt, or only partially, and little to the prejudice of the argument these works severally enforce. Still it is obvious that they might have been made vastly more efficient, if, instead of being repetitions of the same line of argument applied to different departments of science, they had been made a progressive series of arguments leading to one general and grand conclusion.

Our business however, at present, is not to point out the defects of those treatises, or to show how they might have been more efficiently constructed; but to introduce to our readers a work in addition, which is in many respects more comprehensive, better planned, more logically conducted, and consequently more forcible in its conclusions. It might be expected that a work upon the whole subject from a single mind, provided that mind were adequately gifted and thoroughly trained in science, would be altogether more complete and triumphant than a number of works by individual authors, written with no other concert than a distribution of subjects, or a restriction to a separate department of science. This is now fully realized in the appearance of Dr. Macculloch's very elaborate, comprehensive, and masterly performance. Composed and even ready to be committed to the press before the Bridgwater Treatises were announced, it was yet stayed by its author on the eve of publication, as soon as he re-

ceived intelligence of that series. His life was terminated before they were completed. His great work however was accomplished, and it now appears before the public without any allusion to those Treatises. Though it succeeds them in the date of publication, it preceded them in the period of its composition. Had its author lived to peruse them, it appears he would have had little opportunity to improve his own work, either in point of science or argument—for he was evidently much more profoundly versed in the Atheistical controversy than most of his competitors; and was not a whit behind the whole body in his knowledge of every department of natural history, and the extent of modern discovery. He enjoys one special advantage which appears throughout every part of his work; it is this—he seems equally well acquainted with each branch of science and with every metaphysical theory. He has not only traversed the whole Encyclopædia of human knowledge, but has evidently read up to the latest discoveries and speculations in nearly every department. But it is time to verify the high opinion we have already intimated, by displaying the general plan, and presenting some specimens of its execution.

The work commences with those chapters which may be considered introductory: 1. On the utility of natural religion. 2. On systems of Atheism. 3. Answers to certain systems of Atheism. The body of the work is composed of six divisions. 1. On the existence of the Deity. 2. On the knowledge of the Deity. 3. On his wisdom. 4. On his power. 5. On his goodness; and 6. On his government.

The first or introductory part presents one of the most concise, yet complete and learned examinations of the various systems of Atheism both ancient and modern that can be any where met with. One or two specimens from this part of the work we should feel much pleasure in laying before our readers, did our limits permit. Upon the modern artifice of concealing real Atheism under terms which sink, without denying the existence of the Deity, occur some most pertinent observations, (Vol. I. pp. 68—72.)

The various hypotheses of the ancients were accompanied with difficulties and objections which modern sceptics have endeavoured to remove, or at least to conceal. They possessed acuteness enough to perceive the inconsistency and absurdity of their predecessors; but they have become equally duped by a more refined subtlety, which has only veiled the same absurdity, without removing it, or by merely removing it to a greater distance, has contrived to make it elude the eye of the observer. The author displays no little skill in the exposure of all these artifices and delusions of the Atheistic spirit. The observations on the Berkleyan hypothesis of the non-existence of matter, and that of Boscovich, as only a modification of Berkleyanism, will gratify all

intelligent readers. Though they may have seen the same answer in other treatises, we doubt whether they have ever seen it so briefly and pointedly applied to the very basis of the theory. It shows at once the absurdity and inconsistency of all such speculations as would subvert the ultimate facts of our consciousness, and even of our being. We wish we could insert it, but can only find room for the two or three concluding paragraphs, pp. 76, 77.

'But enough of this. Let it be granted that there is no such thing as matter, no such thing as spirit: neither matter nor spirit; nothing. Let that which has been called the most solid of all the atheisms be admitted. There is at least the person, or the thing, the entity, the something, that which is without matter or spirit, capable of being deluded into the belief that it does not believe any thing: but if this conclusion is too absurd a deduction, where it is really not easy to draw any other, there is at least such an incomprehensible entity, actually deluded into the sense, if not the belief, of the contact of matter. It must therefore be deluded by some cause, or power: and as this great deluder must needs be a power of universal presence and eternal existence, or at least of an existence prior to all else, and further, possessed of means of delusion which nothing but the most incomprehensible qualities could include, it can be nothing but the Deity: a will and a power every where, and from all time: the omnipresent, and universal, and eternal Cause. If there is not the God who is to be believed by us, then must the abettors of such hypotheses prove that they did not think while they were thinking, had no existence, were nothing.

Less than this had been more than enough. Greece itself deserved more: but modern celebrity demands what may safely be refused to antiquity. I have therefore disposed of those systems which have been regarded as projects of total or perfect atheism: but there are some partial ones remaining, such as they are. And such as they are, they are rather evidences of the wishes of their propounders, possibly much more of their ignorance and vanity, than specimens of their success. Their pretensions indeed are not very extensive, as their objects are partial, or limited: But be the motives what they may, the purpose ever is, to disclaim or renounce a Deity, as far as it is possible to succeed in this attempt, consistently with the lights and evidences of modern philosophy; though the power has not kept pace with the will.'

There are few parts of the work more pleasing or satisfactory, or which will perhaps strike most readers as more original, than that which treats of the knowledge of the Deity. It is a subject but very superficially discussed by most other writers, though evidently rich in materials for novel illustration and unanswerable reasoning. Much that Dr. Macculloch has written upon this subject, as well as upon the *co-existence of ideas in the divine mind*, is characterized by originality, and great depth as well as comprehension of view. The comparison between the slow progress of human knowledge and the perfection of the Divine is

admirably presented in the following passage. It will be observed that our author restricts himself to a particular part of science. He chooses mathematics.

'It was after a long period of previous labour and of repeated syllogisms, that men discovered those well-known properties of a right-angled triangle, the credit of assigning which is given to Pythagoras. It required further labour to found that science of plane trigonometry, through which we now measure the distances of inaccessible objects, almost by the eye alone, by means of inferences which never fail. Yet the Omniscient, the Eternal Geometer, as he has been termed by Plato, had known this from all time; as He had, equally, for ever known those ratios of lengths on which man has founded the most useful rule of his arithmetic. Had this remained his boundary, he might have supposed that he had scanned all the mathematical knowledge of the Deity; but he still proceeded to labour and reason, and still his knowledge grew; while, ever growing, the continual discovery of new relations of quantity and number enables us more truly to estimate the Divine knowledge, in extending our own.

'Passing here much intermediate matter, yet still adhering to geometry, it was discovered through further labours, that the revolution of a right-angled triangle round either of its principal sides produced a solid, which, on being cut in various directions, yielded planes bounded by peculiar curves. It was a further task to discover that they could be classified, so as to give three great families, under which, although the members often differed widely to the eye, each was endowed with a peculiar set of common properties; and the end of man's triumph was to ascertain the definite natures of the ellipse, the parabola, and the hyperbola.

'Could we now conceive that this had not been done, it is difficult to imagine how we could have conjectured results, which, even now, in the case of the extreme ellipses at least, appear so improbable, that it requires demonstration to convince us of their truth: but the Omniscient had, from the beginning, been acquainted with all these properties, and more which we have not yet taken the trouble to search out. Of one of them also, He had always known what man did not discover for many centuries after the fundamental investigations; since He had made use of it in His own mechanisms. Yet when man had at length ascertained this fact, priding himself also on his ingenuity, is it not true that he more than once forgot that this was the mathematical knowledge of the Creator, that He had designed because He knew? If he found that such was the orbit of a planet, it was because the All-wise had for ever known that this was the expedient line to adopt; and if, out of all the possible forms of the ellipse, He chose but a few, peculiarly also disposing of those few, it was because He had eternally known, what man was far gone in his races before he could understand, even when he did know it, namely, that such nicety of choice and arrangement was essential to the preservation of His great mechanisms.

'Of the parabola, man found out at length, that if he could construct it by proportional lines, so was it the curve produced by com-

bining the motion of gravitation with that on any line between the perpendicular and the tangent to a point on the earth's surface. Still, it long remained a useless curve, notwithstanding its numerous properties; since, even in this remarkable one, there is no practical utility, as the science of projectiles knows. Thus might we have decided that it comprised none; ever forgetting what may lie hidden in the depths of Universal knowledge: nor are we perhaps cured of thus estimating that knowledge by our own ignorance, in finding that by its aid we can construct the only surface which will cause the parallel rays of light to converge to a point after reflection. May there not be far more in the parabola which we cannot conjecture or foresee? It was long before we discovered that the not highly dissimilar curve which passes into it by an imperceptible gradation, was empowered so to determine the lengths of straight lines, that certain ratios should be the constant equivalents of others. Yet we at length found in the hyperbola, that great engine for abbreviating labour, the logarithm, which the Omniscient had reserved for our use till He saw the fitting time for its disclosure: a disclosure to assist us in more rapidly approximating to some estimate of His knowledge, and of His proceedings in the geometrical arrangements of the Universe.

'These alone were immense discoveries: and long, long, was man in making them, slight as they may now appear to us who have but to open our eyes to them: but they are the smallest part of what we now know to be His knowledge, because we have since attained to know it ourselves. Therefore must we be sure that He possesses mathematical knowledge, of which we cannot even conjecture; because mathematicians at length perceive that their science is inexhaustible. He sees, as He has seen from all times, every possible relation of number and form and magnitude: there are millions still unknown to us; while, as we proceed to discover them, we shall attain that further conviction of His knowledge, for which at present we must substitute simple belief. That which is known is itself such, that there is perhaps not one among millions to be found, who can, by the most sedulous and continued exertion, bring it before his mind, even in slow succession, through the years of a long life: yet this, and far more, is known to the Omniscient, at every instant: ever before Him, as the simple circle, in its simplest property, stands displayed to the eye and mind of a mathematician. In that simple figure, the latter is yet unable to discover the ratio between two lines of an invariable relation: the Omniscient alone can assign its area.

'We begin to see still more deeply into the knowledge of the Deity, when, passing pure geometry, we examine into the relations between numbers and magnitudes: though it is a subject which cannot be generalized under common language, to the apprehensions of ordinary readers, while the mathematician versed in the higher calculus of algebra needs only be desired to reflect. It was a great discovery, that numbers and their relations could be substituted for magnitudes and the relations of magnitudes—that even for numbers, there could be substituted representatives—that thus the mind could learn to manage what the eye could not see, and that even a sort of metaphysical logic

might be employed, where the tangible boundary of geometry had been passed. But this also was in the knowledge of Omniscience, long before it was in our own: before all time, He knew all these relations and powers and properties; as, even yet, He probably knows of useful proceedings depending on those powers, superior to those towards which we so slowly approximated. What even does man do now, with this machinery of knowledge, after having found out and constructed it? He has ascertained that it is a machinery of sound logic—that if well constructed, and put into right action, it will tell him what he desires to know, if he will first tell it what he does know. Yet, of the long train of all this wheel-work of syllogism, he cannot bring the successive concatenations before his mind at one view, nor even in any succession. The working of the machine is a mystery to the very hand which arranged it and moves it. Yet who shall doubt that the Omniscient Mathematician sees every reason, every connexion, at every point and step, and that He sees also the whole train of action, through all the complicated relations of numbers and proportions, at one glance? even as he who is extracting knowledge through the differential algebra, would see it detailed in numeral figures, were it possible that his eye and mind could grasp such multitudinous sums in all their relations.'

He proceeds still further to illustrate and augment this proof of knowledge in the application of mathematics to the laws of motion, as they are found by astronomers to be in actual operation, throughout the whole celestial system; and then admirably retorts upon our mathematical astronomers, their present ignorance of the same laws in their application to motions which are not yet harmonized with the general system.

'Under every branch of dynamics, the discoveries of man have been late, as, in some, they are still extremely imperfect: while if this term may be somewhat extended, as, under its literal meaning, it may safely be, there is much of action in bodies, respecting the nature and source of which we do not possess the slightest knowledge: though under no want of great and successive labours applied to this subject. Our own day, however, has witnessed the solution of those delicate and difficult problems which concern the conduct of the celestial mechanism: disclosing a portion of the Divine knowledge in mathematics, so little suspected even by Newton, that he considered the frequent interference of the Creator necessary to correct the irregularities of the planetary motions: in this forgetting, that he was measuring the Supreme by a standard drawn from his own imperfections. Of that knowledge in Him, we are now convinced, because it has become our own: but we should repeat the same error, did we not believe that He was the possessor of a still more refined dynamical one, at present exceeding all our conceptions; since it is thus that the Eternal Mathematician must regulate that moving and concatenated universe of spheres in which our own system is an insensible point. Do the comets of that system interfere with the order of its planetary bodies;

or, if not doing this within the limits of our own observation, may not that happen at some future period? Mathematicians have been glad to escape from a problem which is too difficult to investigate: but the Creator could inform us of all those influences, did He so choose; as it is not improbable that He will communicate this knowledge at some future day, in the same manner as He ever informs us of that which He intends us to know: selecting among men that agent who is too apt to forget that he is no other than the commissioner of the Supreme, and that all his labours would otherwise have been vain. Our own day has explained the balancing of Saturn's ring; it is our knowledge, convincing us of His: but our ignorance ought to have drawn the same conclusion long before.'

These extracts will afford but an inadequate notion of the very complete and original view which the author has presented under this branch of his subject, of the perfect knowledge of the Deity, as that is discovered by the gradual accumulations of human science. He proceeds upon the principle that our discoveries in all departments are but an unveiling of that which has existed in all its perfection in the Deity, and existed in him always.

The completion of this argument is pursued in another chapter on the *co-existence of ideas in the divine mind.* The general conception is not original, for it has been often and ably argued, but rarely, if ever, with the same acuteness, comprehensiveness, and force of reasoning. We could gladly make large extracts, which would instruct and delight our readers, but must content ourselves with the following:—

'The forms of animal life amount to many hundred thousands; and the naturalist well knows, that although adding all his own study to the accumulated knowledge of those who have preceded him, he cannot distinguish the smallest portion of this number, even when before his eyes, so as to know in what they all differ, or even how any one differs from all the others. Could he do this, he would be that which he strives to become; though even then he would be little more than the naturalist nomenclator. But whether he has thought of it or not, he thus admits in the Creator a multiplicity of co-existent ideas which, even on so limited a portion of nature, he cannot discriminate when they are before him, while all his races have never yet succeeded in numbering them. He who planned these structures saw, as He appointed, at once every thing in which they should differ; and, if I may here use an admitted anthropomorphy, we must see that He could now produce, from His memory alone, a perfect model of every form in creation, to its minutest parts. But, for those, we must multiply by millions, that we may attain to some conception of the included ideas; since every part of each form consists of inferior ones, in a successively downward series; while the most minute of these constituted a distinct idea in the Creator's mind, before He produced its image.

'It becomes again necessary, therefore, to limit the range of inquiry, by selecting a division of the animal forms; or rather, to limit it a

third time, by taking nothing, in the birds, but the mere clothing, being, among other things, a contrivance of differences for the sake of distinction. Yet even this inferior department is unmanageable; so far beyond all computation is the number of separate ideas which enter into the constructions of the feathers throughout the whole, while every one must have been conceived under a separate idea for each of its minutest parts, before the general plan for all the distinctions could have been laid down: existing still in the Creator's mind, in the same manner. I must therefore select from even this selection, and, to take a single feather, will be to exhaust this analysis to its lowest term. To the superficial and unreflecting, the feather of the Argus pheasant is a painted feather, and no more; he forgets that it is a work of art, though the Creator's work; and that it was not put together without a distinct conception of every atom of its numerous parts, any more than a watch or a cotton-engine was constructed without a drawing for every axle and pivot and wheel and tooth. The artist who may attempt to imitate it in colours, will soon discover how many ideas are necessary to the execution; and far more would this be found out by him who should endeavour to fabricate a model of it. It seems to be trifling with common sense, to say, that if it had not been thus conceived, it could not have existed: but that common sense will not be offended, when it recollects that the superior sense of philosophy has denied this conclusion.

'The reader might equally turn to the former analysis of the feather of the peacock, including a multitude of ideas which no man would willingly undertake to number: while if he will examine the whole clothing of the animal, point by point, he may ask himself the question which I need not repeat; as he may, after this, attempt the larger sum which includes the whole feathered creation. This is to return from the point to which I have brought him; but it is to return upwards, through all the animal organizations, under all their lowest details, including their internal structures and actions with their external forms: while the constancy of the latter, and the precision of the former, will assure him that there was not the minutest circumstance which was not preconceived in the Creator's mind, could he still have any doubt on the subject. The steam-engine is repeated in successive ones, and its action is ever precise, for no other reasons than this, as in no other manner could it be what it is; and that which the less demanded, was assuredly required for the greater.

'The vegetable kingdom will afford an illustration under a somewhat different form: since I can here point out that comparison of simultaneous ideas, which the extent of the animal world did not so well admit. There is here a plan of some kind, though we cannot trace the whole, and it involves millions of ideas; as, without the previous possession of all the included ones, no plan can be designed. Imperfectly understood as it is, we can see that it consists in some system of continuous subdivision, till it descends to a single species, and that the associations and the distinctions are produced through the forms of almost innumerable parts, under similitude and dissonance. The botanist nomenclator knows well what difficulty he finds in perceiving all these

distinctions, among even a few species; as he knows the variety and multiplicity of minute circumstances on which they are founded; and he therefore will best estimate the mass of ideas contained in the whole. Differing in one thing, a single plant may differ from others in many; in flowers, and in slight variations of a flower; in leaves, and in their minute incisions and evanescent outlines, as in far more which I need not here note: while, when differing on one point, it may resemble other plants in many parts, and a few in nearly all: and thus under a much farther intricacy of relation than it is necessary that I should notice. Hence, independently of the endless forms, each comprising numerous ideas, we must attempt to conceive the comparisons and calculations implied in planning the combinations, through resemblance and dissimilitude, under which the arrangements of the vegetable world have been made; while in this, there is necessarily involved a previous joint view, or simultaneous perception of every included idea. Man, attempting similar things, must have recourse to mechanical arrangements as a substitute for that simultaneous conception which is not one of the allotted powers of his mind; while this becomes a tacit acknowledgment of the existence of that power in the Omniscient

'But under this mode also of viewing the co-existence of the Divine ideas, it is best to select a single example; and I may take the rose, as being one of those plants in which the distinctions of species are very delicate or difficult, while being once known they are recognized with certainty. This, in itself, marks that precision of ideas which nothing but the most entire knowledge could have possessed; while philosophy will acknowledge, that an arrangement of this nature could not have been made, unless, with that precision, every minute circumstance had been present at one view. In this flower, so marked as a genus that no one can mistake it, the variations, and combinations of parts which give individuality to the numerous species are often so minute and evanescent, that they escape all but an acute botanist; nor is even he always secure, unless he can bring these parts, or ideas, into comparison. That is, we cannot retain in our memories the simultaneous ideas of the Omniscient mind on a subject so narrow as this; since our senses, with our utmost attention, must be taxed to discern this infinitely minute atom out of all that was for ever known to the Creator as it was executed by Him: being, in this case, as in others, assured of the knowledge, and of the intention thus to produce individuality, because each species is repeated, through its seeds, for ever.

'Thus, what metaphysics infer, natural science proves; while if the cultivators of this have seldom raised their minds beyond it, to Him through whom it exists, so have metaphysicians overlooked or remained ignorant of that which might often have aided them with proofs of those prior conclusions in which they rest, and, for the most part, with little effect. It is truly said, of all the human sciences, that he who limits himself to one, will throw little light on it; nor is it less true, that scarcely one can be duly illustrated without the aid of all the rest.

'As the reader can now pursue for himself those trains of thought respecting the physical universe, I may turn to the moral one: that in this also he may see how he can reflect on the question before us. The

living and moving world of animals, being a sentient, is also a moral one, a world of mind; of thoughts, wishes, purposes, efforts, enjoyments, while also replete with inventions and adaptations, contrived for the due ordering of this great mass of will and power, under relations to existing objects; so that no desire should want its pursuit, nor any moral movement be without its means and its end.

'I stated a human case, as a basis for the former illustrations: I may here follow the same plan. To expedite an army across the seas, is a frequent occurrence; while the reader must reflect for himself on the enormous mass of knowledge, the thousands of distinct ideas, in morals and physics, which must have existed somewhere, before this could have been effected. Yet of all these, but few ever belonged to one man; as no man could have conceived the whole, in even the slowest succession of detail: it is the united toil of hundreds, as, in them, it is but recorded knowledge: not seen, but sought when required. Yet all this bears not the smallest proportion to the ideas alone which produced those materials and gave those powers; as these constitute but an infinitesimal among all those in the Omniscient mind on analogous subjects. The great army of animals which occupies the earth, must be housed, and clothed, and fed: its commissariat is perfection, though but a small portion of the total government; while the multiplicity of ideas implied in this alone surpasses all conception, when that army amounts to myriads which must be numbered by the sands of Africa, under hundreds of thousands of different kinds desiring different food.'

We cannot pretend to go through the whole work extracting after this fashion. There are in the three volumes some seventeen hundred pages, of which we can testify with confidence and with the highest respect for the memory of the accomplished author, that we have rarely seen such a mass of science and argument with so little to except against, and so much both to instruct and please. We have our objections to a few passages and a few sentiments, a sample of which we shall take the liberty of submitting to the reader's judgment before we close. But instead of passing directly to this irksome part of our duty, we may be allowed perhaps just to throw off in a few sentences, the general effect which has been produced, by the careful perusal of the whole work, upon our own minds.

We have risen from the task more powerfully impressed than ever, with the impossibility of thoroughly explaining any of the phenomena of the universe, either in their origination or their succession and dependence, without the recognition of an intelligent, an almighty, and an omniscient first cause. Atheism in any of its forms has been reduced here to an immeasurable and an interminable contradiction to the entire procedure, the multitudinous voice of the whole creation. It is demonstrated to be a boundless absurdity; the denial of a work more fully, *detailedly*, and universally proved to us than any other. Our reason may,

be confounded, baffled, by all its attempts to conceive the mode of the Divine existence, and so it ought to be, for it is a mystery in its own right; but it would be contradicted in all its perceptions, outraged in all its operations, by the denial of that existence. It is a difficulty perhaps to conceive in any sense, how he is, but an impossibility to prove that he is not. To deny the proof of his existence, because it is not made directly to the senses, is virtually a subversion of all reasoning, and a denial of our own consciousness, which becomes at once a direct contradiction. We find ourselves placed amidst a boundless variety of visible and sensible objects, organic and inorganic, animal and vegetable, earth, water, air, fire, the sea, the moon, the stars, the universe. What an amazing, innumerable multitude of distinct things and beings are comprised in these terms—not one of which can have given itself existence;—that were an absurdity; and not one of which can have been a sufficient cause to account for another being—yet all are in some way connected, harmonized into unity, and make a whole and observable law. We cannot tell their extent: we are perplexed and lost amidst their multiplicity, and spend our lives merely in endeavouring to distinguish and to arrange them. The vastness of some confounds us, the minuteness of others defies our vision with all its artificial aids. First we take a telescope and examine the objects in the far distance of space; still we cannot comprehend them all within the scope of our augmented vision. As we go on strengthening the power of sight, we only extend the boundary of our knowledge, without any hope of reaching the limits of creation. Then we take the microscope and examine the minute organization that is near to us. We perceive it to be beautifully harmonized in its parts, and endowed with sensation and life, perhaps with consciousness of pleasure and pain, with a will, and with appetites. We increase the power of the microscope, till, like the telescope, it makes visible to us forms of animal life totally imperceptible to unassisted vision. Still we find all to be beautifully and exquisitely constituted. Limbs and parts appear of various construction and use, and each separate animal or minute insect, perfectly complete and independent in itself. From these we may proceed upwards through countless myriads and all but infinite gradations. Science has not discovered nor classified the different species, which still exist in untold multitudes. All these exquisite works of Divine art enjoy but a temporary existence. They have their periods of birth, of growth, of enjoyment, and of decay. Some of these are longer, and some shorter. To each separate species is committed the power of producing its like, and of imparting that mysterious principle of its life to some other portion of prepared matter, which receives that principle, and, in its turn, again developes precisely the same organization endowed with the same functions of life,

sensation, and consciousness. As far as our perception can trace, the whole machinery is self-wrought. But reason pronounces this an impossibility. Again; we take a single grain of corn and place it where it may enjoy the sun-beams, the air and moisture; and, by what is called a natural process, in a few months, we find this single grain multiplied into a hundred or more, each one possessing the same qualities, the same powers of growth, and of self-multiplication, which were possessed by the original grain. This process may be repeated in an interminable series, under the given circumstances, and at the appointed seasons, without exhaustion or degeneration in the vital principle. This may be denominated *vegetable chemistry*, and the philosopher may impose upon himself, by deeming that he has accounted for it, by the use of such terms —but he has done absolutely nothing towards its explanation. He has but darkened counsel by words without knowledge—he has expressed the fact, not explained it. He can neither explain nor imitate it. It refuses to tell its secret to his philosophy. There is a mystery which he is unwilling to acknowledge, but which he is utterly unable to penetrate. He cannot even approximate one step towards the solution of the difficulty. But again, we take of the same grains of corn, we bruise them into powder, and make them into bread, and place this substance under the action of the process of digestion. It is converted presently into nourishment, or in other words, into human blood, from which is again produced flesh, and bone, and nerve, and skin. This the philosopher tells us is *animal chemistry*, and expects that we should be contented with his explanation, which again explains nothing, but literally obscures every thing. How immeasurably does this animal and vegetable chemistry transcend the scientific chemistry! Yet the philosopher would insinuate that they are alike. Every place, every object, is full of mysterious, inscrutable power. Out of the cold and frozen clods of winter wrought upon, as we say, by the genial breath of spring, proceed the sweet flowers and fresh verdure; which again advance to the full promise and cheering luxuriance of summer: and so on to the ripe fruits and rich maturity of autumn; when, what we again call the powers of *nature*, terms, however, without meaning, or with a questionable one, seem to retire for rest or security, against the approach of winter. All is in a state of perpetual change. There is nothing stationary. Every thing is found under a process either of growth or decay; some are just commencing this inexplicable process; others are blooming, others are fading. That which appears now full of strength and life will soon droop and wither; and that which is fading will ere long dissolve, and restore back to the earth and the air, its component parts, which will again re-appear in some other form. The matter will be taken up again and appropriated to the respective uses of the vegetable and animal organ-

ization, which it will in fact become, and, in becoming, serve to sustain and mature the particular life by which it has been appropriated. Now in all this there is observable, besides the actual power working and directing all in all, a certain fixed point to which the process shall, in each case, be conducted, and which being attained, the whole mechanism or organization stays its onward progress, as if conscious of an irresistible authority that said, 'stop.' There is such an authority in every case; it is clearly an authority of will—of will in each, or a will universal and absolute over all. It determines the times and the seasons, and imparts efficiency to every process. It has previously fixed the pattern and the idea to which every separate production, animal or vegetable, shall be conformed; otherwise there could be no order, no certainty, no perfection in the execution of the work. Now what is this determining will, this infinitely diversified power of action? Philosophy again says, this is *nature*,—or, the *laws of nature* effect all this:—and again we reply, this, if it does not mean GOD, is language utterly without meaning. It is but resolving the effect into itself.—It is logically to say, the effect is the cause of the effect, which in reasoning is absurd. Philosophy deceives itself grossly, by the abstraction involved in the terms, *nature* and *laws of nature*. They are words that convey no idea, when used to explain the cause of any object or operation, unless, as we said before, they really are synonymes for the Divine Being —and to that import they must be traced back, or they mean nothing. It is God—God alone that does what is too commonly, by the language of philosophy, ascribed to nature and her laws. Philosophers may be confidently challenged to assign any other cause. They but deceive themselves and mock their disciples by attempting to assign any other. They have never detected—they know that they cannot detect, any cause adequate to explain the phenomena of animal and vegetable life, or as they now choose to designate it, the animal and vegetable chemistry, but the Almighty power and wisdom of an intelligent first cause.—But we cannot proceed with the general subject.

We feel it now to be a duty before we dismiss this highly important and interesting work, to state our objections to a few matters, some of them certainly of deep interest, but none of them affecting the general chain of the argument. We object to the introduction of the modern Geological theories into a work of this nature, as a basis for any theological argument—for the unanswerable reason, as we deem it—that none of these theories can be yet set down as matters of certainty. They are incessantly fluctuating, and are still in the form of hypothesis, which cannot be said to be proved. Dr. Macculloch has *his* theory, and other speculators have *theirs;* but this very disagreement as to facts

and first principles, assures us that no theory can yet lay claim to a place in pure science. Dr. Macculloch maintains the theory of an *igneous* origin of the earth and the primitive rocks, but even this cannot be said to be proved: it is conjectured, deemed highly probable, by a large class of geologists; but there are others who, on ground, as they think, still stronger, assign an *aqueous* origin to the same things. While this is the case, geology should be accounted no safe ground for an argument on natural theology. It is a quicksand for a foundation. Yet we find a chapter on *the creation and progressive changes of the earth*, in which the whole of the hypothesis of Dr. M.'s other work on geology is introduced. Undecided speculations ought to have been all discarded in an argument for the being and attributes of God, and nothing assumed as matter of science or matter of fact, but which is universally admitted to be such. At p. 12. vol. i., we meet with some objectionable sentiments on the religious education of children. He states, that 'we seldom produce the effect we desire, by in-'forming them of the goodness of God in redemption: it is beyond 'their capacity; we can do little more than give them a rote of 'words. God is not understood by them in his simplest attri-'butes, and how should he be comprehended in the more abstruse 'ones:' with a whole page in the same strain. It is altogether a mistake. The well-known anecdote of the Moravian Missionaries among the Greenlanders—who began with natural theology—that is with Mr. M.'s plan, and then proposed to proceed to revealed religion and redemption; and did nothing in the illumination of the heathen through many years; but afterwards did much by reversing the method, refutes the reasoning, or rather, the opinion of our author. Every Christian parent's experience in the education of his children will refute it. But we need not enlarge. It is an exploded opinion. In the same chapter on the *utility of natural religion*, there are various passages of doubtful orthodoxy. He speaks in p. 19, 'of adopting natural religion, on account of 'uses not so readily or fully derivable from that knowledge which 'has been revealed, &c.' It would be difficult to show what uses those are which are better attainable by natural than by revealed religion. We believe that natural religion, if reposed in for these uses, will be found utterly inefficient. It never yet taught its disciples any safe way of morality or salvation. Dr. Macculloch, in his fond endeavour to prove its utility, has been betrayed into an extravagance of eulogy, neither consistent with facts in human history, nor with his own professed submission to the dictates of revealed truth. At p. 41, there is a misquotation of Scripture which essentially alters the sense of the passage. It is Matt. xi. 27, and Luke x. 22. Dr. M. quotes it thus—'No man knoweth 'the Father but the Son, and he to whom the *Father* will reveal

'him:' it should be 'to whom the *Son* will reveal him.' There is in our view, a very serious theological error in the following passage:—

'Now under this condition of things, (man's fallen estate) it would not have been consistent with the goodness of God, had he not provided some remedy for this defect: and thence is inferred the probability of pardon for disobedience. And I think that natural religion may also infer the conditions, as far as they are natural and reasonable ones, on which this pardon would be granted.'—p. 36, vol. I.

The best way of testing this statement is to ask, did natural religion ever do so? Assuredly not. Redemption was a mystery hidden in the divine mind. The fact seems to us to be this,—reason when enlightened, as Dr. M.'s evidently was, by revelation, pronounces upon the consistency of the conditions attached to redemption: but this comes to be mistaken for a real anticipation of those conditions by natural theology. We question also the truth of the first half of the above statement; because it really reaches further than it seems to do, and makes the redemption of man a matter of justice and not of grace. If the passage means any thing, it intends, that God was obliged to provide a remedy for man's fall. This is at least not the philosophy of the New Testament; and there we must leave it. We feel no inclination to pursue our strictures. But we deem it proper to admonish those who may peruse the Doctor's work, not to stumble at these and a few other similar errors in the introductory chapter—for to that they are mostly confined. He will find little in the subsequent parts, or in the main body of the work to startle him, but much throughout to instruct and delight. The analysis of the peacock's tail given at p. 81, vol. I., is altogether one of the most beautiful and interesting pieces of natural theology we ever read. We have not room to extract it. We sincerely hope every reader who can gain a sight of the work will do so without loss of time. In spite of some defects of style, which will occasionally produce embarrassment, and here and there a little obscurity in the reasoning, from aiming perhaps at too much condensation, we admonish the student to proceed resolutely to the end. He may be startled and offended in the commencement, but he cannot fail to congratulate himself, when he has accomplished his task. He will probably find it long before he takes in hand such another book; and we had almost said, he will scarcely feel it necessary to peruse another on the same subject.

Art. IV. *The West Indies in* 1837: *being the Journal of a Visit to Antigua, Montserrat, Dominica, St. Lucia, Barbadoes, and Jamaica; undertaken for the purpose of ascertaining the actual condition of the Negro population of those Islands* By JOSEPH STURGE and THOMAS HARVEY. 12mo. London: Hamilton and Co.

2. *Official Responsibility, Affirmed and Enforced: in a Letter to Sir George Grey, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, on the Administration of the Act for the Abolition of British Colonial Slavery.* By JOHN BIRT. 8vo. pp. 16. London: Hatchard & Son.

WE lose no time in commending the volume just issued by Messrs. Sturge and Harvey to the early and attentive perusal of our readers. It is one of the most important and interesting publications of modern times, and cannot fail to make a deep impression on the public mind. Few of the readers of the Eclectic need to be informed that in the latter part of the year 1836, four gentlemen embarked for the West Indies, with a view of ascertaining, by personal observation, the state of the apprenticed labourers, and the character and value of the change wrought in their condition by the Abolition Act of 1833. Their mission was highly praiseworthy and philanthropic, and the mode in which it was executed was eminently calculated to insure success. The undertaking was entirely independent of any Anti-Slavery Society. It was a movement dictated by the purest benevolence, and carried out with a wisdom and fore-thought which no difficulties could baffle or discourage. It is well-known that for some time after the Abolition Act came into operation, the most contradictory reports reached this country. The Colonial press represented the Coloured population as idle, dissolute, dissatisfied and insubordinate; while their agents at home, interested in the circulation of such reports, gave them all the currency in their power. The planters were represented as labouring to carry out in a fair and honest spirit the design of the Imperial Act. Foregoing their prejudices—relinquishing their hostility—they were described as actuated by the kindest feelings,—as determined to do their best to prepare the degraded slave for the privileges and duties of freemen. Such was the language adopted by the emissaries of the Colonists, and for a time the British public were deluded by it. The deception was aided by the good order and quietness of the negroes. There was no outbreak, no violence, no loud complaining. The enslaved bondsmen exulted for a season in the supposed attainment of liberty. The first of August,—the glorious first of August, as it was deemed by a credulous and confiding people—was spent in thanksgiving and prayer. Ten thousand blessings were poured forth on the British nation by the grateful children of Africa, who imagined, in

the joyousness of the moment, that the glad day of Jubilee had arrived. But there soon came a re-action, though a considerable period elapsed before its existence was known in England. The truth however gradually crept out. It was proclaimed in Colonial laws, in the speeches of Governors, in the discussions of Assemblies, in the perversion of justice, and the persecution of upright Magistrates. The faint murmur wafted across the Atlantic, sounded louder and louder, until it won a nation's ear, and stung with bitter disappointment every friend of humanity and truth. The government was compelled to assent to inquiry, and a Committee of the Lower House was consequently appointed. But the hopes of redress from this quarter were speedily extinguished. It was soon apparent that the Colonial Office was averse from inquiry, and that all its influence would be employed in shielding from British justice the obliquities of the planters. A *Report* was therefore presented which glossed over the legal chicanery of Colonial legislation, and palliated the ten thousand enormities perpetrated by its administrators. The apprenticeship system was represented as working well, both for the negro and the planter, and all change was deprecated. We need not longer dwell on the character of this report, having freely done so, and at some length, at the time of its appearance.* We will only remark that it was a piece of special pleading, got up to serve the purpose of the planters, in contravention of negro rights, and of the avowed object of the Abolition Act.

This state of things led to a resolution on the part of Mr. Joseph Sturge,—long known as one of the most uncompromising advocates of negro freedom—to visit the slave colonies on a tour of observation, in order that he might personally ascertain and report the actual condition of the colored peasantry. Three other gentlemen accompanied him, and the volume before us is one of the fruits of their mission. We should do injustice to our feelings if we did not express our unqualified admiration of the spirit which conceived and executed the project. Originating in the purest motives it was conducted with inimitable discretion, and its results are detailed with a temper and moderation which must command the approval of every candid mind in the Colonies. There is nothing of exaggeration in the account which is rendered. The facts elicited are detailed in simple language, and every allowance which candour can suggest is made for the parties criminated. Most readers will probably be surprised at the unimpassioned character of the narrative. Facts are left to make their

* Eclectic Review, New Series, Vol. I. pp. 356—375.

own impression, while the views of the relators are stated in a clear and manly style.*

The miscellaneous character of the volume must prevent our attempting to give any digest of its contents. We can only supply some extracts from its pages, and we shall be surprised if our readers are not induced eagerly to inquire after the volume itself.

Such of our readers as have perused the narrative of James Williams, which we recently noticed† will remember the horrifying description which he gives of the workhouse discipline and of the treadmill especially. Considerable incredulity respecting his narrative has been expressed by persons unfriendly to the further agitation of the abolition question. But its accuracy is fully established by the report of our travellers, and the facts of the case go far to prove the facility with which Colonial legislation can evade and render nugatory the most benignant provisions of British laws. Let the following suffice as examples. Mr. Scoble visited the jail of Barbadoes, and his account of what he saw is thus given:

'We returned back to the treadmill. The women were then on; such a sight I never saw before; they were dressed in coarse dowlas, descending from the hips like trowsers, below the knees, and upwards to the bosom, leaving the neck exposed, fitting close round the body. The arms from below the shoulders bare, the legs bare also. The heads shaved quite close, with a handkerchief tied round them. They were up for ten minutes, and had been up during the morning four times before, and were to be put up twice after we left. No difference whatever was made between them as to the amount of their punishment. When we arrived, they had been up about three minutes, and the brutal driver was flogging them with the cat with as much severity as he had previously flogged the men; he cut them wherever he listed, and as often as he pleased. We were dreadfully shocked, but determined to witness the whole proceeding. On the mill there was a mulatto woman, perhaps about thirty, dreadfully exhausted—indeed she could not step any more, although she had been on only a few minutes. The driver flogged her repeatedly, and she as often made the attempt to tread the mill, but nature was worn out. She was literally suspended by the bend of the elbow of one arm, a negro holding down the

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* The attacks made on Mr. Sturge by some professedly religious publications, are too contemptible to receive more than a passing notice. *The Church of England Gazette* has especially distinguished itself by its intemperate and absurd abuse. The *Record* has also acted worthy of itself. It would be an insult to Mr. Sturge to attempt to reply to such opponents; and we therefore content ourselves with pointing the finger of scorn at these articles. The Established Church has cause to tremble when its most zealous organs delight in libelling the character, and in distorting the motives of such a man.

† New Series, Vol. II. p. 86.

wrist at the top of the mill, for some minutes; and her poor legs knocking against the revolving steps of the mill until her blood marked them. There she hung groaning, and anon receiving a cut from the driver, to which she appeared almost indifferent. When the ten minutes were up, the negro above released her arm, and she fell on the floor utterly unable to support herself, and at last managed to stagger out of the place. Her sufferings must have been terrible. But she was not the only one who suffered. A black girl, apparently about eighteen, was equally exhausted. When we arrived, she was moaning piteously. Her moans were answered by the cut of the whip. She endeavoured again and again to tread the mill, but was utterly unable. She had lost all power, and hung, in the same helpless way with the mulatto woman, suspended by the left arm, held on by the wrist by a negro above. The bend of the arm passed over the rail, and the wrist was held down tightly, so that she could not alter her position, or get the least ease by moving. It was most affecting to hear her appeals to the driver, 'Sweet massa, do pity me—do sweet massa, pity me—my arm is broke.' Her entreaties to be relieved were answered by cuts from the whip, and threats that did she not cease to make a noise, he would have her down and flog her. The fear that he would carry this threat into execution led her to suppress her feelings as well as she could. I then engaged the attention of the driver in a conversation, and managed to place him towards me in such a position that he could not see the mill, and by a multitude of questions, occupied about two minutes of the time until the glass had run down; thus saving the poor creature any more flogging. When let go, she sunk on the ground exhausted, but managed shortly after to crawl away from the scene of her suffering. Dr. Lloyd and I went shortly after to that part of the mill where the women are kept; the whole of them were in a state of profuse perspiration, and scarcely able to speak. We examined the legs of the mulatto woman, and found them shockingly bruised, the skin in one part about the size of a dollar torn away. The poor black girl had lost the skin off the bend of her arm, and was suffering dreadfully from the cramp. In reference to the latter female, I observed the driver cut her across the naked ankles, leaving the mark of his cat visible. I spoke a few kind words, which greatly affected them. Thus then, it appears, that in Barbadoes women committed to the treadmill are catted *ad libitum*—the driver's feelings alone being the rule which governs him in the use of his scourge. During the whole time these scenes were transacting, the Barbadoes Legislature were holding their Sessions within thirty yards of the treadmill.'—pp. 6—8.

It appears from the subsequent narrative of Messrs. Sturge and Harvey, that the horrors of this prison-house have been somewhat mitigated:

'On comparing our observations at the jail with those of our friend J. Scoble, when he visited it six weeks ago, it appears that some of the more glaring abuses have already been corrected by the new Governor. J. Scoble observes, that during the whole time the scenes he witnessed were transacting, 'the Barbadoes Legislature were holding their ses-

sions within thirty yards of the treadmill." We incidentally learned, that Sir Evan Mac Gregor first became acquainted with the manner in which the treadmill was worked, by observing it from the windows of the Council Chamber. It is impossible to avoid the presumption, that under the circumstances, Sir Lionel Smith must often have witnessed the sufferings, or heard the cries of the unfortunate victims of torture; yet under his administration these things were permitted to continue."* —p. 139.

Similar atrocities are practised in the other Islands. The following account of the treadmill at St. Ann's, Jamaica, needs no comment.

'In the course of the morning we paid a visit to the workhouse and jail, which are contiguous premises, separated only by a party-wall. We were shown over them, in the supervisor's absence, by his deputy. In the jail there were three prisoners in chains, and with their feet in shackles, waiting their trial. We were told they had attempted to escape; the wall was sufficiently high, but it appeared the door was liable to be left open, so that they are compelled thus to suffer because the turnkey is careless. In the workhouse there were two prisoners in the solitary cells. One was a female apprentice, sentenced to that punishment and to the treadmill twice a day, for *deficiency of work*. She was evidently ill, and had been so, we were informed, from the time of her coming in, so that the second part of the sentence could not be carried into effect. In the women's sleeping-room was a woman suffering from an injury sustained on the treadmill. She was in chains. A boy in the men's ward was ill from the same cause. The deputy told us that an old woman, now at work with the penal gang, had this morning sustained similar injury from the mill. There are about seventy prisoners in the jail and workhouse, for whom the sleeping accommodation is very insufficient. A large number of them are life convicts, principally "incorrigible runaways" from slavery. The treadmill at this workhouse is a cylinder about eight feet in diameter, with broad steps. The handrail above it has eight pair of straps fastened to it, with which the wrists of the prisoners are always secured. The board under the rail descends perpendicularly, and not in a sloping direction, towards the mill, and does not, therefore afford them the slightest protection when they lose the step and hang by the wrists. In that case the sharp steps of the mill, which project twelve or fifteen inches from the cylinder, must revolve against the bodies and legs of the prisoners with torturing effect. Such are the faults in the construction of the mill, and the results are such as may have been anticipated. Every step is stained with blood both recent and old; the former being that of the poor old woman whom the deputy mentioned to us. It had been shed so profusely, that even the sand on the floor was

* Sir Lionel Smith has subsequently been advanced to the Governorship of Jamaica, and one of his earliest acts was to suspend Dr. Palmer, one of the most upright magistrates in the island.

thickly sprinkled with it. We asked him whether the prisoners on the treadwheel were flogged. He replied that it was necessary "to touch them up"—*women* as well as men. The latter, he said, were struck on the back, but the women on their feet. The whip, which we asked to see, is a cat composed of nine lashes of knotted small cords. The driver of the penal gang, superintendant of the treadmill, and other similar officers, in this, as well as in the other workhouses, are taken out of the gang of life convicts. It is fearful to contemplate the abuses committed by these petty tyrants, who, being already sentenced to imprisonment for life, are thus almost irresponsible, and beyond the reach of the law.

'In a subsequent part of the day, while we were in the town, conversing with several persons, the Special Magistrate of the district passed by in his gig. He was quite intoxicated, and was being driven by the bookkeeper of a neighbouring estate, to which they appeared to be going to *administer* the Act for the *abolition* of slavery. This man's conduct and character are publicly and disgracefully notorious.'

—pp. 203—205.

Mr. Sturge and his companion repaired to the same scene of torture on the following day, and the spectacle exhibited is thus described:

'We went this morning to see the treadmill at six o'clock, at which time the prisoners sentenced to this punishment, are put upon it previously to their being sent to the penal gang. Two mixed gangs of men and women were put upon it during our stay; the latter had no suitable dress, and were, therefore, liable to be indecently exposed. The lever, by which the speed of the wheel is regulated, was held the whole time by the driver, who sometimes relaxed his hold for a few seconds, which made it revolve with such rapidity, as to throw all the prisoners off. It is thus evident that the punishment may be increased beyond endurance at his caprice. Nearly all the prisoners were dreadfully exhausted at the end of fifteen minutes. One of the prisoners told us he was sent because a *cattle* (a steer) died under his charge. We observed this morning, that not only was the floor sprinkled, and the steps stained, but the very drum of the mill was spotted with blood. If the prisoners cannot keep step, they are suffered to hang, battered by the wheel, till the time expires. The old woman mentioned to us yesterday, hung the whole time, as she could not keep step from the commencement. She was so much injured, that she could not be put on the mill this morning; but that did not prevent her being sent to work in the penal gang in chains, and an iron collar.'

Such are the enormities daily and hourly practised throughout the slave colonies. They are perpetrated in the light of open day, without any attempt at concealment or disguise. They are sanctioned by colonial laws,—are in harmony with colonial feeling, and are rarely interrupted by the representatives of British majesty; and yet we were told by Lord Stanley on bringing in

the Bill misnamed the Abolition Act, that the negro should 'enjoy every right and every privilege of a free man, subject to 'this restriction, and *this restriction only*, that he shall, for a 'certain time, remain under contract to labour industriously in 'the service of his present owner, but his then employer.' Is it any wonder that such a system is denounced from one end of the empire to the other;—that the British people refuse to receive it as a performance of the contract into which they entered with the colonists, and for which they paid so dearly? If there is sincerity in human dealing—if the protestations of philanthropy—the vows of Christian faith can be relied on, then the nation must repudiate with indignant scorn, the cheat which has been practised on them. 'Enable us,' says Mr. Birt, in his able and caustic address to Sir George Grey, 'to contradict those who 'say to us, that instead of enforcing the law, 'that females shall 'not be flogged,'—instead of removing from the negroes 'every 'taint of their servile condition,'—instead of 'freeing them from 'the atrocious system of irresponsible corporal punishment,' you 'have suffered them to be made the victims of a newly-invented 'workhouse system, which puts them out of the pale of the law; 'and that you have allowed the workhouse itself to be turned 'into a place of torture, where females as well as males writhe 'under uncounted and merciless whippings, and dye the tread-'mill with their blood. You ought to render it impossible for 'those to obtain a moment's belief who say, that you have given 'occasion to the negroes to deplore a deception, which offered 'freedom to their imagination, but denied it to their enjoyment, 'and flung them back, under another name, to their old tor-'mentors, who clutched them then, and grasp them now, 'in a paroxysm of cruelty and rage.' page 8. We deeply deplore the fact that her Majesty's Government have placed themselves in a position which renders it impossible to defend them from the charges implied in this passage. The negligence or more criminal treachery of the colonial office has defeated the design of a philanthropic nation, and inflicted on the most hapless race on the face of the globe new and untold miseries. But to proceed with our extracts.

The case of Cyrus Wallace strikingly illustrates the frauds practised on the negroes, and the little benefit they derive from the benevolent intentions of owners resident in Britain. Many of our countrymen have been deluded into a belief of the good treatment of the apprentices, from a knowledge of the humane and liberal character of some West India proprietors. The instructions sent out are supposed to be faithfully acted on, and the report of ill-treatment and excessive labour is in consequence believed to be unfounded. Let such persons read the following statement, and bear in mind that it is but a specimen of a class.

'In the course of the day, we saw a negro from Glasgow estate, the property of R. Wallace, M.P., for Greenock, whose affecting narration is inserted here as a further illustration of the present state of negro slavery in Jamaica. We are quite willing to believe that the proprietor of this estate has been kept in ignorance of the treatment of his negroes; and it is not without great regret, that we bring these facts under his notice, and that of the public in the present manner; but we are strongly impressed with the conviction, that there are no estates more oppressively and even cruelly managed, than those of many liberal, humane, and even religious proprietors resident in England.

'Statement of Cyrus Wallace, an apprentice, from Glasgow estate: 'The old living before was better than now. If we come to the Bay, (Savanna-la-Mar,) to make a complaint, we are punished for it when the magistrate come upon the estate. We are obliged to work on our Fridays and Saturdays. The magistrate threaten we and make we consent; he say, 'if any person deny working on Saturday, bring them down to the Bay, and I shall cat them.' About four weeks ago, on a Friday, shellblow, the busha, (overseer,) ordered the gang to work the next day, (Saturday.) I say, I can't work, because I have a pain in my back, and want to take a dose of salts, as it is my own day. The constable said, if I would not make the fire, (throughout the day at the boiling-house,) he would lock me up. I asked him to take me to the busha, who said I should be locked up, and to-morrow be taken down to the Bay to be catted. I was locked up that night, (Friday,) in my wet clothes, and all the next day without food or water; and when I was let out, it was so late I could not go to my own house, but was obliged to lie down on the floor of the hospital: I was not brought before the magistrate. The constable, (driver,) lock you up when him like; the book-keeper lock you up when him like; when the busha come, they tell him, and he fasten you in the dark hole better. When the magistrate come on the property, they bring you before him, and he know all about you before you come. If you offer to speak for yourself, he hold his finger and say, 'not a word.' Mr. Wallace property, worse than any property in the parish; every property better than we. If any person was to say—hem, in the field, the constable take and lock you up; and if the magistrate don't send you to dance the tread-mill, he send you to be cat, (flogged.) There are four men put down to get cat. We don't know what we do. Busha, where I working, he come there, and why the reason make him sure he get me cat; I work three Saturdays, and no pay and no day. I went up to him, and tell him I want a day. He says, devil a day you get, I said, I must have a day, I lose too much day; you take away three day from me, and this is four. He says, you were at the boiling-house, stealing sugar. I says, me Sir; I would not do that, because I know the property that I live upon, and would not make fool of myself. When he tell me he won't give me the day, I go away and take one day. He would not pay me, and I was in need. He told me, you went and took day yesterday; I said, yes Sir. He said, now you may be sure, so help me God, that you'll get cat. The magistrate has not yet been on the property; but when-

ever he does come, the day he comes, I get it; he does whatever busha tell him. They give more flogging now than when we were slave. Before, when they had the power of we, they overlook little thing; not now. After crop we are continually obliged to watch (at night, by turn,) and get no pay. Only those that watch get their six herrings every Monday; and those that won't watch get nothing. We don't get any pay for our half Friday. The busha makes us work on Saturday when he likes by taking us before the magistrate. Sometimes we get every other Saturday. When we have worked out four or five Saturdays according to the magistrate's order, he send for the magistrate again, and say, we don't turn out soon, though we turn out at day-light. Since the law came in we have had only about half our Saturdays. We turn out to work at day-light, and are allowed half an hour for breakfast; they promise we an hour and a-half for dinner; when plenty of gentlemen come upon the property we get an hour-and-a-half; but when nobody come, the shell-blow again, before we can well catch a we house (i. e. the signal is heard for their return to the field almost before they have had time to reach their houses, much less to dispatch their dinners.) We looking to all our neighbours and they not so. We never draw off till dark; all will not satisfy. Massa think, perhaps, I tell him lie; but take me off the property and bring the magistrate, the overseer, the book-keeper, and the constable, and I would beg massa the favour to put the Bible before me, (put me on my oath). In crop we set to work on Monday, and put the mill about at four o'clock. I am employed one time making fire, and another time in the boiling-house. They expect we to boil twelve coppers and twelve skips of liquor. The mill-house people (feeders of the mill, and carriers of cane and greentrash,) work one whole day; and if they are not able to finish they work all night. If they get done once before night, when they have good canes, they are not able to do it again for two or three weeks when they have dry canes. Next day they go into the field, and another fresh spell work the same. The mill-house people will generally finish by the middle of the Saturday night; but, we in the boiling-house, are employed till day-light on Sunday morning. Not long ago, the mill was about till after mid-day on Sunday. The boiling-house people work all night long; *sometimes they are in the boiling-house from Monday morning till Sunday morning.* When the mill-house stop (for a few minutes,) from sending liquor, you get a little sleep, then when it send down more liquor you budge again. The mule boys, like the boiling-house people, get no sleep. This is a thing we never were used to do. They put too much upon we. We get nothing for our nights. We get a maccaroni, (one and eightpence,) for the extra time the first four days; tenpence for our half Friday, and half dollar for Saturday. If we don't able to make the twelve copper, we get three bitts for Saturday, (one shilling and tenpence halfpenny). When we meet good cane we make it, (the twelve coppers;) but when we meet dry cane, we don't make it, and yet they require it from we. Every little they pay we, obliged to go for our belly. We have no grounds but a bit of garden about our house, and to this there is no fence; the cattle get into it night

and day. No gentleman so much fine woodland as massa; but we no time to work it. We were obliged to throw up our old grounds, because the neighbours' cattle trespassed in it. It is now common pasture. Before the first of August we had a fence to our old grounds; but since, we have had no time to put it up again. We used to have a watchman for our grounds, but now we have none. We heard magistrate say, if we won't watch cattle-pen, the watchman should be taken from our ground; but, if we would consent to watch the cattle, we should have a watchman for our ground; but busha take away our watchman, and we continue to watch the cattle. Sunday we used to attend church; but now when we have nothing to eat, no Friday nor Saturday, what time else for to cook victual. We have no time to go to church. On Sunday we take we hoe, and pick about a little, for we to eat through the week. We have nobody to lean upon, and so we do every thing busha tell us on purpose to see if we can get living with him, but he get worse and worse every day. We get our salt, (herrings,) very seldom; now we get none. We are worse off than before the first of August. We are all broken heart; getting old before our time. If we go into the hospital we wish never to come out again. From morning day-light they swear and curse upon we till shell blow. If the parson, (one of the Scottish missionaries,) were not there to tell us good word, we should lie down like cattle in the pasture. Last week four people have been put in the dark room every night without magistrate's order. Men and women are put together in one dark room. One young girl was put in for three nights because when the book-keeper cursed her sister, she asked him 'what for curse her sister?' The hot-house is an ugly dirty place. When the Hanover magistrate, Mr. Odelle came, he quarrel much about it, and said it was a hog place. Massa, this is not all; it is more than what I can tell, I am obliged to forget.'—pp. 252—257.

We can make room on this part of the subject but for one more extract, to which we call the especial attention of our readers. When instances of illegality and cruel treatment are pointed out by the friends of the negro, it is usually replied, that they are indicative only of the character of individuals, and must not, therefore, be made the ground of general charges against the Colonists. The force of this plea is easily met by the fact that, while individuals are the perpetrators, their crimes are sanctioned, and their impunity secured by the prevalent feeling of the community. The following will suffice as an illustration:

'Before concluding our journal, it may not be improper to mention an official investigation, that took place during our stay in the colony, and which affords some important illustrations of the condition of the negroes. On the 18th of February, an apprentice named Joe Dawkins, from Spencer's Pen, in St. Catherine's parish, came to Spanish Town, to complain to Special Justice Ramsay; that he was threatened with punishment, by James Dundass, the overseer of Molynes, an

estate in St. Andrews, belonging to Anthony Davis, residing in England, who is also the proprietor of Spencer's Pen. On the 13th instant, he, (Dawkins) was employed in taking lime to Molynes, with a mule and cart, when the axletree broke and he was obliged to put up the cart on an estate by the way. He went on and reported the accident to Dundass, who behaved with such violence towards him, that he ran off to Spanish Town for protection. In order to explain his fears, he stated that, the said Dundass was in the habit of maltreating the apprentices on Molynes; that some of them wore rivetted iron collars; that Dundass put others in the stocks and chained them by the neck to a post in the hot house; that he beat them with his supplejack, and that a fortnight ago he had caused one of the apprentices to be laid down by two of the negroes, while a third gave him a severe flogging. On the same day an apprentice from Molynes, named James Wine, came to Spanish Town to complain to the Governor, and was referred to the same Special Justice. He complained that he had been turned out of the hospital, and compelled to work during severe sickness. He confirmed the statement of the preceding witness, with the addition, that the use of rivetted iron collars on the estate, was sanctioned by Lloyd, the former Special Justice of the district who was afterwards removed to another part of the island, and by his successor, Captain Brownson, who was at this date, in charge of the district as Special Magistrate. These depositions were reported to the Governor, who ordered Special Justices, Kent and Moresby, to proceed to Molynes estate, and inquire into the facts and into the penal discipline in use on the estate. The following is an abstract of some of the affidavits of the apprentices.

'John Cuniso, 'a miserable object with diseased feet,' states, that he had an iron collar put on his neck by order of Special Justice Lloyd some time after August, 1834, and does not remember when it was taken off. In the time of that magistrate, he was frequently put in the stocks by Dundass, during his half Friday.

'Elsey Lewis deposes, that she was compelled to wear an iron collar nearly a year and a half, and that Lloyd saw Dundass screw it on.

'William Lake deposes, that four weeks ago, he received thirty-nine lashes by order of Captain Brownson, who also ordered that the blacksmith should rivet an iron collar on his neck, which he has worn ever since, and worked in the field. Before he was brought before the Special Justice, he was kept five days and nights in the hot-house, handcuffed and in the stocks, and was chained to a post one of those nights. He did not hear Dundass tell the magistrate that he confined him, and he, (Lake) made no complaint to the magistrate himself. In reference also to William Lake's case, there is the following entry in the complaint-book of Molynes' estate:—'January 9th, 1837. Wm. Lake charged with being a runaway, *to receive thirty-nine stripes*, and to *pay back eighty days*, that he has been absent, and to *wear a rivetted iron collar for six weeks*. Signed W. H. Brownson.'

'Susan Porter deposes, that since Christmas she was confined in the dark room from one o'clock on Wednesday, until ten o'clock on the following Friday, (two days and nights,) during which time, she had

no food of any sort. She told Captain Brownson, but he took no notice of her complaint. She was locked up once before, but did not complain to the magistrate. About ten months after the 1st of August, 1834, she was severely flogged by Mr. Dundass, but did not complain to the magistrate. She did complain twice to Captain Brownson about two months ago, that she had *no allowance of food and no days.* He said he would see to it, but he did not, and *she has nothing to live upon but what her children give her.*

'Alexander Notice, states, that about four weeks ago Dundass caused two of the other apprentices to lay hold of him, while a third *flogged him* severely on the bare back with a cat. He was not tried by the Special Magistrate, and did not go to complain. The same day Dundass had *previously severely beaten* him over the head and neck with a horse-whip.

'Richard Dawkins deposes, that he was flogged by Dundass, and did not go to complain, but ran away; for which, when taken, he was locked up in the dark room two days before Christmas. *He was chained to a post and handcuffed, the chain ran through the handcuff.*

'Edward Dawkins deposes, that he has seen William Lake and Richard Dawkins in the stocks, with iron collars round their necks, and a chain passed through the collars and fastened to a post, and knows that Susan Porter was locked up for several days. They have never gone to the magistrate, *they knew they would get no right.* Never saw Dundass strike any *but the little children.* The apprentices are often locked up at night, and let out in the morning, without ever being brought before a Special Magistrate.

'William Naar states, that he has been so locked up himself. He remembers Dundass flogging Richard Dawkins, he, (Naar) brought the cat out of the house to flog him. Dawkins ran away, and when he was taken, he was confined in the stocks and chained to a post.

* * * *

'Dundass himself handed in a written statement to the magistrates, in which he asserts, the iron collars were rivetted on the necks of the apprentices, by order of the Special Magistrates; that William Lake was confined in the stocks and chained to a post *for security,* till Captain Brownson should visit the property, and try him as a runaway; that John Cumso was locked up on Friday night, by order of Special Justice Lloyd. He admits having struck Susan Porter with a supplejack; he admits having locked up some of the apprentices without calling in the Special Magistrate; he admits having flogged Alexander Notice.'—pp. 334—339.

Such a series of atrocities may be supposed to have awakened the indignation of the Jamaica community, and to have banished the parties implicated from respectable society. But nothing of the kind occurred. On the contrary, they were held to be martyrs to the colonial interest, and were treated accordingly. The two magistrates, Lloyd and Brownson, being dismissed from office by the Governor, 'for having employed the illegal punishment 'of rivetted iron collars, and for having suppressed those sen-

'tences in their official reports,' received the strongest expressions of sympathy from the planters. A public dinner was given to Captain Brownson, at which his conduct was highly eulogized, and a subscription entered into 'for the purchase of 'some memorial, as a tribute of gratitude for his impartial con-'duct in administering the law as special justice.' His colleague received a still more signal mark of approbation. The whole parish of Clarendon adopted his case, and presented him with the following address:

'Sir,

'We, the magistrates, freeholders, and other inhabitants of the parish of Clarendon, beg leave to offer *the expression of our unfeigned regret at your dismissal* from the Special Magistracy of this island. *We deplore this event as a public calamity;* and when we reflect on the disorganised and unsettled state, in which you found many of the properties in this district, (arising from circumstances which led to the removal of your predecessor,) we feel that to your exertions, and to the faithful discharge of your official duties, we are indebted for our present comparative tranquillity. *Your vigilance, active habits and address, were peculiarly calculated to restore order;* and we venture to affirm, that the result of the strictest investigation, would prove creditable to yourself, and show that your great object was the maintenance of proper discipline, with the least possible severity. We shall always be happy, individually and collectively, to bear testimony to your impartiality as a judge. With you, the rich and poor, the master and apprentice, had upon all occasions an equal hearing; and if at any time you have erred, in not rigidly fulfilling all the provisions of the Abolition Act, we are satisfied that such error was of the head, not of the heart. In the execution of your arduous duties, you have succeeded in conciliating the good opinion of all classes of this community; and we trust you may have also gained the approbation of God and your own conscience. Wherever fortune may lead you, be assured our best wishes will always accompany you.

'WM. COLLEMAN, Chairman.

'At the meeting at which the above was agreed to, the report of the Despatch states:

''A subscription was immediately entered into, for the purpose of affording Mr. Lloyd a substantial proof of the estimation and regard he was held in, by the community in general; when the following sums (amounting to two hundred and forty pounds,) were instantly subscribed by the gentlemen present; and there is not the slightest doubt that treble this amount will be raised in the other districts of the parish, and *this laudable example followed throughout the island.*''
—pp. 340—341.

Dundass himself was prosecuted by order of the Governor. Seven indictments were preferred against him by the Attorney-General, but the grand jury ignored five of them, and found

true bills only in two of the least important cases. Their feeling was sufficiently evinced in the following presentment:

'With feelings of the deepest regret, we have to observe, that in the examinations of the several witnesses from Molynes estate, we have found great discrepancy and contradiction, particularly as relates to five of the seven indictments, preferred against James Dundass, overseer of the said estate, *the evidence not at all bearing out the charges set forth.*

'We also humbly conceive, *that charges of so light and frivolous a nature,* as appeared from the evidence adduced, should have been referred to the Special Magistrates, who are the judges appointed by law to take cognizance of them, or to the Petty Courts of the country.

'We feel the greatest pride on all occasions, fearlessly to perform our duty to our country, *but we view with alarm these appearances of persecution, and we deprecate the introduction of a system, so effectually calculated to destroy all confidence between the employer and the employed, so ruinous in point of expense to the subject, and so prejudicial to the interests of the island at large.*

'THOMAS MC CORNACK, Foreman.'

We should be glad, if our space permitted, to transcribe a large portion of the thirteenth chapter, on 'The Results of the Apprenticeship.' We must content ourselves, however, with two short extracts. The first respects the injustice done to the negro in the event of his applying to purchase his freedom.

'The mode adopted in Jamaica is the following: A negro informs the Special Justice of his district, of his wish to purchase his discharge from apprenticeship. The Special Justice gives fourteen days' notice of the intended valuation to the owner, who appoints a local magistrate to unite with the Special Justice; these two magistrates choose a third local magistrate, and thus constitute a tribunal for determining the valuation. It is needless to offer any comment on the character of a tribunal composed of two local magistrates, who are almost invariably planters and friends of the master, and one Special Magistrate, who possibly may be an impartial and humane functionary, but who is too often completely subservient to the wishes of the stronger party. The master and other witnesses give evidence on oath of the daily or yearly value of the negro's services, which is multiplied by his term of apprenticeship. The result, from which one-third is generally, though not always, deducted for contingencies of life and health, is the amount of the valuation. When the three magistrates differ in their estimates, it is customary to add their several amounts together, and take an average of the total sum as the value of the apprentice. Having witnessed numerous valuations in different parts of the island, we are enabled to speak with confidence, respecting the considerations, which in the estimation both of witnesses and magistrates, usually determine the value of the services of

apprentices. The contingent loss is taken into account, which the master may sustain from the difficulty of replacing a labourer. If the apprentice is stated to be honest, intelligent, and industrious, he is rated proportionably higher. If he has ever been employed for a short time, as a mechanic, or if, by his own ingenuity, he has taught himself any handicraft business, he is valued accordingly, although his habitual employment may have been that of a common field labourer. Lastly, the profit, real or imaginary, which the master would have made by the labour of the apprentices, during the remaining term of years, is taken into account; and a temporary advance in the price of colonial produce, in the European markets, though it would not affect the price of labour in the colony, would instantly occasion an increase in the valuations. The negroes, in short, who wish to become free, are rated at higher prices, than they were worth as slaves; and these prices do not diminish as the term of apprenticeship lessens. In many instances, a negro could have purchased his freedom for a much smaller sum on the 1st of August, 1834, than that which, after one or more years of uncompensated service, he has been compelled to pay for the remaining term. In these proceedings, the colonists stand self-convicted of fraud; for the wages, which they pay for the apprentices' extra labour, is in no kind of proportion to the price, which they put upon their services at valuation. During crop time, extra labour, equivalent to from two to three working days per week, is often remunerated, by a sum, scarcely equal to the sworn value of half a day's labour. Notwithstanding, therefore, the immense sacrifices, which the negroes are willing to make for freedom, numbers who are anxious to be valued, are still detained in bondage, and those who succeed in effecting their release, are crippled in their resources, or involved in debt, from which years of assiduous toil may fail to relieve them.'—pp. 350—352.

Our other extract refers to a subject, which it is difficult for obvious reasons to set in a sufficiently clear and forcible light. The following statement, however, will do somewhat to awaken the sympathy and indignation of every humane and virtuous mind.

'The treatment of pregnant women and nursing mothers, is another feature of the apprenticeship, by which it is unfavourably distinguished, even from the worst aspect of slavery. The indulgences which their situation required, were, under the former system, imperfectly guaranteed to them, by the sordid interests of their owners. Women advanced in pregnancy were confined to light employment, and for weeks immediately preceding and succeeding their delivery, they were suffered to cease work; and when at length required to return to the field, were permitted, at proper intervals, to quit their labour and attend to the wants of their infants. All these indulgences have been curtailed, and in many instances abolished, to the very extent of the capacity of the human frame, for the endurance of suffering. On many plantations, they are kept in the field, sometimes working in jobbing gangs many miles from their homes, to the day of their deli-

very, and are hurried back again to field labour, as soon as exhausted nature can be tasked to the exertion. In many instances, nurses and midwives must be provided at the expense of the apprentices themselves, and they receive none of the minor 'indulgences' of flour, rice, or sugar, and mothers are not suffered to leave the field to give nourishment to their infants. If the Abolition Act possessed a single feature, which tended more than another to reconcile the nation to the costly sacrifice of twenty millions, it was the advantages it appeared to confer on the weaker sex, whom it professed, by exempting them from degrading punishment, to elevate at least one step towards that position which reason and humanity require that they should occupy. Widely different, however, is the law enacted by the Imperial legislature, from the same law as carried into effect by the executive government, and by which the oppression and degradation of females are sanctioned and aggravated. The Imperial Act (c. vi.) expressly interdicts the flogging of females, yet the present volume contains proof, in addition to much that has already come before the public from other sources, that females have been and still are flogged upon the treadmill, and that the treadmill itself is an instrument of torture. They are publicly worked in the penal gang, chained to each other, and with iron collars on their necks; besides being liable to the punishment of solitary confinement with an insufficient diet, and to mulcts of time, by which they are deprived of the means of providing food for themselves and their children. All these punishments, women in a state of pregnancy, and others with infants at the breast, endure in their full proportion. We leave it to those who may be qualified for the decision, to balance the severity and degradation of the treadmill and the chain gang, with the punishments by which the unrequited labour of females was formerly extorted.'—pp. 363, 364.

Such are some of the blessings which British benevolence has conferred on the negro population. We confess, for ourselves that we are ashamed and indignant. We have been grossly deceived by those in whom we trusted. Our confidence was misplaced, and it has been dearly punished. We care not about the Twenty Millions,—one of the most absurd and iniquitous grants ever made, even in this land of jobs; but we do care about our disappointed hopes—our frustrated benevolence—the tears, and groans, and dying agonies of our fellow-men. The faith of the Government was pledged, solemnly pledged, and the honour of the men composing it was held to be an ample guarantee;—but its promises are unfulfilled, its pledges have been broken. Call the new system by what name we please, *its fruits are the fruits of slavery.* The machinery has been altered, but the results are the same. The voice of mourning, lamentation, and weeping, is yet heard throughout the Colonies. The hire of the labourer is withheld, his body is cruelly tortured, the social affinities of his nature are recklessly outraged, and the dark night of ignorance in which his spirit has been enwrapped for centuries, is still permitted to surround him. Can we then, dare we then, be satisfied

with such a state of things? Let every abolitionist put the question to himself, and we know what his answer must be.

Before we take our leave of this volume, we must briefly advert to the condition of Antigua, one of the islands visited by Messrs. Sturge and Harvey. Most of our readers are aware that the legislature of that island rejected the Apprenticeship System, as too cumbrous and complicated to answer the purpose of its members. It would have been gratifying to learn that their preference of free-labour was based on a virtuous appreciation of the rights of their peasantry. We might thus have applauded their motives, as well as rejoice in their decision. But nothing was more foreign from their views.

'It appears that the proprietors of Antigua deserve less credit than they claim for this beneficent measure. It was first proposed at a meeting of proprietors, by a planter, who produced statements to show, that under a free system he would have to pay wages to one third only of the negroes whom he should be required to support as apprentices; and that he could work his estates equally well by free labor, at a less expense. The proposition excited some commotion at first. The cry was raised that he was betraying the secrets of the planters, and that if this came to the ears of government, they would get no compensation. A persuasion, however, of the superiority of the free system, gained ground in future discussions, and now the most bigoted adherents of slavery acknowledge that free labor is best and cheapest.' pp. 22, 23.

The experiment, however, has been eminently successful. A great rise has taken place in the value of land, and many planters have been saved from ruin. Among the gentlemen from whom our travellers obtained valuable information respecting the working of the free system, honourable mention is made of Dr. Nugent. The following extract contains the most material points of his testimony:

'A purchasing and consuming population is beginning to be formed within the island itself. The sale of ground provisions to their laborers is already become a source of profit to estates. A negro will sometimes go to the storekeeper to buy a gallon of molasses, and though this retail sale is at present more troublesome than profitable to proprietors, it will eventually become a source of revenue to them. The reduction of medical expenses is considerable. The estate hospitals have become useless. On a Monday morning, during slavery, the doctor would find eight, ten, or even twenty in the sick-house. Now he has comparatively nothing to do. He is paid one-third less per head than before; but his duties have diminished in a much greater ratio. Before emancipation some estates were eaten up by their over-population. On one belonging to a relative of his, (Dr. Nugent) with [illegible] hundred and twenty negroes, the saving effected by reducing the number of negroes had been immense. In such cases there was generally [illegible] impediments

the transfer, or sale of the superfluous negroes; either the estate was mortgaged, or had several owners, or was in trust, or in chancery, or entailed. Several properties in this situation were on the point of being abandoned. Nothing could have saved them but a legislative measure of Emancipation. A property was instanced, possessing four hundred of the finest negroes in the island, which appeared to be inextricably involved. The proprietor, residing in England, had turned his back upon it, and refused to receive or answer the letters of his agent, who was thereby placed in a most painful situation. He had no means of carrying on the cultivation; he could get no help from home; and though a man of humanity, was embarrassed by prosecutions for not furnishing the people with the legal supplies. On the passing of the Emancipation Bill, the compensation-money enabled the mortgagees to make some settlement of the affairs; superflous hands, or rather mouths, were dismissed; the cultivation resumed with a fair prospect of success; and 'the agent has been a happy man ever since.' With regard to the general welfare of the colony, he told us that the proprietary body are more prosperous than before. Some estates have thrown off their load of debt, others have passed into the possession of capitalists, by whom their cultivation can be more effectively carried on. An estate was mentioned which cost, ten years ago, forty thousand pounds. He would give as much for this very estate now without the slaves, and consider it a safer and better investment. Another small estate was instanced, belonging to three equal proprietors. Just before Emancipation two of them sold their shares for one thousand five hundred pounds currency each; the third now stands out for more, one proof amongst many, that property has risen in value. Every one acquainted with the town of St. John's will acknowledge, that it is much more bustling and prosperous. Persons, returning to it after a year or two's absence, have been astonished at the change. The credit of planters is improved, and confidence restored. A few years ago, a gentlemen offered to consign his produce to a mercantile house, on condition, that it would make him an advance to discharge a debt, due to his present merchants. The answer was negative. He has lately received a letter from the same party, offering advances. Another English firm, who, before Emancipation, were seeking to reduce their securities on estates as much as possible, have since sent out an agent to Antigua, to see if there were any openings to extend them. During the last fifteen or twenty years, many estates, chiefly in the mountains, or poorer lands, have gone out of cultivation. Some of these doubtless will again come under culture. One has already been resumed; the proprietor of which is paying his negroes two shillings a day, greatly to the disturbance of his neighbours.' pp. 48—50.

The general results of the new system in this Colony are thus given by our authors.

'Our opportunities of personal observation were extensive. We availed ourselves of the access publicly afforded to the Legislative Assembly, the Chief Criminal Court, the Police Offices, the places of

worship, and the different schools. We had also the privilege of communication with the most intelligent and influential persons i colony; with the Governor, and others high in office; with men of the council and assembly; judges, barristers, and medical ministers of religion, and schoolmasters, proprietors and manage estates, persons of color, and lastly, the negroes themselves. The one subject upon which all are agreed—that the great experime abolition has succeeded beyond the expectations of its most sang advocates. Some indeed affect to regard the *future* with appre sion; but none will deny that the new system has hitherto worked or will hazard a declaration of preference for slavery. Many spe emphatic terms of the annoyances they have escaped by the ch and of the comparative comfort with which they now manage thei tates. The measure has been felt to be one of emancipation of ters, as well as slaves, from a most oppressive bondage, except by as clung to their authority with a tenacious avarice of power, an not yet weaned from a love of dominion.' pp. 69, 70.

We must now turn to the domestic aspect of this question, we confess that we do it with unaffected hesitation and so Her Majesty's government have, on many accounts, entitled t selves to the gratitude of the nation. We can never forge service they have done the people in many a hard fought b They have stood by us in some of our severest conflicts, though recent *declarations* have cast an air of mystery over position and plans, we yet hope they will prove true to thems and to the country. But their whole course on what is k as the *Colonial question* has been evasive and hollow. T proceedings have wanted the basis of sound principle, and language and their deeds have consequently been at vari Their professions have been with us, their influence with enemy. We have been cajoled by fair speeches, while the ters have been enriched, and the negroes cruelly disappoi

The suspicious circumstances which occasioned the resign of the Marquis of Sligo, the suspension and subsequent treat of Dr. Palmer, the concealment practised at the Colonial o and the obvious leaning of the Government to the views interests of the planters, have evidenced a policy as dishonou as it has been injurious. Of the cause of all this, it is not province at present to enquire. Various solutions may be gested, each of which probably contains some elements of t The original contract was unjust in morals, and absurd in l lation. It was a nefarious effort to evade the claims of jus —to compound between virtue and vice,—to conciliate the master at the expense of his helpless and injured victim. this scheme the government lent itself with unwonted zeal was its own creation,—the miserable abortion which it force a reluctant and disappointed people. We need not therefo

surprised that it has identified its own honor with the maintenance of the apprenticeship, and that every reflection on the latter is resented as an insult and dishonour. This we suspect is the true state of the case, and hence the sensitiveness of some Officials, when pressed with the manifest failure of the scheme.

It remains to be seen whether the representatives of a free and great nation will permit this state of things to continue. We have no hope from the Government, but we do not on that account despair. The voice of the people may yet make itself heard, though the whole influence of the Colonial Office be employed to repress it. It would be well for Sir George Grey to read and ponder the Letter we have placed at the head of this article. It is one of the ablest pamphlets which the British press has produced. Equally serious and poignant, high-minded and courteous, it presses home the charge of official delinquency in a style which cannot fail to win attention.

'You have not yet" says Mr. Birt, "been much pressed on this subject in Parliament, and have found it easy to overcome or to pass by the few and feeble attempts which have been made to move you: but, I trust that, ere the next Session has much advanced, a voice will there be lifted up, that shall break down your official intrenchments, and open some of the secrets of the Colonial 'Prison-house.' It will, then, no more be endured, that so long as the West Indian interest is satisfied, every complaint or inquiry from other quarters should be treated as obtrusive and importunate; and, that it should be required to leave the matter, implicitly, with the Colonial Government at home, who, again, see fit to leave it, as implicitly, to Colonial substitutes abroad. There is a change coming over the spirit of Parliament, owing to recent and cordial intercourse with the elective body, which will not suffer any further escape, from the necessity of proving, with equal conviction, to the Public, that you have done justice to the negro, as that you have paid the uttermost farthing to the planters—or of making amends if you have not. But why not anticipate this by full and faithful disclosures? Your Official character and reputation demand it. Lift the veil and let us see that all is right.

'Your habitual coldness and reserve to what you are pleased to denominate 'the Anti-slavery Party' has awakened a strong apprehension of your habitual leaning to the opposite party. There are those who infer, that as you are close where you ought to be communicative, and an impediment when you ought to accelerate, so you are confiding where you ought to be vigilant, and subservient when you ought to command. We have, indeed, too many examples of your disposition to defer to Colonial legislation, to be able to confute the assertions of those who say that you are, evidently, confederate with the planters. Especially were we thus affected, when we saw the Marquis of Sligo sacrificed to pro-slavery intrigue. Whether what has been alleged, in connexion with your name, in that affair, be wholly true or no, you

have suffered the matter to take a shape in Jamaica, such as to produce, universally, the impression that you goaded the Marquis into a resignation of his office, in order to gratify the planters, and give them the countenance of the Government. This is the colour which was there imparted, on your responsibility, to that transaction; and, its unfavourable aspect and influence were much heightened and aggravated, when his successor was named.

In the absence of government support we turn to the country. It is in vain to look to any other quarter. The hands of Ministers are filled with other things. The collisions and prospects of party engross both their attention and time, and leave no interval for those nobler and less selfish interests which the cause of humanity involves. The recent movements which have taken place in the Metropolis revive our confidence in the virtue and strength of the Abolition party. We had almost begun to despair. The whole nation seemed to have forgotten the deliberate and solemn declaration made by upwards of three hundred delegates to Lord Grey and his colleagues in 1833, that 'while slavery obtains under any form, however modified, or 'however sanctioned, we will never relax from our purpose to 'exert that influence which we may collectively or individually 'possess, to effect by all legitimate means, its immediate and entire abolition.' The failure of the apprenticeship was undoubted. Every true Abolitionist knew and affirmed the fact, and yet all seemed strangely to acquiesce in its continuance. Thousands complained of the injustice which it perpetrated, but no combined and powerful movement was made for its extinction. Some were become apologists who had formerly denounced the system, and others were paralyzed by their position, or engrossed by other claims. Altogether the case appeared hopeless. Both leaders and combination were needed, and the reviving benevolence of the country was consequently in danger of evaporating. The meeting which took place in Exeter Hall, in July last, afforded us some encouragement; but it was soon evident that the impulse then communicated, would not be followed up. Thousands of pamphlets and tracts were issued by the Anti-slavery Society, but the Committee failed to do—what was necessary to success,—put forth a manifesto clearly and forcibly stating the ground they intended to take. Enough was done to awaken inquiry, but when the questions were asked, 'At what do you 'aim? Is the apprenticeship to be abolished, or are we to be 'satisfied with a mitigation of its evils?' no definite and satisfactory answer was obtained. The Committee itself, if our information is correct, were divided on the subject. Some were for limiting their object within the narrowest bounds, while others advocated a bolder and more consistent course. It was therefore no wonder that the movement failed. The trumpet

gave an uncertain sound and how were the people to prepare themselves for battle? Dissatisfaction and want of confidence prevailed throughout the country. The leaders of the 'good cause' were removed, and none stood forth with qualities sufficiently prominent and commanding to be recognized as their successors. Mr. Buxton's failure at Weymouth crowned the catastrophe. The Anti-slavery party appeared to be without a head both in Aldermanbury and in St. Stephens. Efforts were not wanting to induce a re-organization of the old societies, but from a variety of causes they failed, and in the mean time the happiness and the life of the negroes were sported with.

This state of things led to an important movement, the results of which are yet pending. The guidance of the London Committee was rejected, and a meeting of Delegates convened by the Birmingham Anti-slavery Society took place in November last. About one hundred and forty gentlemen, representing all the leading Auxiliaries of England, Scotland and Ireland assembled at Exeter Hall; and the spirit which pervaded their discussions reminded us of former times, when our object was clearly specified, and its attainment sought in a manly and straight-forward manner. Want of confidence in the Aldermanbury committee was sufficiently evidenced by the fact that no gentleman residing within ten miles of London was summoned to this gathering of Anti-slavery advocates, and that it was not till the principles of the Delegates had been embodied in distinct resolutions that the London Committees were invited to attend. In this we think there was a want both of courtesy and of tact. The Delegates exposed themselves to a misconstruction unfriendly to their self-respect, and which led inevitably to something like a rupture between them and the old Committee. It was an ungracious and timid policy to withhold from the Aldermanbury committees the invitation which was forwarded to almost every auxiliary in the country. It was an explicit declaration that they were faithless to their trust, that they had abandoned the cause to which they were pledged, and were to be separated from the general body of abolitionists, as chaff from the wheat. We say nothing at present of the degree of culpability which attached to them. Our previous remarks will show that we do not hold them guiltless; but we insist on the imprudence—the palpable want of practical wisdom, in their exclusion. It would have been sheer folly to have committed the management of the meeting to them;—it was scarcely less unwise to exclude them from its early deliberations. The objections taken by some of the Delegates to the London committees being invited, were any thing but creditable to themselves. It would seem, if the observations of the speakers were correct, that the appearance of some dozen gentlemen from Aldermanbury would have acted like a spell on the meeting, inducing

a forgetfulness of the purpose for which its members had assembled, and an abandonment of the principles to which they were pledged. Had we been present on the occasion, we should have addressed the Delegates in some such style as this, 'Insult not 'yourselves, by such a cautious and timid policy. Let not the 'half-hearted and indifferent have a pretext for saying that you 'dreaded discussion and were consciously unable to vindicate 'your course; that your unanimity was the unanimity of fear,—a 'oneness more apparent than real, wanting the force and endu-'rance of deep and well-founded conviction.' We confess we deeply grieve that the Aldermanbury committee was not subjected to the test which their presence during the early discussions of the Delegates would have constituted. They should have been introduced to the meeting in the same way and on the same terms as others, that the country might have had an opportunity of ascertaining their position and views. We have our own misgivings, and we regret that so favourable an occasion for testing them was lost. As it was, the London Committee could scarcely have done otherwise than it did. It would have been wanting in self-respect, would have been a party to the grossest insult which a public body could receive, had it given in its adhesion to a meeting by which it was so palpably declared to be unworthy of trust, and unfit for conference. The result was what every calm and reasonable man must have anticipated. The invitation was courteously declined while a deep interest in the object contemplated by the Delegates was expressed. That object was avowed in the following language, which formed the second of the three *fundamental* resolutions adopted by the meeting.

'That fully convinced by authentic and indubitable evidence, 'including official documents, that the principles of the Imperial 'Act, passed avowedly for the emancipation of the negro, for 'which object the immense sum of Twenty Millions was paid, 'have been systematically nullified, and its design extensively 'frustrated, by colonial legislation and the conduct of special ma-'gistrates; we resolve to seek by all constitutional means as the 'only plan for securing full and impartial justice to the negroes, 'the total and unconditional abolition of the apprenticeship sys-'tem throughout the British colonies, on or before the 1st day of 'August, 1838.'

We deeply deplore the division thus elicited, and are fearful that it will go far to neutralize the labours of the Delegates. The colonial office will gladly avail itself of such a schism in our camp. Had our forces been united, we might have made an impression on Lord Glenelg and Sir George Grey, but in the present state of things it is hardly to be hoped for.

There is another circumstance to which we advert with still

greater reluctance, but we must not hesitate, and shall therefore proceed. In the course of the meetings of the Delegates a letter was read from Mr. Buxton, expressing his dissent from their plans. It breathes in many of its passages the fine spirit by which the public life of this honoured man has been distinguished; but it displays a timidity and neglect of sound principle at which we are surprised. The apprenticeship system is admitted to have failed—the colonists are declared to have broken their contract,—and yet the simple and equitable demand of the Delegates is deprecated as rash and injurious. Had the same policy been advocated in 1832 and 1833, where would have been the Abolition Act, with its promise of *ultimate* good? Mr. Buxton, as the representative of the Anti-slavery party, was then omnipotent for a season, not because he was unopposed by great and fearful difficulties, but because he adhered to a simple principle which found a response in every honest breast. Colonial slavery was denounced as a sin; and the doctrine triumphed over the most formidable opposition which British cupidity and lust of power had ever arrayed against the truth. Why should not the same course be pursued in 1837 as was adopted in 1833? To say that there is no prospect of success, is but to repeat what was then advanced, and which was condemned as unworthy of enlightened philanthropists. Duty is ours, consequences are with God. The history of the world is replete with encouraging examples, and no chapter of it is more inspiriting than that which records Mr. Buxton's own labours.

But we must hasten to close our already too extended remarks. No efforts should be wanting to heal the breach that has been made, and great will be the honour due to the party by which the first advance to perfect cordiality shall be made. There are at present three Committees existing in London, no one of which can efficiently discharge the duties of its vocation. Let these be instantly and cordially united on *the principles avowed by the Delegates.* Let their resources and their strength be combined on a system of agitation similar to that which the Agency Committee formerly directed. Let lecturers perambulate the country; let a cheap periodical, written in popular style, be widely circulated; let our representatives be communicated with, and parliament be petitioned, and we do not yet despair of effecting the extinction of slavery in August, 1838. The Government will frown upon our proceedings, and the West India party will belie our motives, but there is a God who judgeth in the earth, to whom the voice of humble, earnest, and confiding supplication is never addressed in vain.*

* At page 56 we have referred to the narrative of James Williams, and have repeated our conviction of the truth of its statements. Since penning

Art. V. *The Vicar of Wrexhill.* By Mrs. TROLLOPE, Author of 'Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw,' &c. &c. In three volumes. 12mo. London, Bentley. 1837.

THE name of Mrs. Trollope has acquired an extensive, if not enviable celebrity, both in this country and on the other side of the Atlantic, by her work on the Domestic Manners of the Americans, (we believe her first essay in authorship,) in which, with more vivacity than veracity or delicacy, she caricatured the minor characteristics of the people among whom she had been hospitably received, and declaimed against their vulgar habits and patois with the airs of a half-educated proficient in gentility, and the illiberality of a mind essentially deficient in refinement. The Americans, who are querulously sensitive as to any imputation affecting their national institutions, and who would rather be deemed vicious than vulgar, resented Mrs. Trollope's satirical remarks with very disproportionate earnestness and anger; while the Quarterly Reviewers, delighted to have an opportunity of throwing dirt at the Republicans, condescended to patronize the work and its author, and thereby rendered her political conversion and her self-complacent assurance complete.

We are not aware of the precise order in which her subsequent productions have appeared. In 1833, a 'Visit to Belgium and Western Germany,' afforded our authoress an opportunity of contrasting the upstart republicanism of the Western States of America, with the 'benignant absolutism of Prussia,' and the all-presiding beneficence of the Holy Alliance; and she returned still more than before a Conservative, with a favourable leaning towards Popery. The fanaticism of an American camp-meeting

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the passage, we have received a copy of the *Falmouth Post, and Jamaica General Advertiser,* of the 8th November, which contains the *Report* of the Commissioners appointed by Sir Lionel Smith, to inquire into the truth of its allegations. It is dated Oct. 21st., and is addressed to the Governor. The following extract from this *Report* is conclusive of the facts of the case, and must set future incredulity at defiance.

'In reporting upon the general results of this extended inquiry, it has be-
'come the duty of the Commissioners to state, that the allegations of James
'Williams's Narrative have received few and inconsiderable contradictions,
'whilst *every material fact has been supported and corroborated by an almost*
'*unbroken chain of convincing testimony.*

'Such being the conclusion of the Commissioners with respect to the Nar-
'rative, it can scarcely be necessary to add, that the Abolition Law has not
'been properly administered in some parts of the parish of St. Ann's—that
'the House of Correction of that parish was, until recently, a place of licen-
'tiousness and cruelty—and that the treadmill has been, from the time of its
'erection, and still is, an instrument rather of torture than of just and salu-
'tary punishment.

had inspired her only with sentiments of disgust, and afforded matter for prurient exaggeration and ridicule; but the 'unmis-'takeable devotion' of a poor old woman before 'a huge wooden 'doll' in St. Peter's, at Ostend, drew from her the very *liberal* remark, that 'after all, perhaps, there is something sublime in the 'state of mind which allows not the senses to dwell on the object 'before them; but, occupied alone by the holiness of the symbol, 'is raised by it to such thoughts of heaven as chase all feelings 'but those of devotion.' Her subsequent visit to the French capital, however, appears to have put her out of temper with the most picturesque of all religions, its 'rosy young priests' and monkish intrigues, and to have inspired her with a thorough Protestant hatred of the Pope and O'Connell. Her 'Jonathan 'Jefferson Whitlaw' we have not seen, and can only report, at second-hand, that, in its extravagance of plot, in the pruriency of some of its descriptions, and in the constant hankering after the coarse, violent, and degrading, as a means of producing effect, it strongly partakes of the faults of the French *convulsionnaire* school, which Mrs. Trollope had herself denounced in no very measured language. 'Tremorden Cliff' is another novel, of which the title only is known to us.

The work now before us is a satirical novel; having for its main design, to *show up* the evangelical clergy in the person of the Vicar of Wrexhill, a Tartuffe in English costume, and a type of that odious sect within the Established church who hold Calvinistic tenets and practise extemporary prayer. That a class, and not an individual, is aimed at, is very evident. For example, we find the vicar's daughter making the following remarks.

'You little know the nature of the clique to which he belongs. That they value pleasure fully as much as other men, is quite certain; that they struggle for riches with anxiety as acute, and hold it with a grasp as tight as any human beings can do, it were equally impossible to doubt; but that *power* is dearer to them than either, is a truth well known to all who have sat within the conventicle, and watched its progress as I have done.' Vol. iii. p. 98.

The story is soon told. Mrs. Mowbray, the mother of the presumed heir to large estates, finds herself, on the sudden death of her fond husband, by the unexpected terms of the will, left the absolute and uncontrolled mistress of the entire property. The new Vicar of Wrexhill, who, though just introduced to the family, is allowed to be present at the opening of the will, immediately forms his plot to inveigle the widow, to alienate her from her children, and to possess himself of her hand and fortune. Mrs. Mowbray becomes the easy dupe of his cant, hypocrisy, and cunning. In a few months, she marries her spiritual counsellor, having with incredible facility divested herself of all affection for

her noble son and elder daughter, and makes a will in imitation, as she says, of the generous confidence of her former husband, putting every thing into the power of the Vicar. Shortly afterwards she dies in child-bed, but not before her eyes have been opened to the real character of the specious villain into whose toils she has fallen, and she has, in consequence, found means to elude his vigilance, and execute a second will, restoring every thing to the rightful heir. The story ends, therefore, according to the canons of poetical justice. The crest-fallen deceiver, chased from Mowbray Park, and finding the air of the Vicarage disagree with him, is glad to exchange the living of Wrexhill for a benefice in the Fens.

'A whole flight of evangelicals followed their incomparable vicar, till the pretty village of Wrexhill once more became happy and gay, and the memory of their serious epidemic rendered its inhabitants the most orderly, peaceable, and *orthodox* population in the whole country.'

Overlooking some improbabilities, the story is dramatised with considerable skill, although, in the conception of the characters, there is discovered little knowledge of human nature, and none whatever of that modification of it which is found in religious society. Grossness and malice, without the cleverness of caricature, mark her picture of the Evangelical Vicar and his Atheist daughter. Mrs. Trollope has committed an impolitic blunder at the outset, and one which, it may be presumed, will affect the sale of the novel to a certain extent. The Vicar of Wrexhill is a clergyman of the Church as by law established; would it not have been more prudent to make him a Dissenting Minister? In that case, some of the journals that now denounce her work as 'dangerous, vulgar, unjust, bigotted, rancorous, in-'decent,' would have bestowed soft censure upon its faults, and applauded the moral of the tale. That 'sneering, snarling ro-'mance,' 'the Autobiography of a Dissenting minister,' was not less dangerous, unjust, or rancorous; yet it was warmly commended by the British Magazine, the Christian Guardian, and the Christian Remembrancer; and the same periodicals did not scruple to praise the far coarser and ferocious fictions of the notorious Michael Gathercole, the honoured of the Bishop of London, and Samuel Charles Wilks.* Can we then have any reason

* The Christian Observer formerly supported a respectable character; but we regret to perceive in its recent Numbers the indications of a spirit of vulgar-minded party rancour, which we should once have thought its Editor incapable of indulging or sanctioning. In the December Number, more especially, the Editor has so completely forgotten himself as to become the ally and apologist of his reverend brother Gathercole, supporting him in defiance of truth and in violation of decency.

o doubt that, if Mrs. Trollope had been prudent enough to nake her Tartuffe a Dissenting Evangelical, instead of an Evangelical Churchman, she would have found favour both with high-hurch and low-church critics and editors, and been read with pprobation even in bishops' palaces. Yet she may, perhaps, ave ground for supposing that, with the class of regular church-eople for whom she has written, a clergyman of this stamp is an bject of more angry aversion than even a Dissenter; and those ho have derived their Christian knowledge from a certain class f tracts circulated under the sanction of the prelates of our postolic church, will recognise in these volumes the same *orthodox* enets, and the same wholesome antipathy to every thing approaching to Calvinism and Methodism, that is inculcated in ome of those publications. The Dialogue of the late Vicar of Guilsborough, for instance, concerning Christian Edification, and that concerning those who are called Gospel Preachers or Evangelical Ministers,' (tracts which have passed through many editions,) epresent this class of clergymen in not a much less unfavourable light than Mrs. Trollope places them; cant, pride, love of wine, dishonesty, and hypocrisy, being specifically imputed to them. Indeed, it has occurred to us, that some members of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge might think "the Vicar of Wrexhill" a very edifying addition to their catalogue of publications.

Mrs. Trollope is an obedient daughter as well as a zealous champion of the Established Church; and her hatred of sectarians shows how well she has been instructed. As we have already intimated, one main object which she appears to have had in view is, to put her readers upon their guard against all persons, lay or clerical, who are guilty of the profaneness of praying without a form.

'It is impossible' (she says) 'to repeat such language as Mr. Cartwright and those who resemble him, think fit to use in their extemporary devotions, without offending against that sensitive terror of profanation which happily still continues to be one of the strongest feelings in the minds of Christians *not converted*,—*i. e.* perverted—from the solemn reverence *our church* enjoins in the utterance of every word by which we venture to approach the Deity. To such, the unweighed, flippant use of those momentous words, 'LET US PRAY,' followed, as they often are, by turgid rantings and familiar appeals to the Most High God, in volumes of rapid careless wordiness, is perhaps the most offensive outrage to which their religious feelings can be exposed. One might be almost tempted to believe, that the sectarians who, rejecting the authorized forms in which the bishops and fathers of our church have cautiously, reverently, and succinctly rehearsed the petitions which the Scriptures permit man to offer to his Creator;—one might, I say, almost be tempted to believe that these men have so

misunderstood the word of God as to read: USE ***vain repetitions as the heathen do, for they*** SHALL BE ***heard*** for their much speaking. But this 'much speaking,' with all its irreverent accompaniments of familiar phraseology, is an abomination to those who have preserved their right to sit within the sacred pale of our Established Church; and, ***as it is among such that I wish to find my readers,*** I will avoid, as much as possible, offending them by unbecoming repetitions of Mr. Cartwright's rhapsodies.' Vol. I. pp. 237, 8.

But how, it may be asked, can Mrs. Trollope have acquired the knowledge which alone could qualify her to give a true description of these rhapsodies? Can she have been guilty of familiar association with such persons? It is certainly a very awkward predicament in which a fair novelist sometimes places herself, when she undertakes to describe scenes which a person must be conversant with vice to paint. We hasten to defend Mrs. Trollope from the injurious suspicion of having come into contact with any ministers of the evangelical sect, or such unhallowed doings as prayer-meetings. It is quite evident that she knows nothing about them. She would otherwise have preserved some verisimilitude of character, some resemblance of style and phraseology, in the rhapsodies which she has invented. Her blunders in this respect are too gross for mere misrepresentation: they are such as indicate her entire ignorance. We will not now enter into the grave question, how far it is consistent with a regard for truth, to draw upon a malicious imagination for what purports to be a veritable picture from real life. Mrs. Trollope might, perhaps disdain the merit of invention, by referring us to the informants from whom she has picked up the scraps of phraseology which she has wrought up into patch-work;—maid-servants who may have lived in evangelical families, young gentlemen of Mr. Jacob Cartwright's turn and profession, who have preferred the life of a strolling player to that of a curate; or college men, who have had a talent for mimicking the Simeonites and Bible men. Whatever may have been the sources of Mrs. Trollope's information, it has manifestly been obtained at second-hand or third-hand. But, as those among whom she 'wishes to 'find readers' know as little of the language and manners of the class of society described as she does herself, the picture will pass for a likeness without question, as the portraits of Wellington or Napoleon, or the Twelve Cæsars, which adorn the walls of our cottages, pass for authentic representations of the heroes and emperors whose names they bear. Aware, however, that she may be suspected of being somewhat at fault in the phrases which she puts into the mouth of the Vicar and his confederates, Mrs. Trollope, in one place, introduces the following specific assurance that she has adhered to probability and fact.

It may possibly appear improbable to many persons, that such a ase as this last should occur in ordinary discourse so frequently as I e represented it to do. But to those not belonging to the sect, and refore not so familiarized with its phraseology as to be unconscious its peculiarity, and who yet have been thrown by accident within h of hearing it, I need offer no explanation; for they must w by experience, that this, or expressions of equally religious nation and import, are in constant use among them.' Vol. III. 85.

The words, 'of equally religious import,' are a convenient ing clause; how far they will save the writer's credit, we leave readers to judge. The phrase in question is, 'May the essing of the Lord be with me and my heirs for ever, world erlasting, Amen!'—words which by no possible accident could s. Trollope, or Mrs. Trollope's maid, or any other informant, e been within reach of hearing from any evangelical clergy- n, or member of 'the sect.' Again, the *Protestant* Vicar is resented as uttering a fervent farewell in these terms: 'The ints and angels bless and keep you, dear sister in the Lord!' ch a phrase, Mrs. Trollope may have heard, perchance, in lgium, but certainly not in 'evangelical society' at home. In dialogue between the reverend Tartuffe and his cousin and an of business,' the two confederates discourse with each other a jargon ridiculously unnatural. Sometimes the Vicar talks e a Quaker—'Why it is borne in upon me to say.' And the faneness of the language has not even the poor apology of ng characteristic. If it were worth while, we could adduce nerous other proofs of her being an entire stranger to every ng connected with 'the Evangelicals.' The intended travestie, refore, loses much of its point, and the laugh is likely to be ned against the author. For instance, the Vicar talks of ing 'received a despatch from the Secretary of the South ntral African Bible Association;' by which he learns, that it in contemplation to send out to Fababo, a remarkably serious ung Jew, recently converted, as missionary, and minister nipotentiary in all spiritual affairs relative to the church about be established for Fababo and its dependencies!' 'The rious Fancy fair,' set on foot for the promotion of this tion, is a *pendant* to the American camp-meeting from the e coarsely satirical pen; and the correctness of the report in one instance, may be fairly estimated by the truth of her uring in the other. The conversation-scene after the banquet ich ensues, is in a style which would have disgraced Theodore ok himself by its dull and profane ribaldry. We scarcely w whether we shall be forgiven for transferring a specimen or to our pages; but we wish our readers to form a correct esti-

mate of a work which is given to the world as a picture of evangelical society.

'One gentleman confessed very frankly his inability to resist taking more of such wine as that now set before them than was altogether consistent with his own strict ideas of *ministerial* propriety. 'But,' added he, 'though in so yielding, I am conscious of being in some sort wrong, I feel intimately persuaded at the same time, that by thus freely demonstrating the strength and power of original sin within me, I am doing a service to the cause of religion, by establishing one of its most important truths.'

'This apology was received with universal applause; it manifested, as one of the company remarked, equal soundness of faith and delicacy of conscience.

'One of the most celebrated of the regular London speakers, known at all meetings throughout the whole evangelical season, having silently emptied a bottle of claret, which he kept close to him, began, just as he had finished the last glass, to recover the use of his tongue. His first words were—'My king has been paying me a visit.'

''Indeed!' said Mr. Cartwright, whose attention was instinctively roused by this very interesting statement;—'Where was the visit made, Mr. White?'

''Even here, Sir,' replied Mr. White solemnly; 'here, since I have been sitting silently at your hospitable board.'

''As how, Sir?' replied a certain Sir William Crompton, who was placed near him, 'Do you mean that you have been sleeping, and that his Majesty has visited you in your dreams?'

''The Majesty that I speak of, Sir,' replied Mr. White, 'is the King of Heaven, and the Lord of Hosts.'

''What other would it be!' exclaimed Mr. Cartwright, showing the whites of his eyes, and appearing scandalized at the blunder.

''I wonder, Mr. Cartwright,' said a young man of decidedly pious propensities, but not as yet considering himself quite assured of his election,—'I wonder, Mr. Cartwright, whether I shall be saved or not?'

''It is a most interesting question, my young friend,' replied the Vicar, mildly; 'and you really cannot pay too much attention to it. I am happy to see that it leaves you not, even at the festive board; and I sincerely hope it will finally be settled to your satisfaction. But as yet it is impossible to decide.'' Vol. III. pp. 214—217.

The Vicar tells one of the guests, that he hopes his intended visit will be on a day when he can 'stay supper' with them; meaning, as afterwards explained, 'the supper at the table of the 'Lord.' That there should be any circle of readers in this country so ignorant as to accept this vile trash as a specimen of the language of an Episcopal clergyman and his flock, or so gross in their appetites for witless scandal as to be amused by it, we are unwilling to believe.

volumes will, however, find their way across the Atlan-
among American readers, the testimony of an English
onservative principles, so highly praised by Quarterly
rs, as to the state of society among the evangelicals of
, may possibly appear entitled to not less implicit cre-
an the anecdotes picked up, and the hasty observations
ring a brief sojourn in the United States, by the same
personage. Surely, it may be said, Mrs. Trollope must
ore of the domestic manners of her own country than of
the Americans; and if so, our camp-meetings cannot,
ry worst, exhibit scenes so grossly fanatical, so painfully
g, as some religious doings in England. But, if Mrs.
be a false witness, and a malicious one, writing only
ew to *effect*, and wholly reckless of the means by which
nces it, 'speaking evil of the things that she understands
d sincere only in her hatred of an evangelical creed and
m of religious enthusiasm,—except, indeed, the 'sublime
mind' which leads a Romish devotee to crouch in 'pas-
adoration' before an idol;—if such be the author's cha-
may be asked, how comes she to have acquired popu-
d to be even cited as an authority, in England, when
the manners of the Americans and the morals of the
?—It will be the turn of Transatlantic readers to
. Trollope *now*, in fair revenge,—*if* they can believe

here are, and ever have been, Tartuffes in every denomi-
ypocrites of every colour and creed, evangelical as well
ox deceivers, villains in holy orders and in pretended
rs, cannot be denied, and needs not be concealed. But
ssion, that there may have been such an individual as
of Wrexhill, furnishes no justification of the malignity
lds up such a character as a fair specimen of a sect.
al justice might Balaam be adduced as a specimen of
nt prophets; or Judas Iscariot be held up as a sample of
les. It is scarcely worth while, perhaps, to advert to
itous and petty spite of representing the Vicar as having
moted to the living by 'a first-rate Radical,' because,
a bit of a saint, he was a capital clerical Whigling.' This
y of political partizanship is in violation of all proba-
ce we may be quite sure, that such a person as Mr. Cart-
ould have been a sanctimonious Conservative. Of all the
characters among the Evangelical clergy that have
ler our observation, though we have heard of some indi-
f this class who were of Radical parentage, we never
or heard of one that did not profess himself of Tory
We may say the same of those who rank as high Cal-
whose sentiments verge on Antinomian tenets, whether

within the Establishment or out of it. In what way soever it may be explained, such persons are uniformly found to affect what are called Conservative principles, and to eschew Radicalism and Whiggery. But this is a point of small moment, except as illustrating Mrs. Trollope's genius for libel. The whole story abounds with faults of a similar description; and, though cleverly written, especially in those parts in which there is no attempt at humour and satire, it discovers a very superficial knowledge of human nature, and a fearful ignorance of all that it most concerns alike the Author and her readers to know—the religion which she maligns.

We cannot dismiss these volumes without expressing our satisfaction, that this satire upon the Evangelical clergy does not proceed from a Dissenter, but from a zealous votaress of the Establishment. Had it been otherwise, we should not have been, on that account, less severe in our reprobation of such a mode of polemical warfare. The modern vagaries of the Irvingite, Darby-ite, Pusey-ite, Millenarian, Hutchinsonian, and Swedenborgian clergy, might, indeed, afford rich materials for satire, did they not tend to provoke tears rather than laughter in every one who feels a proper concern for the honour of religion. The treatment, too, which some of the holiest and best of men among our ministers have recently met with at the hands of their evangelical brethren in the Establishment, who seem disposed to make common cause with the libeller, the renegade, and the venal worldling, in their crusade against Dissent; and this at a time when the Established Church is rent with internal heresies; —such things might, we say, afford a strong temptation to turn the weapons of humour and light fiction against those who have shown themselves very unscrupulous partizans. But these are edge tools, which few can handle without injuring themselves. We are glad that we have no Mrs. Trollopes among us; and we are sure that we have not a reader who will not feel as indignant as any Church of England man can be, that such a portraiture of any section of the Established clergy should be exhibited, as 'The Vicar of Wrexhill!'

Art. VI. 1. *A Complete Latin-English Dictionary, for the Use of Colleges and Schools; chiefly from the German.* By the Rev. J. E. Riddle, M. A., of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford. Longman.

2. *The Young Scholar's Latin-English Dictionary, being an Abridgment of the 'Complete Latin-English Dictionary.'* By the Rev. J. E. Riddle, M.A. London: Longman.

NO complaint is more general than that which is made against the multiplicity of new books. The complaint is often unfounded, but not always. It springs not unnaturally from the fact, that new books so seldom contain any thing that is new. They are generally merely the re-publication of stale matter, perhaps of exploded errors. They are often nothing but the old thing newly vamped, the mere 'crambe repetita' of the old dish. And in no class of books has this kind of fare been more commonly the staple diet than in dictionaries. Scarcely in any kind of books is so little advance made by one upon another. There is a sort of traditionary or hereditary stock which has been lineally transmitted from early times to the present. How many improvements, and how great are the improvements which, have been made in Latin dictionaries since the time of Littleton? We do not say that none have been made, but are they very great? Our readers will remember the anecdote of Dr. Ash, the author of an English Dictionary, and the word 'curmudgeon.' Dr. Ash borrowed largely from Johnson. Johnson had given, as the origin of 'curmudgeon,' the French *coeur mechant.* This was not Johnson's own etymology, but was communicated to him by some unknown correspondent, and accordingly he added to *coeur mechant* the words 'an unknown correspondent' as the suggester of the derivation. Ash, with a laudable desire to be precise, and to assign to each word its due honour, gave in his dictionary as the etymology of the English 'curmudgeon,' the French *coeur* 'unknown,' and *mechant* 'a correspondent.' This is *only* a specimen, though we will allow a glaring one, of the *kind* of mistakes prevalent in works of this description.*

We are glad to see that the books now before us are not of the Ash school, but that some pains have really been taken with them, and that some of the errors of their predecessors, though not extirpated, have been diminished. These volumes are improvements on the dictionaries of Ainsworth, Entick, and others of that stamp; and their respected author deserves the thanks of the public. At the same time there are many faults, which appear worth pointing out: the author will judge how far they are worth correcting.

* We have only to observe in passing, that the words *prospectus* and *mahogany* are not to be found in Richardson's New English Dictionary, two quartos.

The business of the lexicographer is to give the result of his researches into, 1st. The DERIVATION; and, 2dly. The MEANING of words. In each of these departments it is desirable that some clear and definite principle should be adopted. In this respect every Latin dictionary which we have seen appears to us deficient.

I. All Latin dictionaries with which we are acquainted overlook the important and necessary distinction between *speculative* and *practical* etymology. An instance or two will illustrate our meaning. For example, the remark that ἀπ in Greek is related to *cap* (in cap-ere) in Latin, belongs to speculative etymology. The remark that ἀμμαπ is derived from ἀπ by the addition of the suffix μαπ and the euphonic change of π to μ, or that *captor* is derived from *cap* by the addition of the suffix *tor*, belongs to practical etymology. The remark that αρο 'to plough,' has any connexion with αρ, 'to fit,' (*we* do not say that it has, but *if* any one *chooses* to say that it has, the remark) belongs purely to speculative etymology, whereas, the remark that αροτρο, 'a plough,' is derived from αρο by the addition of the suffix τρο, belongs to practical etymology.

Practical etymology may be defined as embracing all that belongs either 1., to *the* COMPOSITION *of words* FROM *simple crude forms, or, 2., to the* REDUCTION *of words* TO *simple crude forms*, within the limits of the language itself. In the term composition we include the various processes of prefixing, suffixing, compounding, and inflecting; and by the term reduction, we mean stripping the word of the results of all these processes. The former term exhibits the synthetical, and the latter the analytical, side of the science. Speculative etymology embraces all that lies beyond these limits. It embraces all *research* strictly so called; all investigation, for example, into the original forms of roots, and the relation of kindred roots in the cognate languages.

With the *roots* of words boys or mere learners should have very little to do: with the *crude forms* of words they should be thoroughly acquainted; because the latter can be found with certainty, and when found are practically useful; while the former are often uncertain, and in almost all cases must be verified by a comparison with the cognate languages, if we will proceed with safety. Crude forms lie within the limits of the language itself, roots can often be found only by the aid of a cognate language, and lie in a great measure in the region of speculative etymology. This is a subject, we say, to which boys are not competent. Considerable knowledge of the sister-languages is indispensably necessary, and far more *judgment* than boys generally possess. Whoever has witnessed the accuracy with which well-taught boys will perform feats in practical etymology, the accuracy with which they will strip a word of its appendages, assigning to each its proper meaning or character, and will reduce it to its crude form;

or, going through the opposite process, will build up a word from its crude form to the required extent; that is to say, till it has the required meaning; and has at the same time observed the ridiculous blunders into which they will fall, the absurd things which they will say as soon as they attempt to speculate in etymology—or, for we need not go to pupils—whoever has seen the absurd and laughable errors which abound in the dictionaries of Schrevelius, Damm, and other such gentry, will scarcely be bold enough to maintain that *speculation* in etymology can be a very profitable employment for school-boys.

In practical etymology there is something to be *done;* and there is a rule by which it is to be done—and the rule, by which it is to be done, is clear. In speculative etymology this is not the case; it *cannot* be the case. A boy may be told from the crude form *ama,* 'love,' to make an agent-noun, dative plural; and he will make *amatoribus.* Or give him *amatoribus,* and tell him to analyze it and reduce it to the crude form, and he will divide it *ama-tor-ibus,* and give the crude form *amator.* In the same way he may be told from the crude form *al,* 'nourish,' to make a feminine agent-noun, dat. sing., and he will make *altrici.* Or give him *altrici,* and tell him to analyse it and to reduce to the crude form, and he will divide it *al-tric-i,* and give the crude form *altric.* This is practical etymology.

Speculative etymology differs from this in its objects and design. Let it not be imagined, however, that we would underrate the importance of speculative etymology. On the contrary, it is because we think it so important, that we object to its being trifled with. We think it ought to be pursued with great caution. Speculation in etymology often leads, *when properly conducted,* to the enucleation of truth, and the truths educed are sometimes such as to be brought down to practice, and the resources of practical etymology are thus increased. By the speculations of modern philologists, many truths before hidden have been brought to light; and within the last half-century greater advances have been made in this science than in any preceding period. It is more than probable, it is certain that the *structure* of the Greek language is better understood by modern philologists, than it was by the ancient Greeks. There can be no doubt that Kühner and Bopp understand the *structure* of Greek far better than Plato or Xenophon, Thucydides or Herodotus understood it.

The ignorance displayed by Cicero of the structure of the Latin language is most amusing. Varro and Quintilian, and others who studied the language *as* language, fell into errors which no modern scholar who has studied the subject as it ought to be studied could commit. They had the Greek, it is true, to compare with their own language, but they had not the Sanscrit.

We are told in the volume before us that '*cado* is derived 'from κεω, κειω to lie.' This is given with as much appearance of certainty as that *caducus* is from *cado*. But is it not obvious that the two cases are in *reality* widely different? The crude form of κειω, or rather κειμαι is κει. Now that *cad*, 'to fall,' is the same word as κει, 'to lie,' is not only improbable, but there is no pretence for saying that they are related, except that falling and lying down are often connected, and that the two words begin with a K-sound. On the contrary, that *caducus*, or rather *caduco*, (for there is no certainty without adhering to the crude form,) is derived from *cad*, by adding the suffix *uco*, belongs to practical etymology, and is necessary to be known in order to understand the word.

These are clear cases in which the line is broad between speculative and practical etymology. No doubt there are cases in which the two border very nearly on each other, and here the judgment of the lexicographer is to be exercised. Practical etymology, we further contend, should be exhibited, if at all, uniformly and systematically. We ought not to be told that *rex* is from *rego*, and to look at *donum* for the derivation in vain. In the volume before us no explanation of *donum* is given. Now this might be given with certainty. *Donum*, or rather *dono*, taking the crude form, is formed from *do*, another shape of *da*, and the suffix *no*, as *regno* from *reg*, and the suffix *no;* or *tigno* from *tig* or *teg*, and the suffix *no*. If the practical truths of Etymology were thus exhibited, the science would become useful, and would be redeemed from the reproaches which have been cast on it. The custom of too many lexicographers, on the other hand, seems to have been to neglect to search out what is certain, what is analogical, and what is useful; and to indulge themselves in frivolous and fruitless conjectures. Only consult Damm's Homeric Lexicon or the work of Lennep! There is a rich feast. Take the following for a specimen: ἱππος from ἱπτασθαι ποσι, 'to fly on the feet;' μεγας from μη, 'not;' and γαια, 'the earth;' μικρος from μη, 'not;' and ἱκηρος, a made word, wholly untranslateable. We have even heard a theological argument stoutly maintained from the pulpit, and thought to be proved to demonstration by the derivation of ἁγιος from α, *not*, and γη, *the earth!* This wild, haphazard mode of proceeding with etymology, has been fatal to a clear understanding of the structure of language. The business is not begun in the right way. The first thing to be done is to ascertain what that *part* is, *of* which the root is to be found.

II. Our second objection to the existing Latin dictionaries is, that words are given which do not exist, and which in many cases *could not* exist, according to the analogy of the language. This evil is not corrected in the works before us. Two examples will

be enough. *Magnus* is said to be derived from *mago, magere.* But there are no such words as *mago, magere.* There are no such inflections in use. How then can *magnus* be derived from them? The plain *fact* is, that the root is *mag,* meaning 'big,' (in Greek μεγ, seen in the crude forms μεγα and μεγαλο,) and that it is made an adjective by the common suffix *no:* hence *magno* and the nominative *magnus.* No idea but a wrong one *can* possibly be gained from *mago, magere.* It might as well be said that *pronus* is derived from *proo, proere.* There are no such words. Nothing can be clearer than the composition of *mag-nu-s* and *pro-nu-s.* Again; *sacer* is said to be derived 'from sacēre, which is derived from sacĕre, sagere, sangere.' Of these four words not one exists. They are the *creations* of the lexicographer. They are not, and *cannot* be, found in *any* Latin writer. Even the author himself has not placed them in their alphabetical order as Latin words. Here, then, are *four* words invented to explain *one!* It will hardly be maintained that this is a very *scientific* mode of proceeding. To coin four words in the nineteenth century in order to derive from them a word two or three thousand years old, is rather an anachronism. It is like charging Sophocles with borrowing from Shakspeare, or accusing Plautus of pirating Sheridan. What can be more absurd on the face of it? Especially and above all, in a case like this, where there is not the slightest pretence for any thing irregular. No word can be found, of which the formation is clearer than *sacer.* The letter of the crude form is lost, as is usual in the nominative case of adjectives in *ero. Sacero* (or contracted, *sacro,*) is derived from *sac,* and the adjective ending *ero.* If *sac* needs further explanation, let it be traced in *sancire,* (crude form, *sanci,*) in which the *n* is no part of the root; and with the Greek ἁγ in ἁγ-νο and ἁγ-ιο.

Under *fio,* we are told that the ancients used *fior,* &c.; but no hint is given that *fieri* is a passive, and one of the most valuable forms of the Latin conjugation remaining. *Fi-eri* and *fer-ri* are the only instances remaining of the original infinitive passive of this conjugation. We have *ama-re* in the active and *ama-ri* in the passive; *doce-re* in the active, and *doce-ri* in the passive; *audi-re* in the active, and *audi-ri* in the passive. And analogy might have taught us to expect *solv-ere* in the active and *solv-eri* in the passive; *reg-ere* in the active, and *reg-eri* in the passive. But in *fi-eri* and *fer-ri* (contr. from *fer-eri*) we have proof positive that this was the original form of the infinitive passive. The omission of the syllable *er* and the reduction of *reg-eri* to *reg-i* and *solv-eri* to *solv-i* are phenomena which are easy to be accounted for by a common law of euphony. No remark however is made on the peculiar form of *ferri* or *fieri* by Mr. Riddle.

In the second department of Lexicography, we have also two

objections to make against the existing Latin dictionaries. I. No uniform principle is adopted in the arrangement of the meanings. There are two ways in which the meanings of words *may* be arranged. Each way has its advantages apart; but a confusion of the two is necessarily disadvantageous. The one way is to place the *original* and primary meaning first, the secondary meaning, that is the meaning which comes nearest to the original one, second, and the tertiary meaning third, and so on. The other way is to put the most *common* meaning, that meaning which the word most usually bears, first, and the next common, second, the next common, third, and so on. Each of these methods *may* be adopted with some degree of advantage. We ought, however, to know which *is* adopted, that we may not be misled and imagine that to be the primary which is only the common meaning, and perhaps the last-removed of all. If under one word the *primary* meaning is put first and under the next the most *common* meaning is put first, how can we have any exact conception of what is really meant?

In the volume before us (the larger) we find *amitto* translated, first, *to let go, to send away*, &c., and secondly *to lose*. Here the first way is adopted. The primary meaning is put first. Under the word *examen*, on the contrary, the other order is adopted. The first meaning given is *a swarm*, the second *a means of examining any thing*, hence, *the tongue in a balance*, and the last meaning is *examination, consideration*. Now here the primary meaning can hardly be said to be given at all, and the secondary is put last but one. Exâmen is a softened form of *exagmen*, as *subtēmen* is a softened form of *subtegmen*, *sūmen* of *sugmen*, *lūmen* of *lucmen*, and so forth. The root is *ag*, 'drive.' *Examen* is 'any thing 'driven out,' the tongue of a balance or a swarm of bees may either be described in this way, and hence the two meanings of the word. *Examination* is a meaning deduced from the *balance*. And the balance has supplied us with many words of similar import; compare the uses of the words, *trutinare* and *deliberare* in Latin; and of *weigh*, *ponder*, *deliberate*, and *balance* in English.

Again, under *teneo*, the first meaning given is *to be* in a place, and one of the last meanings is *to have in one's power or possession*. Under *pereo* the last meaning given is *to go* or *pass over* any thing. Under *ago*, the first meanings are *to act, be active, be doing*.

II. The second objection which we have to make is that *the meanings are far too numerous*. Ainsworth has for *ago* (and this in the abridgment) thirty-three meanings under twenty divisions, for *teneo* he has upwards of a hundred meanings under fifty-nine divisions! There is no occasion whatever for such a multiplication of meanings; there might as well be five hundred as one hundred. If a Latin Dictionary were intended to serve as an English synonym-book, the case

would be different; and then the more meanings the better. But it does not appear to us that this is the legitimate office of a Latin dictionary. How many meanings has *teneo* which might not be expressed by one of the words, *hold*, *hold-on*, or *keep*. Do they amount to ninety-seven or to seven?

This evil is perhaps abated in the works before us, but it is by no means removed. The array of meanings is sometimes quite alarming. *Teneo* in Mr. Riddle's abridgment has upwards of seventy meanings arranged under divisions and sub-divisions. *Pereo* has about thirty, *ago* upwards of fifty, *habeo* about forty, *projicio* about forty. *Traho* has fourteen separate divisions, several of them with sub-divisions.

We have not room here to give a detailed comparison of the larger and the abridged work, but we do not like the latter so well as the former. There are very few examples given, and therefore the number of meanings is more confusing. It is less easy to see what is meant, and where the difference between two usages really lies.

Though we think that the volumes before us are not all that the present state of philology demands, we consider, at any rate the larger, a great improvement on Ainsworth. If the reader will compare the following articles in Ainsworth and Mr. Riddle he will find many errors corrected, and valuable information added: *adimo*, *cognosco*, *exhibeo*, *nucleus*, (is there not a misprint in this article?) *praebeo*, *imago*, *lustrum*, *debeo*, and many others.

The able editor of these volumes has also brought out a translation of Scheller's Latin Lexicon in folio, printed we believe at the Oxford University press. Of this work, not having seen it, we cannot speak.

Some of the remarks we have made are applicable to Littleton, Adam, Stephens, and even Facciolati; but to enter minutely into the merits of these works is foreign to our present purpose.

We observed above that in order to pursue *researches* in the Etymology, above all in the Comparative Etymology of the Latin language, an accurate knowledge of the sister-languages is indispensably necessary, and of *one* at least an extensive knowledge. We used the term *sister*-languages intentionally. It is a common notion that the Latin language is derived from the Greek, that for example *lupus* is derived from λυκος, *ago* from the Greek αγω *fero* from φερω, and so on, that the Greek is the parent, and Latin the offspring. The phraseology of the lexicons has tended to perpetuate this pernicious error; but unless we entirely divest ourselves of all such prejudice, we cannot have a correct conception of the subject, and cannot avoid committing egregious fallacies. The Greek is one and only one of the Indo-germanic sister-hood, of which Sanscrit, Latin, Zend, Pracrit, &c. are other members. To call one the *parent* of another is entirely wrong; they are all

the daughters of the same parent. Each has occasionally the clearest traces of the original type. The Latin has some forms more perfect, more ancient than the Greek, the Greek than the Zend, the Zend than the Latin, the Sanscrit than the Greek or Latin. Each has here and there traces of greater proximity to the original character than the others, in which the laws of euphony, for example, peculiar to them may have disguised or modified it. In most respects however, it appears that the Sanscrit has preserved the original lineaments of the family with greater fulness and exactness than any of the others.

This being the case, it is clearly the duty of the classical etymologist to compare the phenomena of the classical languages with those of the Sanscrit. He must illustrate the one by the other, supplying the lack of the Latin by the fulness of the Greek, or the lack of the Greek by the fulness of the Sanscrit. An investigation into the etymology of the two classical languages, which confines itself to them, cannot but be deemed now as seriously defective, and must leave some of the most important elements out of sight. We believe that the time is not distant when the study of Sanscrit will be thought essential to a scholar, and when a college education at any rate will be considered incomplete without it.

The neglect of Sanscrit in this country, considering its immense value in every linguistic study connected with Greek and Latin, the extraordinary completeness and beauty of its grammatical system, and the interest naturally attaching to a literature which ascends to a period calculated by the most judicious scholars as considerably anterior to the earliest supposed date of the Homeric poems, and considering at the same time the extent and importance of our national relations with India, is to us perfectly unaccountable. The English have more resources for the study of Sanscrit than any other European nation, they have more Sanscrit manuscripts than, we believe, all Europe besides, and by how many of our countrymen is the language studied? Oxford has a Sanscrit professor. Has she any Sanscrit pupils? In Germany, we are speaking much within bounds we believe when we say that, there are one thousand persons who can read Sanscrit. In England are there two hundred? Are there one hundred?* Yet this is not owing to the difficulty of the language, that is, of acquiring a certain and available knowledge, an accurate knowledge of it. A great deal might be learnt in three months by a diligent student already acquain-

* Nothing that is said here is intended to derogate from the high merit and European reputation of our great English Sanscrit scholars, Colebrooke, Wilson, and others. Mr. Milman's able translation of the Nala ought to have excited more attention.

reek and Latin—and six months' study of Sanscrit would
n more light on the structure of Greek and Latin than
ssibly be derived from any other source. We have long
t the almost total neglect of the study among us is a dis-
o the country. Scholar after scholar has come over from
ny to read and copy and publish and translate our San-
nuscripts; and others are constantly coming. Schlegel,
Lassen, Rosen and Lenz, have all been here, and their pu-
n Germany are following in their steps; for we have still
nuseums a body of Sanscrit literature yet unread. There
nuch truth in the observation which Schlegel once made to
nversation at his house in Bonn, calling it his old joke,
he said, 'have the sanctuary, but *we* have opened it.' Our
was, 'you have *yourself* supplied the key.'

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ng the principal German literati who have prosecuted re-
s in Sanscrit literature, and have visited this country in
o avail themselves of the facilities afforded by the treasures
nuseums, we have mentioned the name of Rosen, who re-
lied in London. We make no apology for taking this
nity of paying our humble tribute to the memory of this
nished Orientalist.

lrich Rosen was born in the year 1804. He was educated
Jniversity of Berlin, where he took the degree of Doctor
osophy in the year 1826. At the particular desire of his
Dr. Rosen devoted himself to the especial study of San-
der the celebrated Bopp, and in 1827, he published his
s Sanscritæ, which at once placed him in the first rank of
t scholars. For his tutor, Professor Bopp, Dr. Rosen
expressed the highest respect; and when he felt himself
pon to differ from him, he warned his pupil that he was
g from Bopp. In 1827, soon after the appearance of the
s Sanscritæ, he was appointed Professor of Sanscrit, in the
sity of London. In 1830, he published his Rig-Vedæ
:n—a specimen of an edition of the Vedas, to the publica-
which the Sanscrit scholars of Europe have ever since
oking forward with eager expectation: he had just com-
his work before he died. About the same time he wrote
ation of an Arabic work on Algebra, for the Oriental Trans-
Fund Society. Latterly he was employed in making a
ue and writing an account of Syriac and other MSS
British Museum, where his labours were very highly valued.
ote while in London some papers on Philology in the
rly Journal of Education, and some Oriental articles in the
Cyclopædia (such as BRAHMA, BUDDHA, BUDDHISM,
ISA).

nad a few pupils at the University and in private, in San-

scrit and Arabic. He frequently refused pupils in other languages that his attention might not be drawn off from his own particular pursuits. Emolument was not his object; he was actuated by a genuine love of learning.

In Greek and Latin, as well as in the Oriental languages abovementioned, his learning was extensive and exceedingly profound. He spoke French, we are informed, with great accuracy and elegance, and English he both spoke and wrote with the correctness and idiom of a highly cultivated scholar. His knowledge of English literature was considerable, and not confined to a single department: he was well acquainted with our poetry as well as our prose. With Italian and Spanish he was sufficiently acquainted to be able to read works in those languages. In the midst of his most laborious engagements he constantly devoted a portion of his time to keeping up his own reading in ancient and modern literature.

He was remarkably kind-hearted; and his dedication of his first work to his father, written in Latin, is as beautiful in sentiment as it is elegant in diction. His manners were mild and gentlemanly, and on any philological subject he never expressed his opinion without the utmost caution. His deference to others was equal to his own strength of mind. If at any time he was 'disposed to hazard a conjecture' on some difficult point, he would not for a moment have it understood or supposed to be certain. In his scholarship and in his intercourse with others he was scrupulously conscientious. He was an honest and simple-minded lover of truth, and his candour and liberality were admirable. We have heard Schlegel and Lassen speak in the warmest terms of him as a friend and a scholar. To his pupils, and we congratulate ourselves on having been one of them, though for a short time, he was accessible as a friend and was uniformly affable and kind; his peculiar skill in teaching, none but his pupils could appreciate.

Dr. Friedrich Rosen died September 13th, 1837, at the age of 33, perhaps of that age the most learned man in Europe.

His works are his memorial: by them he will be known wherever sound philology is esteemed. And he will live in the remembrance of all who knew him, who value profound learning combined with unassuming moderation and every moral excellence.

Art. VII. 1. *The Politics of* 1837. By an Old Reformer, respectfully addressed to Lord Melbourne. Ridgway.

2. *The Ballot Discussed, in a Letter to the Earl of Durham.* By Lord Nugent. Ridgway.

THE expectations of a great people were never more justly or more highly raised than those of the friends of liberty in the United Kingdom during the late parliamentary recess. Impediments placed in the way of improvement through the timidity of the sovereign and the obstinacy of interested lords, if not removed, had been turned aside, and a path unexpectedly thrown open to the progress of honest men. Events conspired to effect what personal agency could not perform, and Providence itself seemed to have descended to the help of a patient but struggling nation. The throne had been retained by a well-disposed but reform-exhausted monarch, till his successor was legally prepared to take it, and scarcely had she attained the right, than our honoured queen, with youth smiling on her brow, took her seat at the head of empire, *amidst the shouts of a glad and grateful people.* Victoria intervened as an angel of mercy to avert a degradation, which an indignant people would never have passively borne; and a man, if man he be, who would have been ferociously pleased to wear the British crown, and crush, if he could, British liberty, passed away like another Vulcan to forge his chains in a foreign land. The new sovereign evinced a generous confidence in a liberal government, and surrounded herself, in the face of Tory sneers and insults, by the tried friends of liberty and peace. All things augured well; the political heavens were serenely bright; and a deep sentiment of joy was quietly flowing through the national heart. There were no evil surmisings, no unkind suspicions, no want of manly confidence in the servants of the crown. Towards them every eye was turned. The enemies of improvement looked on with despondency, while the friends of freedom were filled with the very boundings of hope.

The season arrived for the fulfilment of a nation's desires, when the cup of disappointment was ungraciously put into its hand. The public patience, we regret to say, has been insulted, its confidence betrayed, and its onward attitude rebuked by a Ministry, who ought to have moved forward with a steady and undaunted front. Placed amid newly-created circumstances, and attended by every encouragement which their most sanguine friends could desire, the servants of the crown, and of a people solely for whose benefit that crown, unless it be a mere bauble, is worn, had no excuse even for delay, much less for those symptoms of hostility to improvement which they have seen fit to put forth. Before they had an opportunity to do good they seemed

disposed to attempt it, but no sooner is the power given them, and given them by the occurrence of great events regulated only by Him who puts down one and raises up another, than they prevaricate and pause. Never surely had any rulers a more brilliant occasion of distinguishing themselves as the champions of a people's rights, or as the disseminators of the sacred principles of universal freedom. Never were men more distinctly summoned to great deeds. A mild persuasive voice emanating from the throne blended itself with the deep strong cry of the nation,—with the prayer of empire,—and was rendered yet more plaintively impressive by the entreaties of an enslaved but waiting world. Public opinion, like a full unruffled tide, was flowing onward to sustain them,—collateral events were gently but earnestly stimulating them,—while the prospect of undoubted success was beckoning them from before. The very temple of honourable fame had thrown open its doors, and its purest and brightest honours awaited them, while heaven and earth seemed to beseech them to enter. But they appear to have been called to duties which were too mighty for them; and to have been invited to a destiny which is reserved for other men. The current of events has borne them to a position, at once the wonder of their enemies and the admiration of their friends, but which they seem incompetent to hold. Alarmed at the height on which they stand, or wanton amidst the wide-spreading scene which stretches around them, they give symptoms of dizziness, they show signs of falling into the destructive quagmire which lies between the crazy castle of undisguised misrule, and the verdant region of reform. But 'the shields of the earth belong unto God.' May not the unseen hand of Providence be about to impart a new impulse to the great cause of universal justice through the medium of English rule, and for this end to call other agencies into play! Have we, or have we not, arrived at a point in the progress of empire more critical than any which has preceded it? Are the momentous changes which have distinguished the last thirty years in the annals of British history preparatory and germinant, or are they final and effete? Are intellect and great moral principles to preside in our councils, and to mould our institutions; or are self-interest, blind submission and corruption, to be the result of our struggles? In fine, is God for us, or is he against us? Has he resolved on the preservation of this empire, or will he permit it to crumble to decay? If his thoughts be favourable towards us (and we believe they are), may not the same hand which prepared us a sovereign, be about to strengthen her right arm by making way for the presence of men who shall nourish and instil those wise and just sentiments which shall build up her throne, extend and establish her people's rights, and diffuse light and gladness through the nations of the earth.

We cannot agree with those on the one hand who tread obsequiously in the footsteps of their favorite Ministers, nor on the other with those who are disposed to look with a cynical and captious temper towards public men. We believe the path of liberal government to be crowded with difficulties, nevertheless, however rough, we hold it to be straight. We honor liberty first and Rulers next, and we are as willing that others should try and sift our principles and opinions as we shall be prompt in sifting both measures and men.

The defects then of the present Administration are not superficial and temporary, but we fear lie deep, and are therefore likely to be permanent. Insincerity, recklessness of the public interests, and mere love of place are not their transgressions;—they are not sinners of this more vulgar and offensive sort. It is the exclusive privilege of toryism to revel in injustice, utterly to despise a nation's will, and to practise all sorts of abominations in the name of virtue, and out of pure love to themselves and the church. The Melbourne administration has evinced from the beginning an honourable leaning towards popular claims, and has stood forth as the bulwark of our common rights. There are bright and unfading honors cheerfully awarded now, and history will still more distinctly trace the claims of our present rulers to the respect and plaudits of posterity. Their manly policy towards Ireland is enough to establish their fame. We wish their treatment of Canada could be added to swell the report! But this very feature of inequality and of contrariety in their rule shows some latent mischief—indicates that there is something radically wrong which now and then in spite of themselves will push itself up and creep insidiously over the surface. Where men are impelled by circumstances to adopt, or where they take up by choice, positions and opinions that are, though perhaps imperceptibly to themselves, at variance with their early prejudices and deeply seated antipathies, there will be an occasional collision, they must be inconsistent with themselves. This is nowhere more apparent than in the conduct of Clergymen, if closely observed, who happen to be true and devout Christians as well. In conversation on the common doctrines and pretensions of the Christian faith, they may chance to forget who they are, and breathe in company with a Nonconformist the simple unrestrained spirit of the bible; but their distinction, such as it is, no sooner occurs to them than they have another part to act; they must not forget that they are Churchmen! Too much familiarity with good but mistaken men will not do! Their clerical prejudices rebuke their Christian graces, and bid fair sometimes to wither them. They have two characters to maintain, no wonder therefore if these be now and then at war.

The leaders of the ministry, though entertaining many enlightened and liberal sentiments, are, it is to be remembered, of lordly origin, and the feudal spirit, though under subjection, has not left them. Lord Grey struck upon the rock called 'his order,' and there he lies at this moment, a fine, useless, and instructive wreck. Others are following in his wake, and will continue to do so until experience, appalled by its ravages, shall plant a lofty beacon to warn the nation not to approach it. Men who are nursed in the lap of aristocracy imbibe a spirit peculiar to their sect, and are inflated with monstrous notions of their hereditary dignity. The conventional circumstances attendant on their birth, which are carefully fed as they rise into life, lay the foundation of a spurious character, a sort of bastard being, having no legitimate hold on the sympathies of society, which few of them have the magnanimity to despise. The tendencies, habits, and opinions which grow up in such a soil ill adapt their possessors to act a proper part on the vast theatre of life, and render them as opposed to the progress of popular principles, as the alchemist and astrologer with their splendid fictions to the broad and beautiful discoveries of science. However modified, the sentiments of lordlings may become by reflection, experience, or growing intelligence, they still carry with them their sense of distinction, combined with an undefinable impression that the people are inferior to them. Nor will any thing but the dominion of common sense cure this disease, this leprosy of their minds, however its symptoms may be controlled. Though the generality of them must often feel their insignificance when brought into contact with the usual run of plebeian minds;—though they can need no messenger to inform them that the common calamities and infirmities of life cleave as closely to them as to others; though they must perceive that the titles and distinctions of which they boast are often the inheritance of villany and of vice which would disgrace the commonest serf, still their separation from all others, as by some divine law, constitutes their boast, and they will fall back on this in daily acts of deluded self-complacency in spite of reason and of truth. Reared after this manner, we cannot be surprised if our rulers betray the corresponding weakness and are withheld from fulfilling plans struck out on a scale which aristocratic notions cannot reach.

From this source spring those incorrect ideas of the great ends of government which must ever embarrass the present administration. Like all liberal governments which have preceded them, they have never learned to legislate for the people. There is an obscure but nevertheless very influential idea, a sort of vague misshapen thing, floating in the minds of all governments, even the best we have ever seen, that to legislate for the Commonwealth, *in the first place*, is to forsake the throne, and to betray the great interests of the country. But we ask what interests?

What throne is or ought to be safe independently of the will of the people? What interests can spring up, unless poisonous ones, dearer or greater than those of the nation? The fact is, that all sorts of monopolies with their hungry and unconstitutional claims have been handed down to us, and that others have been gendered under the more modern reign of misrule, and that the energies of our legislators are actually exhausted in endeavouring to hide their more hideous parts, to save them from decay, or to guard them from the encroachment of the popular power. Governments, strange to say, are engaged in maintaining the equilibrium of the constitution;—in squeezing or coaxing obstinate lords into accidental acts of justice;—in shielding our ancient Institutions;—in making the improvements of the present day work in our grandfathers' grooves! And are these the great, the momentous designs for which the mighty apparatus of English rule is set up? Are there no vital principles lying at the foundation of national prosperity which need to be strengthened? Are there no considerations of justice and of right anterior to institutions either ancient or modern, and by which they should all be tried? Is there no respectful homage due to man, as man, which governments have never yet learned to pay? Are there no fearful enormities in high places serving as magnets to draw down the displeasure of heaven, which need to be removed? Policy and mere expediency constitute too frequently the sum total of political philosophy, and it is well where craft and falsehood are not preferred. To keep separate interests in one body politic (monstrous idea) from clashing with each other, is considered the master-piece of statesmanship. In this one-eyed attempt even the more obvious ends of all wise governments are almost entirely overlooked—to protect by every commercial facility the rights of labour—to cement the bonds of society—to confer on every obedient subject the privileges of the state—to secure to every man his inalienable right to liberty of person, of estate, of thought, and of conscience—to raise to offices of trust men who 'fearing 'God, and working righteousness,' shall become an example to all below them. When rulers burning with true patriotism shall set themselves to their proper duties, they will carry with them a moral energy before which all corruption must retire, and however difficult (though always noble) the attempt might have been in years that are past, the moment has come in which it might be made in Great Britain without presumption. But men who would withhold farther power from the many from deference to the factious interests of the few are not fit for so vast a vocation.

The almost total ignorance in which the present, like similar governments, is of the real wishes, demands, and deserts of the people, is a fatal and we fear an incurable defect. Those gentlemen who appear as the representatives of the country in the

House of Commons mingle but very occasionally with their constituents, and therefore know but little about them, while the leaders of cabinets and imperial legislators know infinitely less. What with arrogance arising from their rank, and the destitution of all sympathy which springs from their ignorance, they are deprived of all those impulses which tell on generous hearts, and which kindle the most dormant intellects. They hear of the millions whom they govern, only as they are occasionally disturbed by their petitions, and their great object seems to be to suffocate their prayers. It is a striking comment on our constitution, to observe the utter indifference with which day after day the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain will assemble to regulate the destinies of mankind. It might be supposed they were met to settle the fashions for the season, or to contrive, in their wisdom, some effectual way for destroying vermin. No sense of the mighty interests involved in their deliberations—no rising to the awfulness of their obligations—no deep care to be the ministers of good to the empire. This chilly frosty remove at which rulers live from those they govern ought to be an anomaly. But so natural has it become, that to talk of ministers of the crown, and much less of lords loving the people,—just as the sentiment is,—would from its strangeness look like political fanaticism. A fanaticism, however, which could it but go abroad, would, beyond all else, feed the deep springs of empire.

Independently of other deficiencies which we think we see in the present administration, for the prospects which are brightening before us, there is the cardinal one of positive incapacity. The times which are disclosing and streaking with light the clearing horizon, call for great as well as for liberal minds. Whatever is comprehensive in thought and resolute in purpose;—whatever is independent in action, and all-subduing in eloquence;—whatever is deep in patriotism, and invincible in integrity, will soon be required. An arena is preparing befitting and demanding the most splendid talents; and could eminent statesmen of the past ages revisit us, they would find that the work of civil improvement has but just begun, and that much remains to be consumed, and more, greatly more, to be built up. All this may appear, to a certain well-meaning class of men, as mere rhapsody,—as the reveries of an over-active fancy. Things are working well in their apprehension. We are not threatened with invasion; Bonaparte is dead; the funds are tolerably steady; and the poor-law has been altered. The growth of empire with them is a very simple process. Bipeds, like quadrupeds, may multiply, if the supply can be but made equal to the demand. Though population increases, the farmer, through mercy, grows corn enough to feed it, so that they see no reason for complaint. If the great home-sty should become overstocked, why then there

is Australia, or the back-settlements of America. If at any time the rabble should make a disturbance, there are the goals or the hulks; and if these will not do, the soldiers can keep the peace. Since the passing of the Reform Bill, which they think was an excellent measure, no country can be better off than this. The more polished of this very pacific race cannot help expressing their surprise, that persons of education, and who move in respectable spheres, should lend themselves to political agitation. It offends their tastes, to see otherwise estimable men descending to a level with the lowest of the people, and uniting with them in their rude complaints. And as to Christians, they have nothing to do but to submit to the "powers that be." Notwithstanding these duller or brighter scruples, we repeat that the prospective administration of public affairs in this empire never more loudly called for capaciousness of intellect and for Herculean strength. The work already accomplished has been comparatively easy and insignificant. We do not underrate recent momentous reforms, whether parliamentary or municipal; but we maintain that they are only weapons put into our hands, and that to wield them with energy and skill will require incomparably more wisdom and talent than were needed to construct them. They are not dead statutes, but contain within them a living power, which, drawn out and applied, will transform and save our country. But to lead forth this life with which they breathe, and with it to animate all else; to carry the principles which they contain into our much-lauded institutions; to assert and prove, before the face of the world, their intrinsic worth by their practical uses; to show the utter incompatibleness of their spirit with whatever is exclusive and irresponsible; to silence their enemies, by nourishing and dispensing their precious fruits; to make them the occasion, through the good they effect, of awakening a love of justice and of freedom in the hearts of all but the hopelessly perverse; with them to shake to atoms whatever is opposed to the true interests of the commonwealth; these, and such as these, are objects worthy of every statesman, who is put into power with the reform apparatus at his side.

It is, however, plain to a demonstration that the Reform Bill, already more than half paralyzed by the torpedo touch of toryism, in the £50 tenant-at-will clause, &c., must become a dead letter in a few years, unless other hands than those which have hitherto nursed it, take it under their care. Nations, like individual character, as reason and all history attest, decline when they do not advance; and when they fail to foster the means of improvement put into their power, begin to nourish the seeds of decay. The very disinclination cheerfully to appropriate all that promises the general good, under whatever pretext, is the commencement of dissolution, the creeping shade of death: it is a

symptom which makes the true patriot tremble. But, besides this apathy and child-like pusillanimity among professed friends, we have powers residing among us whose only business is to neutralize, retard, and destroy. We have an evil spirit stirring about in the land, with pestilence going before it, and desolation following in its train. The zeal and restless vigilance, the sagaciousness and deadly malignity of toryism towards popular improvement, vexed into unnatural life, will set itself in various unsuspected ways, and by all insidious arts, to build its old fortresses on the ruins of reform. To detect and expose these schemes; to grapple with this power in its more spiritual assumptions; to exorcise this foul spirit; to place this daring, all pervading enemy at bay, and, in spite of it, to establish the commonwealth on a broad, immoveable base, calls for a loftiness of mind and an independency of purpose, which are the lot and ornament of few. All things are preparing, however, for the appearance of some such master-spirit in the arena of British politics.

From the sentiments we have already expressed, it may justly be inferred, that we were not much surprised at the avowal of her Majesty's ministers at the opening of their campaign. The impolicy and singular infelicity of obtruding these opinions on the public ear at such a moment, could not have been surpassed, and were certainly not in keeping with their general discretion; though the sentiments expressed were precisely those which in an honest moment we should have expected from them. Lord John Russell spoke rather as a man than as a minister. His private opinions, and those which at some future day,—when the obligation should press upon him,—he intended should regulate his public life, prematurely pushed themselves out, so that he most egregiously committed both his colleagues and himself. In this declaration, however, they have prescribed those limits (unless they repent) beyond which they will not pass, and have set up for themselves a goal, an inch farther than which they will not go. Lord John has an undoubted right to proceed when he pleases, and to stop when he thinks fit; but he might as well have dispensed with self-created annoyances, while pursuing his brief journey. With every respect for his talents and his character, and with a grateful recollection of his past services, we never thought him competent to the high station he fills. It always appeared to us that the position was greater than the man —that he added not a ray of lustre to it, but borrowed all his glory from it. We felt persuaded, moreover, that his stock of liberal notions, and of large, comprehensive views and feelings, would, as he went on, be presently exhausted; that the reservoir would be drained; that public justice would be too ample and open-faced; and that the niggardliness of inbred aristocracy

would shrivel up before it. These times appear to be approaching, and at their distant promise his lordship takes alarm: what will he do when they press themselves in all their brightness and their breadth upon him? Unless he and his colleagues can bow to them, they must inevitably give way; for public opinion is mightier than Lords.

Various conjectures have been risked as to the motives which induced the Ministry to behave so strangely. We should be glad to persuade ourselves that it was a stroke of policy for the purpose of conciliating their enemies. But even then we should deem it a reflection on their judgment. If they have not learnt long ago, that in mere manœuvring, the Tories can outdo them, and that principle and not the playing of diversions, is the only effectual weapon against their opponents, what have they learnt? The Tories are too deeply practised in all shifts and arts, to be caught by these means themselves. If by lifting a party-coloured flag the Ministers expected to induce the stubborn Lords to attend to those more immediate measures of relief and improvement, which they wish to carry, their object may be good, but their expectation, we fear, is vain. Even if they succeed—what then? For the conciliation they might gain, what is the amount of public reputation they must lose? And if the passing smile of interested Lords is of more value in their esteem, either as regards their private preferences, or as to their notions of its influence on their public usefulness, what shall we say for their principles or their tastes. We fear, however, that the solution lies lower. We apprehend that the ministers begin to feel that they have done enough, and that it is time the onward course of events received a wholesome check. If they give way to the public will at the commencement of a liberal reign, which promises, with the divine blessing, to be continued through a long course of years, where will the thing end, and when will the movement stop? They look down the vista of the next half-century, and see change treading on the heels of change; aggression inviting aggression; and mind and purpose acquiring tone and volume as they roll on; and they are alarmed. The bright visions of the future instead of delighting, disturb them. They see nothing but spectres, where other men observe pure and beautiful shapes. And the more puzzling feature with them is, that they have set up the cause which is promising these effects; that they have, in great formal improvements, called up a sun which throws these rays to the distance, and in the full blaze of whose light they tremble to walk. Would we could allay their fears, and convince them that they are under a delusion; that the defect is in their own feeble and untrained sight, and not in the glorious realities which are defining themselves in the distant but hazy fields. Wrought upon, however,

by these fears, and anxious, if possible, to stay further progress, our rulers have calculated on the good feeling of the nation towards themselves and the youthful queen. It is impossible for them to eulogize too highly, the confidence of the British people —a people ever ready to repose generous reliance on any public men who evince a sincere disposition to serve them. Nor can they exaggerate the deep sentiments of loyalty which run through the liberal part of the community towards the sovereign of these realms. Never did any British monarch ascend the throne under brighter popular auspices, than she who now fills it. The best wishes of every true patriot; the liveliest sympathies of every noble and susceptible heart; the devoutest prayers of every sincerely pious bosom, attended her as she assumed, in all the innocence of youth, the reins of this mighty empire; and woe be to any ministers who either through their weakness or their wickedness rob her of these richest of all royal possessions. But the present administration, or any other, are mistaken if they think the people of England are to be beguiled from their duty by the passion of loyalty, or that they will sacrifice their rights at the foot of any throne, even were a goddess seated upon it. They have read the nation to little purpose, and studied the new face which has overspread society, altogether erroneously, if they do not know that men think too searchingly, and feel too correctly, not to be convinced that there are evils more to be dreaded than the frown of senators, and that there is a good infinitely more dear than the smile of thrones.

While the ministry has unfortunately rendered its path rugged and difficult, the duty of the people is to our mind open and plain. The present Administration has some work to do; let us assist them in its accomplishment; let us aid them to secure such reforms, and in carrying out those trifling amendments in the present machinery, which they propose. By these they will strengthen the liberal cause, and put us somewhat farther in advance, and diminish the probabilities of Tory success. But though we discountenance all petulant opposition, it is impossible not to see that a day must very soon come in which the constituency of Great Britain must leave the Ministry; in which asserting its own strength, it must as it has done before frame a ministry for itself. Let the nation speak the word, and a government prepared to carry on its interests will soon be found. It can never be supposed, that the slavish doctrine of Lord John Russell will be received by a free and thinking people. None but his lordship, and those who see through the diseased eye of aristocracy, can for a moment dream that England is to be controlled by the 'landed interest.' We might as well be governed by rotten boroughs, as by forests and fields. There is no great charm in merely changing the name, while the thing is retained.

If we are to be slaves at all, do not let us be driven by farmers, whose humane feelings are blunted by the habit of driving oxen and sheep; or by the overseers, under the flattering titles of Dukes, Earls, and Lords, who drive the men that drive the sheep. No, Lord John, the people of England will never submit to this insult; and here, whatever your flatterers and obsequious newspapers may say, the nation and you will be at most determined issue. You will not be permitted in this glib and easy manner to render the Reform Bill a mockery, and after having through virtue of it brought us out of the rotten boroughs, to lead the nation back to its primitive place, *via* the "landed interests." Britons are not fools, Lord John, nor are they fast asleep; nor will they ever kiss the toe of tyrants either spiritual or civil again, even though you may wish it. With the perfect knowledge that landlords exert the most despotic influence over their tenants, and that thousands of them groan beneath their heavy bondage, how could any patriot give utterance to the sentiments we so strongly deprecate? Here, then, not on a mere matter of form, but with regard to a great moving principle, the present ministry and the people are wide as the poles asunder. Their duty is, however they may respect the administration, at the fitting time, to hold the principle and let the administration go.

We are, moreover, utterly unable to account, but on the same falsely conservative principle, for the opposition of the Ministry after the experience of the two past elections, to the great measure of Vote by Ballot; a measure which calls, in our opinion, for the most strenuous exertions of the people. Mr. Grote, the honourable and highly efficient member for the City of London, deserves the warmest thanks of the nation for his manly and energetic conduct, and we could wish meetings to be summoned in all our provincial towns, for the purpose of supporting that gentleman, by petitions, on his next attempt.

But, with respect to this *vexata quæstio*, it might be deemed sufficient to refer the reader to the incontrovertible article contained in the Westminster Review for July, 1830, which, were it generally read, and impartially considered, would, we conceive, supersede all further controversy, and which we must regard as one of the finest extant specimens of political reasoning. It is, however, the misfortune of society, that the arguments which establish truth are, by a strange perversity, easily forgotten (perhaps from the unity and simplicity of truth itself); while those in which the ever-changing phases of error are presented, are perpetually flitting before the public mind, and reviving the dominion of oft-refuted fallacies. He, however, who has acquainted himself with the almost endless disputations to which this subject has given rise, will, we think, be best able to perceive, that the whole question, regarded as one of justice, lies in a very small

compass. We say, as a question of justice; for, if it be embarrassed by speculations as to its bearing upon the probable changes which its settlement would effect upon the temporary success and aggrandisement of political parties, we are aware that it may be indefinitely protracted, without the hope of satisfactory decision. What then, in few words, are the objects contemplated by a system of secret voting? How far is it adapted to secure them? And what disadvantages, bearing any proportion to those objects, is it calculated to introduce? These appear to us the only questions which it is necessary for any but mere political partizans to consider. That the seats of the nominal representatives of the people are virtually bought and sold, by the aggregation of purchasers of the suffrages of individual electors; that these suffrages, when not directly bought, are corruptly obtained by the promise of advantage, or the threat of pain and penalty held out by the powerful to the dependent: all this it would be superfluous to substantiate. Now, what does this involve? It involves the violation of that condition on which the very possession of the suffrage depends, and on the alleged absence of which the large majority of the people are debarred from the privileges of representation. Let us hear, on this point, Sir William Blackstone's exposition of the principle on which the franchise is conferred; an exposition as weighty from the common sense it contains as from the high constitutional authority from which it proceeds:—

'The true reason,' says he, 'of requiring *any* qualification with regard to property in voters is *to exclude such persons as are in so mean a situation, that they are esteemed to have no will of their own.* If these persons had votes, they would be tempted to dispose of them under some undue influence or other. This would give *a great, an artful, or a wealthy man, a larger share in Elections than is consistent with general liberty.* If it were probable that *every man would use his vote freely, and without influence of any kind,* then, upon the true theory, and genuine principles of liberty, *every member of the community,* however poor, *should have a vote in electing those delegates* to whose charge is committed the disposal of his property, his liberty, and his life. But, since that can hardly be expected in persons of indigent fortunes, or *such as are under the immediate dominion of others,* all popular states have been obliged to establish certain qualifications, whereby *some who are suspected of no will of their own,* are excluded from voting *in order to set other individuals, whose wills may be supposed independent, more thoroughly upon a level with each other.*'—Blackstone's Comment. Vol. i. p. 170.

Thus vital are the principles which are habitually outraged by the present practice of elections. Thus much of ground is there for the neglected clamours of the unrepresented millions, who are refused the right of voting, on the pretext that they would *pro-*

hably do that, than which nothing is more commonly done among the privileged possessors of the franchise.

The only effective remedy that has ever been proposed for this monstrous inconsistency, is the protection of the vote by the secrecy of the ballot. It is manifest, that all corruption must cease if all motive to corrupt be removed. Hence a plan is proposed by which the briber cannot possibly know that he has that for which he pays; by which, in short, the accepter of the bribe cannot possibly satisfy the giver, *however desirous he may be of doing so*, that he has performed the covenanted service; while, if he desire to conceal a breach of faith, he can do it without the possibility of detection. From the adoption of such a plan it must follow, that no patron will think it worth his while to bribe, or even influence his dependent, seeing that he is only trusting to the *honour* of a man, who, by entering into the covenant, proves a total destitution of *honesty*. The same difficulty obtains with respect to the honest dependent, who is required to promise his vote against his known principles. The patron cannot obviously rest upon the promise, though it came from a man of the highest integrity, since it places such an individual between two conflicting claims of duty; the one, urged by his reverence for truth, the other springing out of his concern for the public welfare, and his obligation to the conscientious exercise of his franchise. In this dilemma, inclination, party spirit, or personal partiality, would naturally be expected to turn the balance; and thus, in the case of the honest and the dishonest, corrupt influence would be necessarily prevented.

What corresponding inconvenience, then, need be feared from the introduction of a measure so manifestly fatal to bribery, intimidation, and illegal influence? It is late now to reply to the objection, now well-nigh shamed into silence, that the alteration in question is un-English. The same objection lies, with equal force against the Reformation, the Abolition of Slavery, the admission of Catholics and Dissenters to civil privileges, the New Police, and every thing else that is new. A far more serious charge, however, is brought against it. It is said that it would produce and encourage duplicity by allowing of persons accepting rewards, while under the screen of secresy, they violate the conditions on which they were given. In reply to this, however, we may remark, *in limine*, that the known possibility of such a course being pursued, will greatly prevent the offer of bribes, and thus the evil will at once destroy its antagonist evil, and cure itself. But, apart from this plain mode of showing, that no new opportunities for duplicity will be introduced by the ballot, there are certain most fearful occasions of fraud and falsehood necessarily obtaining under the system of open voting which the secret

method would summarily abolish. These are very lucidly exposed by Lord Nugent.

'It will not, I presume,' says his Lordship,' 'be denied, that the Elective Franchise is a privilege, with duties, corresponding and commensurate, attached to it.

'These duties are, first, to conform strictly to the spirit of all the conditions set forth in the elector's oath. That oath extends far beyond the having received no bribe. It extends to the having received not only no employment, gift, or reward, but no promise thereof. Now I desire to guard my argument against any quibbling distinction between the voting from the promise of reward, or voting from the expectation or fear of punishment. It is, as we have before argued, the same case, whether the vote be given from hope of pecuniary advantage, or from fear of pecuniary loss.

'The duties which belong to the voter, and are attached to the privilege of the franchise, are, secondly, to vote for the candidate or candidates whom he believes worthiest. To exercise any privilege, without performing the duties belonging to it, is a fraud. Whoever then governs or sways his vote by any motive, except his own sense of the superior worthiness of those he votes for, is guilty of a fraud. And whoever by any hint, the most remote, biases a man in respect of a vote, through hope of a pecuniary advantage, or fear of loss, is guilty of defrauding him of a privilege, given to him for his own use, and not for that of another; and is, moreover, guilty of conspiring with him to defraud the public of its right to the vote, freely given, for the candidate or candidates whom this voter in his conscience believes fittest, among those presented to his choice, to represent the people.

'So much for the fraud practised under, and arising out of, the *open* system. Now as respects the falsehood. A vote is the public testimony we give to what we believe to be the fitness of those for whom we vote. If we give that vote, away from him whom we believe to be the fittest, to another, we give false testimony. The vote becomes then a falsehood, told for our own private interests, to the injury of the interests of the commonwealth.

'So much for the falsehood practised under, and arising out of, the *open* system.

'Grant me, what is sometimes lost sight of, that a deception practised on the public is of *equal* turpitude with a deception practised against an individual. And now, then, I submit that, unless there be some proveable fallacy in the foregoing arguments, this is the result. First, that, under the secret system, if any fraud or falsehood arise, it will be practised only against the private corruptor, by those who now, under the open system, practise it, at his procurement, against the public; and that thus there will be no *new* principle of fraud or falsehood introduced. And secondly, that as, under the secret system, there will be nothing to be gained by interrogatory, influence must take some other course; it will not exercise itself in questions before or after an election, and, pro tanto, the fraud and falsehood now prac-

tised will cease. That not only, then, no new system of deception will be introduced, but an old one will be destroyed.

'But let me not forget, that a great portion of our adversaries' case on the fraud and falsehood, and indeed the principal portion of the case as set forth in the article in the Edinburgh Review in January, 1833, turns, not upon the deceit expected to be practised in answer to the direct interrogatory, but upon the habitual hypocrisy which it is said would be necessary on the part of the dependent voter who has voted against his landlord, to sustain the deception, and to give effect to the protection which the ballot extends to him. A systematic concealment and denial of those political opinions in conformity with which the secret vote was given, and the avowal or detection of which would amount to an avowal or detection of what the ballot is to render secret. 'A system,' says the Reviewer, 'under which the voter's whole life must be so adjusted, as to deceive the person whose vengeance he has reason to dread;' or under which, as a later writer less temperately phrases it, 'his whole life must be a lie.'* This argument should not be neglected. It is only necessary, however, to point out, that precisely the same answer applies itself to the subject of the sustained hypocrisy which has been already given to that of the particular falsehood. The voter who is *now* obliged, in *open* voting, to use his suffrage against his opinions, is in like manner forced into so adjusting his whole life as to deceive, not only the person whose vengeance he has to dread, but every body else also. At every public meeting, he swells the retinue arrayed to make head against his real wishes and principles. At every convivial meeting he greets with cheers the speech which his judgment may silently disapprove, and haply his taste may ridicule; he honours, with an apparently hearty bumper the toast which he secretly eschews, and receives, with an apparently hearty welcome, the party champion, against whom he would fain have voted, but dared not. Surely it is plain, that to impute to the system of secret voting, that, under it, this sort of sustained hypocrisy may, in some instances, be necessary to ensure the protection of the dependent voter, is only to say that, in those instances, secret voting will leave unremedied that degrading daily fiction, that 'adjustment of a whole life to deceive,' which is practised by every dependent voter *now* who is obliged by open voting to bend his suffrage to dictation.' pp. 14—18.

But there is still another objection urged against the secret mode of voting, which, from its assuming the ground of justice, rather than of expediency, demands some attention. Lord Nugent states it thus:—

'The Elective Franchise, we have been told, is a trust, vested in those of the community who are qualified to vote, to be exercised by them in behalf and for the benefit of those who do not possess the qualification required by law, but who still are represented by the

* 'Thoughts on the Ballot.' Ridgway and Sons, 1837.

members returned to serve in Parliament. From these premises, which are stated with great want of precision, a strange and most illogical inference is drawn; namely, that the enfranchised are, *therefore*, personally answerable to the unenfranchised for the manner in which that trust is exercised, and that, *therefore*, the trust ought to be exercised in public. pp. 24, 25.

Now, to this it would be sufficient to reply, that the possession of a free vote necessarily implies the equal justifiableness (as far as the claims of others are concerned), of espousing either side; so that, whatever course a voter may take, he can do no wrong, and cannot, therefore, become amenable to the unrepresented; especially as, in either case, he will have a large proportion of those unrepresented on his side.

In short, if a man can act morally wrong in the conscientious exercise of his franchise, let that exercise be forbidden, or fettered with conditional penalties; if he cannot so do wrong, it is absurd to speak of responsibility. A different mode of dealing with this argument is adopted by Lord Nugent, which appears to us to set the matter at rest. But we have already exceeded our limits, and must therefore pass on.

In conjunction with this great measure, the privilege of voting must be very widely extended. The ballot, without this, will disappoint, we fear, as a practical law, the expectations of its more sanguine friends. With it, it will achieve wonders. The apprehensions which too many indulge respecting an extension of the suffrage, are, we are persuaded, altogether unfounded. They proceed either from ignorance of the true character of the people, or from an ungenerous want of confidence in them. Those who are disposed to offer apologies for flagrant abuses of power and of patronage, which too frequently disgrace the great of the earth, and deem it a sort of sacrilege to allude to them, are the most ready to indulge hard thoughts and supercilious airs towards the people. Men clothed in ermine must be above all suspicion, but folks working in factories must be rogues. Well-educated persons, who are gentlemen by birth, will know better than to abuse their privileges; but poor men, who can scarcely read, and who have no respect for the laws, are only fit to be taxed, not trusted. The industry and strange productive skill; the order and dignified behaviour; the patience and enlightened forbearance of the great mass of British population, are, in the esteem of such reasoners, of no avail. Though quiet now, only give them the power, they say, and they will soon spread anarchy through the land. We most solemnly protest against such sentiments, and believe them to be grossly calumnious towards a class of the community who deserve the respect of their fellow-countrymen, and who have earned the admiration of the world. Hitherto, as the sphere

of popular privileges has been widened, the fruits of good government have been multiplied; and what right have we to suspect all who are at present without its range? Who are we that draw the line between the patriotic and the factious, between the precious and the vile, in the political community, always taking care to be within the favoured pale ourselves? There are thousands who are excluded from the liberty of voting at our hustings, who, notwithstanding the insults and suspicions they have as a body too long endured at the hands of their ascendants, would record their votes, if they could, in favour of great constitutional principles, often better understood by them than by their accusers; men who would despise childish fears on the one hand, and who would spurn coercion and bribes on the other. The day, we trust, is not very remote when rulers will do justice to the rights, the good sense, and the sound principles of all their subjects; and then the confidence, the attachment, and the outstretched right arm of a united people will be their recompence and defence.

A great and silent work, amidst all the noise of political partizanship is, however, going on among us. Whilst constituencies are contending for their favourite opinions, and representatives are striving for their seats; whilst cabinets are issuing their decrees, and sceptres are passing from hand to hand; knowledge is diffusing and imperceptibly enlarging its temple among men. A power quiet in its movements and all-penetrating in its presence; whose dominion is liberty, and whose foundation is light, is setting up its throne, and will finally subdue all things before it. Long-indulged prejudices and time-hallowed theories must pay tribute to its innovating sway; whilst schemes for the continuance of arbitrary rule, and sophisms as veils for interested designs, must vanish at its approach. Already it has quickened the great bulk of the people, and stirred into sleepless action the youth of these realms. Discussion is invited and opinion is formed on all themes connected with our country's weal, and a sentiment of self-respect, the basis of all true obedience, is sinking into the general mind. Thought is prying into secret chambers, and walking in public places; all men and all pretensions are subjected to its scrutiny; nor can rank or station repel its power. A broad full light is gradually falling on the opaquest parts of our national economy, and things which have been hidden for ages are glimmering into day. The whole extent of our political scenery, whether beautiful or barren, whether fruitful or noxious, is in the act of being revealed. The clashing notions of the more conspicuous actors on the political stage occasion us, therefore, but little disquiet, since we recognise a spirit residing in the nation, which, going out in its might, will hush every storm, and reconcile all things to itself.

Nor is this invisible agent straitened in its habitation any more than failing in its strength; stretching beyond our local boundaries, it is carrying its blessings and pursuing its triumphs in other climes. Wherever we turn, knowledge and ignorance, truth and error, liberty and oppression, are confronting each other. The monotony of unrelieved evil which attached to the face of society, and converted the world into a dark deep gulf, is yielding to some all-pervading power; and light and shade, life and death, are playing almost fantastically in the awful countenance of things. Europe, not long ago the outstretched theatre of war, and even now nestling the bloody monster in her skirts, is, we believe, acquiring wisdom. Take away her tyrants, and her people would prove themselves prepared for better men. They wait to walk in the light of British example. In the East,—the very temple of Satan,—the frightful incubus which has sat, amidst the silence of passing ages, on the human mind, is beginning to move. In the West, the degraded and neglected African is taught to read and trained to think, while his fetters are beginning to rust at his feet. In the New World, practices which violate at once nature, reason, and religion are boldly rebuked, and are bending beneath the struggle; and the islands of the sea are brightening under the beams of knowledge. The 'whole 'creation seems groaning and travailing in pain.' All things foretel a new and clearer day. The world, forsaking its tomb, is throwing aside its grave-clothes, and only waits the all-commanding voice, 'Loose it, and let it go.'

Nor is there the shadow of a doubt on our mind, as to the source of this great change;—as to the birth-place of this spirit which is new-modelling the world. It bespeaks the presence of a more than ordinary agency. It cannot be ascribed to the learning of the schools, much less to the force of arms. It is not the offspring of experience, nor the beautiful creation of ethical science. Neither education, nor the efforts of reason; neither the soundest maxims of human wisdom, nor the purest systems of legislation, could have set the universal mind in motion. Christianity, and Christianity alone, is the efficient cause of this incipient renovation. No other hand ever conducted men to an adequate height, from which to survey the wide-spread miseries of the world, or touched the human heart with an adequate power to dispose it to attempt their redress. No other system ever planted the great vital principles, or supplied the all-constraining motives, without which the exertion necessary to contend with a deeply-seated and universally-prevalent mischief could never have been sustained. It has thrown its light into recesses where no other beams could enter, and disclosed forms of evil which the philosophy of ages could never descry. It has laid bare the very roots of that poisonous tree, whose fruit has

corrupted and destroyed the nations, and has imparted the power to remedy the maladies it has discovered. By unfolding scenes which are incomparably higher than the dearest which are connected with the present world, Christianity incidentally teaches the essential dignity of men, and leaves on the minds of its possessors a sense of the value of their universal interests. It goes out, it is true, to prepare its votaries for another and an eternal state; but in doing so, it incontrovertibly shows, that beings capable of such a destiny have inherent claims to honour and respect in this. Though it is eminently not of this world, nor stoops to confer any secular distinctions, it cannot carry forward its special and spiritual triumphs without gladdening the scene of its wonders. It cannot alight among us, to fulfil its high designs, without illumining the whole theatre with its presence;—like its great Author, who could not go forward to the cross, there, by his vicarious death, to redeem the souls of men, without healing their bodies by the way. Should this divine agency be withdrawn, all others, which are but its satellites, would fail; society, not only in the special, but in every secondary sense, would retrograde; the nations would sullenly relapse into darkness and death; and the world, like the sea without salt, would become stagnant and putrid, and God would 'repent that he had made 'man upon the earth.' The spread of knowledge, the march of freedom, the desire of research, the sense of justice, which distinguish the present day, are but the shadow of the ark of God falling on society, as his servants are bearing it aloft through the nations of the earth;—are but the ever-deepening echo of nature to that divine Spirit whose voice is going forth out of Zion.

How, then, can we remain indifferent to the events which are passing around us, or stand motionless as statues, amid the glorious warfare which is stirring on every hand? Why should self-interest or timid policy, why should coarse opposition or mistaken scruples, why should the whinings or wailings of feeble friends or of impotent foes, hold us back from our duties or hinder our joys? Liberty is building her throne among men; the rod of the oppressor is breaking; and the wrongs of the oppressed are passing away; the cries of suffering millions, if we relax not, are about to be changed for tears of gratitude and songs of deliverance! And must we not partake the joy? The love of freedom, based on knowledge, like a mighty and resistless spirit, is making its lasting home in the bosom of our country, and settled purposes of advancing reform, like gigantic muscles, are spreading through the body politic, larger and still larger tributes are about to be exacted at the hands of arbitrary power, and the claims of the subject are to be still more elaborately enforced. And shall we take no part in the pacific strife? The distinction between true and nominal religion is becoming more fully defined, and the

iniquitous practices fausted on the public under the guise of Christianity, are laying bare, and being traced to their proper source. The evidence of the truth of revelation is accumulating before men, and the homage of millions to the excellence of its tendency and the purity of its precepts is offered all round the precincts of Zion. Instead of apostles, with their divine commission to 'heal the sick, raise the dead, and cast out devils,' awakening the attention and commanding the belief of men, a more spiritual presence is with us, and ancient superstitions are crumbling down; dynasties, established in fraud and cemented in blood, are waning. Tyrants are trembling on their thrones, and all things are heaving with life — while philosophic infidelity is standing speechless by! And is there nothing in all this to excite admiration and to kindle praise? What! are all these phenomena the results of chance, and therefore beneath the Christian's care? or do we pretend to dwell so high in the heavens as to be unable to notice what happens on the earth? Is that Being, with whom a 'thousand years are as one day, and one day is as a thousand years,' doing his will among the nations, through the medium of his church—is he treasuring up growing evidence under our own observation, which, like outstretched wings shall attend his word as it flies onward through the midst of heaven, to convince and to bless successive generations; and shall we turn with sanctimonious disdain away? As for us, heedless of such sickly qualms, we must be allowed to look out from the sphere of our own little interests, and beyond the limits of our ever diminishing span upon this sublime and inspiring field. We must be permitted, aided by the light of truth, to stretch our thoughts, and to place our minds in occasional sympathy with those grand designs which He is working out in the world, beneath whose feet, and at whose bidding the times and the seasons roll. We must exult in the downfal of whatever opposes common sense, individual rights, and universal freedom, and lend our feeble aid in hastening its destruction. We must rejoice that agencies are at work which will outlive the present times, and that great principles will be pushing on their conquests with augmenting force, as generations pass away; that the godlike process which has set in, taking its origin in truth, can never fail till the globe is filled with its fruits, and that the noises which are here and there audible around us, are but the murmurings of those 'mighty thunderings' foretold in Patmos, and which are yet destined to swell to high heaven from the lowly dwellings of men. 'Come forth out of thy royal chambers, O Prince of all the kings of the earth, put on the visible robes of thine imperial majesty; take up that unlimited sceptre which thy eternal Father hath bequeathed thee; for now thy bride calls for thee, and all creatures sigh to be renewed.'

Art. VIII. *The Biblical Cabinet; or Hermeneutical, Exegetical, and Philological Library. Vols. XVI. and XIX. Umbreit's Version of the Book of Job; with Expository Notes, and an Introduction on the Spirit, Composition, and Author of the Book.* Translated from the German by the Rev. JOHN HAMILTON GRAY, M. A., of Magdalene College, Oxford.

WE are afraid that this excellent publication is not supported according to its merits. At least we have missed it in many library where it ought to be found, a fact for which we can account only on the supposition that the study of the Scriptures in ne original tongues is not pursued among us with a due degree f diligence. We have seen no publication of the present day n our own language, which is so well calculated to promote a rofound and enlightened criticism of the sacred oracles, as the Biblical Cabinet. It supplies the English students of theology rith translations of some of the best works on biblical criticism, hich have been produced in modern Germany. A publication f this kind was greatly needed; for though the study of German s much more common with us than it ever was before, there are till very many to whom such works would afford invaluable aid, who cannot consult them except in a translation. To say that he neologism of the German critics deprives their works of value s to talk very idly. Many of their profoundest scholars, so far from being infected with rationalism, are its strongest antagonists. And even those who are more or less tainted with this baneful spirit may be used with great advantage, if men will only be careful to distinguish good from evil. How ridiculous, for examples to suppose that Hurnäl's Commentaries on the Gospels and the Acts, with all their rich profusion of historical and critical information, ought to remain a sealed book to the English theologian, because his remarks on the transfiguration, on the miracles attending the crucifixion of our Lord, on the conversion of Paul, and a few other subjects, are unsound in the extreme! Of all the errors which have ever corrupted the Christian theology, none are so unlikely to be naturalized in this country as the German neologism. With regard, moreover, to the publication before us, we are bound to observe, that comparatively few traces of this vicious influence are found in the twenty-two volumes to which it has already extended; and that where they *do* appear, they are almost always noted and condemned.

The sixteenth and nineteenth volumes of the Biblical Cabinet consist of a translation of the Book of Job, by Professor Umbreit of Heidelberg. Besides the present work, he has executed translations of the book of Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon, accompanied by critical and explanatory notes. In conjunction with Ullmann, he is the editor of a learned theological miscel-

lany, to which Lücke, Gieseler, and Nitzch are stated contributors. The work before us is calculated, we think, to be of great use to the critical student of the Hebrew Bible. The translation seems to be executed with great correctness; the notes display a large fund of Oriental learning. They are rendered particularly valuable from the circumstance that they contain very full and minute references to the best foreign works on the Hebrew and its cognate tongues. While the work is in general tolerably free from neologism, we regret to perceive here and there, a laxity and boldness of speculation, against which it is desirable to put the reader on his guard. We must not omit to mention, that the objectionable passages are almost always animadverted upon by the English translator.

Art. IX. BRIEF NOTICES.

The Letters of the Martyrs: collected and published in 1564. With a Preface by Miles Coverdale. And with Introductory Remarks by the Rev. Edward Bickersteth. London: Shaw. 1837.

We have no sympathy with the political Protestantism of the present day. We repudiate its spirit, and deplore the mischievous consequences which flow from it. The present volume, we suspect, owes its existence to this questionable source; yet we rejoice in its appearance, and receive it as a valuable boon. The Protestant martyrs of Queen Mary's reign have been much misunderstood. Neither their infirmities, nor their virtues, have been correctly traced. Each have been exaggerated—the one, by the malice of enemies, the other, by the blind partiality of friends. The one party has represented them as demons, the other as angels; and the lessons which their history teaches us, have, consequently, been lost to mankind. The present republication will serve to correct these evils, and must leave an impression on every candid mind of the eminent piety, and ardent zeal, of these sufferers for conscience' sake. We warmly recommend the volume to all who are interested in the history of these martyrs, and the practical exemplification of personal Christianity.

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1. *The Accidence of the French Grammar.* By P. F. Merlet, Professor of the French Language and Literature, in London University College. Third Edition.
2. *A Dictionary of Difficulties;* or, Appendix to the French Grammar. Second Edition. By P. F. Merlet. 1837.
3. *Le Traducteur:* or, Historical, Dramatic, and Miscellaneous Selections from the best French Writers. By P. F. Merlet, Professor of the French Language and Literature in London University College. Third Edition. 1837. Effingham Wilson.

We are glad to see new, improved, and cheapened editions of the works of Professor Merlet, an eminent French teacher, before he was

appointed Professor in the University. They are books which we can confidently recommend. To use a phrase which will be understood by teachers, they are books that work well. They are practical; and the result of very extensive practice and long experience. The four parts, which are to be had separately, and may be used separately, form perhaps, together, the most complete French grammar extant.

The *Traducteur* is a good reading-book, though, we think, too large. The Editor has excluded all pieces of a bad tendency, such as sometimes creep into works of this description.

Greek Testament. Griesbach's Text, with the various readings of Mill and Scholz. Taylor and Walton. 1837.

This edition of the Greek Testament is very beautifully printed. It contains the various readings as indicated on the title-page, marginal references, and a short account of each book prefixed to it. The chronological table at the beginning of the volume will be useful to those who will take the pains to refer to it. The last original collation of MSS. by Scholz has been carefully consulted, as well as the admirable edition of Lechmann.

We could have wished that the paper had been thicker. But that would have increased the bulk, and, of course, the price of the book. It is a very cheap book. The common school editions are more expensive, and less valuable. There is a frontispiece, containing a beautiful fac-simile of a portion of a MS. of the Gospels in the British Museum, with an illuminated heading. The vignette on the title-page is the silver penny (denarius) mentioned by the evangelists.

Primitive Christianity illustrated, in Thirty Sermons on various Doctrines, Ordinances, and Duties, taught and enforced by our Lord Jesus and his Apostles. By WILLIAM JONES. London: 8vo. Wightman. 1837.

Though differing from Mr. Jones in some few points of theological doctrine, we feel no hesitation in commending his volume to the approval of our readers. The sermons composing it are judicious, solid, and Scriptural, bespeaking an intimate acquaintance with the Divine word, and an honest solicitude to extend its practical influence. They are distinguished by a substratum of solid thought, clothed in a manly and nervous style. Those who look for excitement, rather than instruction,—for flowing and elegant periods, rather than a sound exposition of the Word of God,—will be disappointed; while others will ponder over its sedate and Scriptural statements with pleasure and advantage. We should be glad to speak in terms of equal commendation of the preface to the volume, but, in doing so, we should belie our convictions. There are undoubtedly evils,—great and glaring evils,—prevalent in the present day; but the distorted medium through which Mr. Jones surveys the professing world, is not the best adapted to apprise him of its character. But we will not be diverted from our purpose. The sermons are excellent; the preface is querulous, and deeply tinged with prejudice.

Art. X. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Just Published.

Views in India, chiefly among the Himalaya Mountains, by Lieut. G. F. White, of the 31st Regiment. Edited by Emma Roberts.

Heath's Book of Beauty, 1838. With beautifully-finished Engravings, from Drawings by the first Artists. Edited by the Countess of Blessington.

The Scenic Annual for 1838. Edited by Thomas Campbell, Esq.

Sacred Philosophy of the Seasons, illustrating the Perfections of God in the Phenomena of the Year. Autumn. By the Rev. Henry Duncan, D.D.

Electricity; its Nature, Operation, and Importance in the phenomena of the Universe. By William Leithead, Secretary to the London Electrical Society.

Essays and Correspondence, chiefly on Scriptural subjects. By the late John Walker, some time a fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and a Clergyman of the Establishment. Collected and prepared for the press by William Burton. 2 vols., 8vo.

The Book of the Church. By Robert Southey, Esq., LL.D. Fourth edition. 1 vol., 8vo.

Winter. By Robert Mudie.

The Chinese; a General Description of the Empire of China and its Inhabitants. By John Francis Davis, Esq., F.R.S. (Library of Entertaining Knowledge). 2 vols.

Bible Quadrupeds; the Natural History of the Animals mentioned in Scripture. With sixteen Engravings. By S. Williams.

Anglo-India, Social, Moral, and Political; being a collection of Papers from the Asiatic Journal. 3 vols., post 8vo.

The Rural Life of England. By William Howitt. 2 vols., post 8vo.

Celestial Scenery: the Wonders of the Planetary System displayed; illustrating the Perfections of Deity, and a Plurality of Worlds. By Thomas Dick, LL.D.

The English Martyrology, abridged from Fox. By Charlotte Elizabeth. Vol. II.

A Grammar of the New Testament Dialect. By Moses Stuart.

Colloquies. Imaginary Conversations between a Phrenologist and the Shade of Dugald Stewart. By J. Slade, M. D.

Cursory Views of the State of Religion in France, occasioned by a recent Journey; with thoughts on the means of communicating Scriptural good generally. In ten Letters to the Rev. John Foster, of Bristol. By John Sheppard, Esq., author of "Thoughts on Devotion," &c. 12mo.

English Grammar and Composition: a General Introduction to a Course of Lectures on English Grammar and Composition. By Henry Rogers, Professor of English Language and Literature in University College, London. 18mo.

In the Press.

British Colonization and the Coloured Tribes. By S. Bannister, Esq., late Attorney-general of New South Wales. 1 vol., 12mo.—Early in January.

Proverbial Philosophy, a book of Thoughts and Arguments, originally treated. By Martin Farquhar Tupper, Esq.

Mr. Jones has in the press the third and concluding volume of his "Lectures on Ecclesiastical History," bringing the subject down to the present time. He proposes issuing it in monthly parts, the first of which will appear on the 1st of February.

The Rev. Robert Simson, M. A., has nearly ready for publication a work entitled, "The Parent's Guide to a Liberal and Comprehensive Education;" consisting of a copious Selection of Questions and Exercises on Mathematics, Algebra, and Natural Philosophy; with a series of Interrogatories by the late Dr. Ritchie, of the London University.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR FEBRUARY, 1838.

Art. I. *Holy Scripture Verified; or the Divine Authority of the Bible Confirmed by an Appeal to Facts of Science, History, and Human Consciousness.* By GEORGE REDFORD, D.D. LL.D. 8vo. London: Jackson & Walford. 1837.

IF the Bible be of divine authority, it must be true. The premises preclude the supposition alike of fraud and of mistake. But the question of the truth of the Bible is very different from that of its inspiration. A book may be true, without having been inspired. And when we take up the question relating to the truth of the Bible, not as established by its inspiration, but as apart from this argument, it puts the point of inspiration for the time into abeyance. We assert, for the moment, nothing about it. We maintain only, that, whether inspired or not, the Bible is true; and for proof of this assertion, we make our appeal to all matters in relation to which its truth can be tested.

There is much use in taking occasionally this ground. If it can be maintained, it affords an argument for the entire truth of the sacred volume. If it is true in all points in which it can be brought to the test, it may fairly be inferred to be altogether so. And it is placing the Bible on no mean altitude, to determine it to be a book of truth. The matters it treats of are not only so numerous and so various, but so important and so peculiar, that the volume is invaluable if it be *only* true, without having been inspired. It is in this case unspeakably the most precious book in the world. It thus also stands vindicated from one of the principal charges brought against it by unbelievers, namely, that it is a book of fables and of fallacies. We have a degree of pleasure in seeing the vaunting infidel constrained at

last to put the Bible on the same shelf with Herodotus, Hesiod, and Plato, as a book of true history and philosophy.

But the matter does not end here. If the Bible be true, it must have had a divine origin. It is true in such singular and peculiar respects, and in relation to such extraordinary statements and transactions, that its production cannot be referred to uninspired penmen. When it is observed what facts it communicates, what events it foretels, what discoveries it anticipates, what problems it solves, to believe that men without inspiration wrote it, is far more difficult than to believe that 'holy men of 'God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.'

It is to this highly important use of the verification of Holy Scripture, that the author of the able and interesting volume now before us devotes himself. He is not the first who has treated it, nor does he pretend to be so. He makes, on the contrary, a very respectful mention of his precursors in the same line. But there is a freshness about his argument, having almost a resemblance to novelty, arising, in part, no doubt, from the circumstance he notices, that his subject has rarely been taken up in the single and prominent light in which he has set it; but in part, also, from the habit which unblushing infidels have had of reiterating that the Bible is *not* true. In this respect it almost seems as if the holy oracles had been put on their defence, that defence itself being difficult, if not impracticable. It is cheering to hear in this direction the sound of aggressive war, and to find the advocate of revelation appealing, not only to history and human consciousness, but to science itself,—the long vaunted instrument for showing the Bible to be false,—for unequivocal testimonies of its truth.

The argument is an appeal to facts; and, of course, to facts of every *date*, as well as of every class, by which the Holy Scriptures can be verified. It evidently includes, therefore, the entire argument from prophecy; or the proof of the inspiration of the Bible from the fulfilment of its predictions. So our author treats it, and devotes several lectures to topics of this class—the Perpetuity of the Church, the State of the Jews, the Kingdom of Messiah. We are not going to find fault with this, which was fairly at his option. We cannot help calling to mind, however, that miracles and prophecy are the two great sources from which the external evidence of the inspiration of the Scriptures has at all times been drawn; that both have been very frequently and copiously treated, and the latter especially, with great power and beauty, very recently by Dr. Keith. The argument from prophecy, moreover, is so large and so prominent, that it both requires and deserves a distinct position and a separate treatment; and appears with scarcely sufficient dignity as an item of Scriptural verification. We think, therefore, that Dr. Redford would

have done wisely, if he had resolutely avoided the tempting department of prophecy, to which, as a whole, he must have been quite aware he could do no justice, and expatiated only on the other topics which his line of argument presented to him. His whole ground would then have been comparatively fresh and untrodden; and it would have been quite large enough, even if his choosing it had taken some pages from the bulk of the volume. We shall, in this respect, take the liberty of doing what the author has not done. Certifying our readers of the ability with which the prophetical topics are treated, in common with all the rest, we shall take no further notice of them; but shall direct our attention to what we deem the more interesting portion of the work before us.

The first two lectures are devoted to the Mosaic Statement of Physical Facts, relating to the Creation and the Human Race. The author soon comes in contact, of course, with the geological theorists, whom he handles on the whole with great power and skill. We should with pleasure follow him, and gratify our readers with some valuable quotations, but that we shall have an early occasion of presenting the subject to them more fully in a notice of some recent and important geological works.

He next notices the origin of the human race, according to Moses, in a single pair; on which subject we extract the following interesting and judicious remarks, which may be taken as a fair sample of his treatment of the various topics which rise in his way.

'This fact, however, as stated by the Bible, has been much disputed and denied. Extensive and minute researches have been made, with the view of proving that there are facts in the natural history, or anatomy, or mental endowments of some tribes, irreconcilable with the Mosaic theory. The recent tendency of research, however, upon this subject, conducted upon scientific principles, has clearly been towards the simplicity of the Scriptural statement. The philosophers have gradually *narrowed* and not *widened* their views of original diversities. Some naturalists have divided the human race into seven or eight, others into four or five distinct species. These they describe under the following terms: 1. the Caucasian; 2. the Negro; 3. the Tartar; 4. the American; and perhaps, as a fifth, the Malay; but even these have been of late further reduced to three. Each of these includes many minor varieties of colour and form, which the naturalists are constrained to admit, from well ascertained facts, may alter the work of time and physical causes. But this very admission seems fatal to the theory of any original diversity. For if time and physical circumstances may have produced such differences, they will find it exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to prove, that causes 'some-'what more painful, and acting for a longer time,' as Sir James Mackintosh observes, 'may not at length have produced the wider dif-'ferences.'

'In fact, it appears more in analogy with what is well known of the varieties which occur among the animal races, to trace all those found among men to the causes alleged for some of them, than to suppose four or five different originations of mankind; especially when, after all, the human race are found to include fewer and less important diversities than the animal tribes. A natural and highly probable origin of these diversities can be traced in the very constitution of mankind. The human being possesses, physically, a far greater capacity and facility of adaptation to the varying circumstances of his condition, than any other animal. There are no laws of his nature that impose upon him what the naturalists denominate a special *habitat;* but he appears to have been designed to live on every part of the earth's surface, and upon a far greater variety of sustenance than any other creature.

'The varieties among the human tribes are stated, by the most eminent naturalists, to be much less considerable than are found among the animal races. Between the man of the American forests in the north, or the Patagonians of the south of the same continent, and the native of Southern Africa, or of New Holland, or the European, the physical differences are far less than between brute animals of the same species from the same places. 'Nature,' says the Count de Buffon, 'seems to have adopted a smaller scale in the formation of *animals* 'for the new world, and to have formed *man* alone in the same mould 'as elsewhere.' Sir Charles Bell says, 'Man is superior in organiza-'tion to the brutes, superior in strength, in *that constitutional pro-'perty which enables him to fulfil his destinies, by extending his race* '*in every climate, and living on every variety of nutriment.* Gather 'together the most powerful brutes from the arctic circle, or torrid 'zone, to some central point, and they will die; diseases will be 'generated, and will destroy them.'

'Indeed the opinions and theories of naturalists have for many years been gradually undergoing a process of simplification; and since the appearance of the elaborate work of Dr. Pritchard upon this subject, which seems to take it up in all its possible aspects and bearings, we should fully expect, that the notion of an original diversity of races can find no subterfuge in analogical reasoning, and as little in historical facts.'—pp. 46—49.

Our author next touches on Man's Dominion over the Mundane Creation, the Social Propensity of Mankind, the Sentence denounced on the Man and Woman respectively after the Fall, the traces of a Universal Deluge, and the Covenant with Noah; all which we pass over, to notice a little more fully his admirable remarks on the Confusion of Tongues.

'The existing diversity of languages (says Dr. Redford) is, by believers in revelation, attributed to this origin. Here is presumed to be their source; and, if this narrative is true, then we conceive there may be found satisfactory proof, that nothing short of the agency here exhibited could have originated that diversity which we now find

existing, no doubt greatly increased from the first confusion, among the languages of mankind.

* * * *

'There are two branches into which this question divides itself. The *first* is, whether human language appears to have been originally one, or bears traces of several independent originations; the *second* is, whether, supposing its primitive individuality, the cause assigned by Moses for the existing diversities is the true one, or whether they might all have grown, by time and the changes of human affairs, out of the single original language. . . . . .

'The first is a question which has been long and laboriously treated, and, until late years, with an aspect far from favourable towards the Mosaic record. The course of inquiry seemed to prove, that the immense differences existing among the languages of the world could never have arisen out of a common or parent stock; but, as these inquiries have advanced, and become matured, unsuspected affinities have been discovered, and fragments of some original tongue have appeared every where traceable, as supplying common elements to them all. Moreover, it has been determined by these researches, that, as each class of languages is marked by affinities with other classes, and these affinities bear no trace of being descended lineally from each other, but to be independent branches of a common root, or stock; the conclusion is naturally and necessarily drawn, that, at one period, there existed only that one form of language, which has communicated these common elements to all, and which so identify and concentrate them, as to make it next to impossible that they should have had independent and original formations of their own. The differences are not great enough to necessitate independent originations, and the resemblances are too striking to comport with any theory but that of a common source. So that the strictly philological controversy may now be said to have deprived the unbeliever of all right to question this one part of the Mosaic statement.

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'Moses attributes this first diversity which arose in human language to a miracle. We apprehend it will be found, upon examination, that no other adequate cause can be assigned for it; for though, at first sight of this question, it would naturally be suggested, that many diversities of language, and even entirely new ones, have arisen in a manner perfectly natural and explicable, yet none of these cases can be applied to the solution of the difficulty before us.

'It is perfectly intelligible how two languages, commixed by colonists from different places, or by the invasion of the one upon the other, should produce a third language; but the admission of this throws no light upon the case of a solitary language in the world, spoken by all the human beings then in it, becoming two or more. For, admit that mankind once consisted of a few families, all speaking the same language, and suppose them to multiply ever so fast, yet it is obvious that the parent's language will still descend from father to son, just as readily and as necessarily as his nature. There being supposed no new language to arise from any foreign quarter to invade the old one, from

whence is any sudden infraction or alteration to originate? It would appear that the child *must* learn the language of the parent; he *can* learn no other: and so on, through the entire succession of human generations. He can be under no inducement, he can be influenced by no imaginable cause, to leave it off, and invent another for himself. He cannot, even if he would, abandon his mother tongue. His very ideas are all bound up in it. He must, in like manner, transmit his native language to his children; and thus no new language could possibly arise out of a single one, but by a process in the first instance inconceivably slower than that which we witness in the present day, when changes are flowing in from various causes, which could not then have supplied them, because they did not exist.'—pp. 156, 165.

After adverting to the origin of nations, the tripartite division of mankind, and the prophecy of Noah respecting the national character and condition of the races derived from his three sons, our author enters on the second principal division of his subject —the mental and moral condition of mankind. He has here to do with the doctrine of a Moral Apostacy, as declared in holy writ, and the multiplied evidences and traces of such an apostacy found in human nature. He touches with great justice on mental and bodily suffering—traces of social and individual degradation, combined with vestiges of primitive excellence—man's practical aversion from moral goodness, yet sentimental approbation of it —contrarieties and contradictions in human nature—the passion for immortality—the loss of the knowledge of the true God, and thereby of the Supreme Good, and concludes with a general review of man's condition, from which we give the following extract.

'What, then, upon the whole, is the moral condition of human nature? Those who are most extensively and minutely versed in its history know, that it is, in the main, a register of crimes and vices, varied occasionally by follies and sufferings. Every thing seems out of course, in this strange mixture of wickedness and ferocity. Here reason and folly alternately rule. Grandeur and meanness, suffering and enjoyment, every where combine in the human character. All sorts of atrocities mingle with all sorts of levities; every degree of wretchedness with every degree of gratification; conscious guilt with daring presumption. Men are, by turns, fools and sages, vassals and tyrants, criminals and self tormentors; at one time sober, at another frantic, now ready to destroy themselves through remorse, anon transported with ecstasies of joy, by the very sins that had awakened their remorse. Extremes of all kinds, extravagances in all things, contradictions unceasing, meet in our disordered nature. Men have all along, from the first, been tormenting, corrupting, and sacrificing each other, under the malignant anticipation of extracting their own felicity from each other's suffering, their own good from others' ill. What a chimera, then, is man! What a surprising novelty! What a confused chaos! What a subject of contradictions! What a

professed judge of all things, and yet a feeble worm of the earth; the great depository and guardian of the truth, and yet a huddle of uncertainty; THE GLORY AND THE SCANDAL OF THE UNIVERSE!'*—pp. 240, 241.

The fourth lecture is devoted to the coincidences between the doctrines of revelation and the general principles of the divine moral government, as deducible from the facts which appear in the constitution and history of human nature, the author following in the track of Dr. Butler. The facts of which he takes advantage here, are, that the being and perfections of a supreme Governor are universally recognized—that vice is distinguished from virtue, and attended with suffering, and that virtue has a tendency to well-being. He treats also of the doctrine of providence, the power and universality of conscience, the instinctive propensity to prayer, and the indelible sense of future accountableness. 'Our business,' he here justly says,

'Is to take up the undeniable facts discoverable in our common nature, and having learned what we can from them, and the most cautious exercise of our reason, to judge whether they tally with the sacred word; and then, if in this endeavour we should obtain satisfaction, we may safely proceed to infer, that the primary Author of that word, and of our nature, are the same.'—p. 251.

The ninth and concluding lecture (which our view of the unity of the subject induces us to notice here) is allotted to the doctrine of a divine and spiritual influence, as revealed in the Scriptures, and as realized in the history of Christianity and the experience of Christians. The effectual influence of the Holy Spirit on the heart is not merely a doctrine, but *a fact;* and when the doctrine is revealed, the facts go fully to its truth. With great justice our author thus speaks of conversion.

'The sacred record every where ascribes this great change to a divine influence, and it is manifest in fact that it is so: for we find persons constantly falling under the power of God's word whom we never expected to be so subdued, and concerning whom we could have augured nothing so desirable and felicitous; while others, who have ample opportunities, and the electest means, remain in a state of impiety, obstinacy, and vice; and some, too, are seen departing out of this life, without having consciously felt what the word represents as the genuine and necessary effect of divine influence on the heart.

'Now, then, is it possible to doubt the reality and efficiency of this operation, when we continually witness the most decisive illustrations of all that the Bible asserts on these points? Individuals subdued under the touch and power of conviction, they know not how, perhaps suddenly arrested by a single sentiment of scripture, or by the ministry

* Pascal's Thoughts.

of the word, and thrown into a state of alarm and self-condemnation, for which they find no palliation, and which cannot be relieved by any human considerations, but which the doctrines and promises of the divine word alone seem to meet and relieve. They may, at first, try their old amusements, or their habitual sins; but the relish is gone; all are embittered; or their old friends may endeavour to rally their spirits, and persuade them that they are only the dupes of their imagination, or have been imposed upon by fanaticism, or have suddenly and casually sunk into a fit of melancholy, which time and change of scene will remove; but it all proves conspicuously in vain; the authority of God has taken fast hold of their understanding and conscience; their imagination is filled with no unreasonable terror; they try to escape from their fears and griefs, but it is quite impossible. The impressions remain; the seeds are vital. They have taken root in nature. The word of God has revealed truths of the clearest evidence and deepest interest; hence their fears, instead of being dissipated, rise higher; and their minds, instead of recovering their wonted indifference to divine things, become increasingly like a troubled sea. Their resistance to the force of conviction, and the stirring of the *secret* power of God, is fruitless, and at length they are constrained to yield, and submit themselves to the prescribed, though hitherto despised and hated doctrine; and so, falling on their knees in the deepest penitence, they invoke the divine mercy. At length they perceive the authority, the beauty, the adaptation of the whole gospel scheme to their particular case and experience. They may continue for weeks and months, or sometimes for years, passing through this process, before the distress of their mind, or the violence of their convictions, yields to the consoling doctrine of forgiveness. But, at length, by continued prayer, attention to the scriptures, and belief of the gospel, they are led to such views of the Saviour as effectually remove and suppress both their fears and their sins: the promises inspire hope, and induce them to indulge a full confidence of final acceptance.

'All this is terminated by an entire change in the character and habits, approximating gradually to the standard of gospel purity. They thence begin to pursue a new course of life, conforming themselves, as by an inward constraining influence, to practices which, before, they disapproved and disliked, and most ardently cherishing views and principles which formerly were either unknown or hated, and taking a view of life, its ends and woes, altogether the reverse of that which previously engaged them.

'Now these are not rare cases, nor such as can by any possibility be attributed to delusion, to the effect of imagination, or of an unsound state of mind. They cannot be denied or explained away; but are obviously the effect of a most powerful, wonderful, and peculiar cause; since the instances are so numerous, and are to be met with among all classes and professions, among those most fortified by reason, philosophy, and learning, against any sudden or fanatical notions, and whose change evinces a power above nature, and which no one could either have foreseen or exerted, but a Being of infinite wisdom and power.'—pp. 590, 593.

We have made our extracts from this volume of considerable length, in order to let it speak for itself, and to put our readers in possession of the scope and value of the argument pursued. We estimate the volume highly. It will well repay an attentive perusal. Of course, in such a book, on such a subject, it would be easy to find matter for criticism, but we like it too well to be critical. Yet we must say a few words. The style is neither so compact, nor so perfectly finished, as it might be. Nor does the author confine himself so closely to his subject, as would have been desirable. The force of his argument is often diminished, and its very scope sometimes lost sight of, through the introduction of extraneous matter. Much of this matter is valuable; and we were especially pleased with his exhibition and refutation of the German neology, in the fifth lecture, which we would have presented to our readers, but that it is too long for our pages. But the value of the matter is no sufficient compensation for the enfeebling of the argument. Some of his statements we think questionable. We give an example.

'The scripture represents man as having, in the first apostacy, lost the divine presence and favour, become an exile and outcast from the bliss of the paradisaical state, and as deprived of that reflection of the divine intelligence upon his mind, which was the source of his wisdom, and the highest glory of his being.... *No visitation could be more just*, more in character, than that he should be left without that supreme and guiding light which he had abused and despised,' &c.—p. 229.

Now we do not know that the author's argument required him to meddle with *the justice* of this visitation at all, he is appealing to *facts;* but a reference to the sin of the first man in despising 'the guiding light,' is but an unsatisfactory mode of establishing the justice of its denial to all his race. *They* have not despised it. The author also falls occasionally into something like inconsistency. Thus, at p. 537, he says, of the early triumphs of Christianity,

'Why else, we might ask, was the conversion of the heathens then so easy a work, compared with what it is now, when we have every facility and advantage of learning, experience, and antiquity, all on our side? *Miracle alone can explain it.*'

We are not quite sure of this. Would not an extraordinary measure of the Holy Spirit's influence explain it as well? And is Dr. Redford prepared for the conclusion, that it is miracles, rather than an outpouring of the Spirit, which we want to hasten our missionary triumphs? Miracles demonstrate the truth of Christianity; but is a conviction of the truth of Christianity inseparable from conversion? Miracles abounded in the ministry of

Christ, but conversions did not. But we will adduce an authority to which we are sure Dr. Redford will defer—his own.

'To what then, I would ask, *but the divine influence,* can we attribute the immediate dissemination of the gospel, at a crisis when, from the ignominious death of its Author, there was every rational probability of its suppression, and a dissemination to an extent which otherwise many years would not have sufficed to accomplish?'—p. 571.

This passage is quoted from the ninth lecture, in which the author treats of the doctrine of divine influence, and a large part of which he devotes, not—which was his object—to the comparison of this doctrine with facts, but—*which* was *not* his object—to the establishment of it by analogies. And we must be permitted to say one word on the view he puts forward. He tells us that physical effects are traceable to spiritual or immaterial causes; that mental power is the source of our own voluntary actions; and that we naturally ascribe the invisible agency operating through all material causes and effects to a divine and infinite Spirit. He goes on to assert the probability that the Divine Spirit exercises a similar influence over human minds; and draws analogies in favour of the doctrine from the influence of one human mind upon another, by the eye, by writing, and by friendship. He then gives us the sum of his observations in these remarkable words:—

'It is in theology, as in physics; in moral, as in material causes and effects; the final one to which we are constrained to trace up ALL others, is spiritual and divine.'—p. 567.

We will not stop to notice the misapplication of the term 'final cause' in this argument, which is somewhat strange for so eminent a writer, but is doubtless an inadvertency. What has struck us, and we are sure it will strike the author himself, with surprise, is the broad assertion that ALL moral effects are to be traced to a divine cause. Dr. Redford never could have intended to affirm this, and to represent God as the author of sin. And yet this startling and inadmissible conclusion not unnaturally results from the mode of illustration he has adopted. The fundamental mistake lies, in comparing the *gracious* influence of the Spirit of God with that divine energy which pervades—and must pervade, because it upholds—the physical world. Doubtless there is a similar energy from God pervading the universe of rational beings, and upholding their moral powers, even when exerted in opposition to his will. But this is not the ultimate cause of moral actions. The institution of a system of moral government, implies of necessity the existence of independent springs of those moral actions which are to be regulated and recompensed. The influence of the Spirit of God which *guides*

he moral agent, is altogether different from that which *upholds* im. The latter is physical, the former is, in the *evangelical* ense, spiritual, or we should rather say, holy. And it is this ocal, partial, and sovereignly dispensed influence, which is the rigin and support of true religion; and not that divine energy hich animates and sustains alike all departments of the universe. And what proves religion to be of God, is, not that *all* moral effects ust originate with Him, for in that case there could be no scope or argument, but that there is no influence but His, in which here could have originated *such* effects as religion exhibits to the orld.

Art. II. *Œuvres de Platon: traduits par Victor Cousin.* 12 Vols. Paris. 1825—1837.

The study of the systems of mental philosophy which have been proposed by the sages of heathenism, unattractive as it is in many respects, derives however some interest from its bearing on certain points of what is commonly called natural religion. Enjoying the light of revelation, we are in danger of supposing that arguments drawn from reason in proof or support of some of the fundamental truths of religion have more weight than really belongs to them: we may be even prone to imagine that any revelation from heaven relating to such truths may, indeed, be an assistance to us, but is not indispensably necessary in order to their being known. For instance, the Being and Attributes of God, the immortality of the soul, and a future state of retribution, are regarded as facts, the knowledge of which the mind of man possesses, or may possess, antecedently to any revelation—nay, even as a condition necessarily presupposed in order to his receiving such a revelation at all. In forming a judgment, however, on the question, what knowledge of religious truths man is able to gain by the unassisted exercise of his intellect, we should do well to mistrust the impression which we receive of the strength of reasonings pursued by men, with whom the propositions to be proved were already familiar and certain, and to turn rather to the consideration of those processes of inquiry which have been adopted by men under different circumstances—men possessing every advantage which natural gifts and a well-trained intellect could bestow, but not possessing the advantage of knowing all the results aimed at before the inquiry was commenced. If in such inquiries, men like Plato are found to fail, how small is the probability that any could have succeeded! And

the probability will appear yet further lessened, when we recollect, that it is more than possible that in their investigations such men have not been without some assistance, even from revelation. The scattered and disfigured truths which tradition preserved, may not have been overlooked by the curious inquirers of antiquity; who, as is well known, ransacked, in their seekings 'after wisdom,' every depository of learning, which seemed to promise the slightest assistance to their inquiries.

We now purpose laying before our readers an account of the views which the great master-genius of Greece has taken of the condition and prospects of the Soul, together with a sketch of the arguments which have been adduced by him in defence of those views.

We must first direct attention to a discourse in the Phædrus—a piece most remarkably impregnated by the graces of the Platonic style, heightened to a fervidness and intensity of coloring, which, though frequent and considerate perusal can alone fully realize, yet cannot fail to compensate the tasteful reader with feelings of no ordinary gratification. At the same time, in venturing to give a sketch of the passage, we experience a little reluctance. We are strongly reminded with Ast, of the comparison which Alcibiades* makes of Socrates; whom he likens to the Silen-statues used by statuaries of Greece as depositories of those choicer and more delicate *morceaux* of their art, in which they embodied their conceptions of divine beauty; and we fear that our readers will be struck by the outward unseemliness and grotesqueness of the imagery, without being put into a favourable position for distinguishing the higher meaning which Plato designed to convey. It is but fair to remark, that he has himself repeatedly spoken of the allegory with an air of irony and playful ridicule.† The piece we refer to is a Discourse on Love, which Socrates delivers to his young friend, the beautiful Phædrus. They are passing an hour of gaiety and juvenile exhilaration by the banks of the fable-peopled brook Ilissus, sheltered by the shade of the classic Plane tree, amidst the loud chirpings of the Grecian grasshopper; it is in fact to a sanctuary of Pan and the nymphs to which they have retreated. After a sportive defence of madness as the source to man of some of his best blessings, Socrates suddenly contracts his brow into a serious and dialectic frown, and thus delivers his reasonings to his admiring and intelligent friend. 'All soul is immortal; for that sub-'stance in nature which has the property of continual motion' is 'immortal, whereas that which exerts its motive power upon ex-

* Sympos. p. 216. D. E. (Steph.) Cf. Platon's Leben und Schriften, p. 100.
† Phædr. 257. A. 258. E. 259. A.

ternal objects only, and needs itself to be moved by something out of itself, as it is liable to a cessation of motion, is liable also to a cessation of life. That substance, then, alone, which moves itself, as never relinquishing itself, never ceases to move, but is on the contrary to all things besides which move the fountain and origination of motion. But the substance in nature which has the property of originating, must have always existed; for as every thing which comes into being must do so from an originating substance, this originating substance itself cannot come into being from any thing; for if it did, it would not be derived from originating substance, because *that* is itself—which is absurd. But since it never had a beginning of existence it must also be imperishable; for supposing the originating substance gone, there can never come into being either itself or anything 'else, since all things must come into being from originating sub-'stance. It appears then that the self-moving is the substance 'which originates motion, and this can never either cease or be-'gin to be; otherwise all heaven and all nature must fall to ruin 'and come to a stand-still, and never have any possibility of being 'brought into motion, and being again. That which is self-moved 'being then proved immortal, if any one affirm that such are the 'nature and attributes of soul, he will have no reason to fear con-'futation; for every body, the cause of whose motion is from with-'out, has no soul, but that which has its cause of motion within 'has soul, this being an attribute of soul. But if it is true that '*that* which moves itself is no other than soul, soul (both gener-'ically and individually) must of necessity have neither beginning 'nor end.'* Before we proceed we would remark that this argument is propounded in perfect seriousness, and is repeated at greater length in the tenth book of the laws (p. 894); in subsequent times was frequently made use of; and is detailed or recapitulated by Cicero in no less than four of his treatises (Senectut. 21. Tusc. Disp. I. 23. Somn. Scipion. 8. and De Repub. p. 327. Ed. Turn.) Our readers will observe that it proceeds on the supposition of there being no interference of any Supreme Creative Power in the spiritual world, but that we are to reason on the natural sequence of events, the substances of nature operating according to their own uncontrolled attributes. It is a matter of no little difficulty to divest one's self of all our Christian knowledge, and to judge of such reasoning from a heathen's ground of view.

The result of Socrates' argument is, that the soul has always existed. But how did it come into its present 'oyster-like' prison, the body, without losing those glorious percep-

* Phædr. p. 245.

tions of the Eternal and Universal, which mark its connexion with a higher state of existence? Whence those vivid intellections (to use a somewhat antiquated but useful word) of Ideas, the capacity for which constitutes the great distinction of a human soul above that of mere brute?* Plato answers that they are reminiscences of perceptions which the soul gained in a former state of existence. And here amidst all the playful imagery with which the subject is invested, the reader of Plato will not fail to recognize sentiments which have been seriously expressed by him in various other parts of his writings. Socrates proceeds in effect as follows:

What sort of thing the soul is, it would require a perfectly divine as well as a lengthened exposition to show; but we may make use of an earthly and inferior illustration to point out what it resembles. Let it resemble then a compound nature, consisting of a chariot and pair, together with their driver, all feathered. Gods have every thing, both steeds and drivers, perfect in its kind; but other souls (or Dæmons) are of a mixed character, one of the steeds being in their case of a bad temper and bad breed. [According to Ast's explanation,† the driver is τὸ λογιστικόν or ὁ νοῦς, corresponding to the supersensual world, or the super-celestial region; the good steed is τὸ θυμικόν, corresponding to the universe—the life which properly belongs to the Dæmons, between the divine or purely spiritual, and the earthly or sensuous; the bad steed is τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, or the grovelling instinct, sensuous desire, corresponding to the sublunary and earthly region. It

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* The word Idea in its platonic sense requires some illustration, being altogether different from the sense which it ordinarily bears in present usage. We know not how to describe it better than in the words of Tertullian de Anima, cap. 18. Vult enim Plato esse quasdam substantias invisibiles, incorporales, supermundiales, divinas et æternas, quas appellat IDEAS, id est, formas exemplares et causas naturalium istorum manifestorum et subjacentium corporalibus sensibus, et illas quidem esse veritates, hæc autem imagines rerum. Cousin in the preface to his translation of the Phædo, (vol. i. 172) remarks, 'in every thing the Idea is the interior and essential element, which adding itself to matter organizes it and gives it its form. The Idea is the internal type of a thing.——The Ideas of Plato are not merely directions for thought like the categories of Aristotle and Kent. At once principles and causes, they unite in themselves the principium essendi and the principium cognoscendi, which have been so unhappily severed by the schools.——Although, by their relation to the things which they animate and form, they fall accidentally into time and space, yet they are essentially strangers to the revolutions of time and space; they are eternal and imperishable.' Mr. Coleridge, who greatly insisted on confining the word to this use, at least, as expressing a form of thought says, 'that which contemplated objectively (i. e. as existing externally to the mind) we call a Law, the same contemplated subjectively (i. e. as existing in a subject or mind) is an Idea. Hence Plato often calls Ideas Laws.'—Constitut. of Church and State. p. 5. And this he affirms was the sense in which the word was always used in English previously to the Revolution.

† Platon's Leben und Schriften, p. 105.

s not very easy of explanation.] The plumage is light and buoyant, nd is more than any other part of the whole affair participant of the Divine. The Fair, the Wise, the Good, and every thing of that sort onstitute the Divine, and by such things the plumage is nourished and rows; while by the Ugly, the Evil, and other opposites, it pines and ies away.

'In the many and blissful progresses which Zeus, accompanied by the ther Gods, makes through the universe, arranging the affairs of his em- ire, he precedes, and the array of Gods and Dæmons follows: whoever leases and is able may attend; for there is no grudging or jealousy in hat holy company. On certain high occasions, when they go to feast hemselves with celestial banqueting, they have to mount the high ault of Heaven—a steep and toilsome ascent. The Gods indeed move with their usual undisturbed ease; but a Dæmon finds it difficult and roublesome, being kept down by the grovelling temper of the baser teed unless it has been well kept and managed. The prize aimed at is the contemplation of the super-celestial region—which no bard has ever described suitably to its excellency nor ever can—the Colourless, the Shapeless, the Intangible, which Reason, the master of the car, can alone contemplate, and in the contemplation of which Reason finds its supreme fruition and satisfying food. Here it gazes on very Truth, very Righteousness, very Knowledge—not those fleeting objects which we call by those names, but as they are in their real and eternal nature. Some souls following in the divine train reach to a steady view of the blissful sight, sorely harassed however all the while by the unruliness of their cattle; others are only able to catch a glimpse now and then; but others again fail altogether in spite of their most strenuous efforts, running foul of, and trampling down, each other, and getting into almost inextricable confusion, some breaking their plumage, others their limbs. Nor is their loss trifling if they fail frequently in this enterprize. The feathers unnourished by that supercelestial food, pine and moult away; and the soul thus losing its buoyancy, sinks to the earth and enters a human shape, being found in a station more or less elevated according to the degree in which it has in its previous state discerned the True. The philosopher and the lover of the fair occupy the highest place; the sophist, the demagogue, and the usurper of unconstitutional power (τύραννος) the lowest. They who in their several positions live righteously gain a better place; those who live wickedly, a worse: but to the same position as that which the soul of each came from, it cannot reach till after the expiration of ten thousand years, being unable to regain its plumage in a shorter space, excepting those who have lived in the undisturbed pursuit of wisdom, or have fed their plumage by the pure and philosophical contemplation of human beauty (φιλοσοφήσαντος ἀδόλως ἢ παιδεραστήσαντος μετὰ φιλοσοφίας). When the third millenary of years has passed, and they have thrice successively adopted such a course, these are then privileged to rise to their lost elevation. The rest, when quitting their first life on earth, undergo a solemn trial, and, according to the result of this trial, they either have to go to the prisons under the earth to endure the penalties they have merited, or else are elevated to some region of heaven in a

state of suitable reward. When the thousandth year arrives, both parties come, and in the order which lot prescribes, choose what form of earthly existence they will a second time take, whether human or bestial. A soul which once animated a brute's body may now take possession of a man's body, and vice versa—only none can become a human soul, unless it have at some time or other in its *dæmonial* life gained to a view of truth: for man must have the faculty of forming general and abstract conceptions, while these again are only reminiscences of those supercelestial realities. Hence it is that the philosopher's soul recovers its plumage so quickly; his memory is always busy with the contemplation of those objects, the contemplation of which alone makes even God's nature divine. Passing his time in these lofty recollections, and initiating his soul into these holy and perfecting *mysteries*, he keeps himself aloof from the business of the world; and is therefore condescendingly reproved and advised by his fellow-men as one beside himself; but little do they know the divine inspiration under which he lives.

'Every soul, now in a human form, as has been remarked, must at some time have beheld those glorious objects above; but the recollection of them is not alike easy to all. Those find it difficult which then contemplated it but slightly—those, too, who in their nether state have been so unhappy as to be led by evil associates into unrighteous courses and have thus forgotten the sacred realities which they then beheld. Neither again are all Ideas alike easily recalled. Faint is the light which beams forth from all earthly exhibitions of Justice, Healthful-Mindedness (σωφροσύνη) and what else is most loved and valued by the soul; and the organs of perception which we possess are too dim to allow men (and those but few) anything more than an indistinct perception of the qualities so obscurely adumbrated. The Idea of Beauty alone presents itself clearly and distinctly, both because it was the most brilliant object which we then contemplated, and because it is apprehended by the acutest of our bodily faculties now. If the same faculty of sight would contemplate Wisdom or any of the other Ideas which the soul holds so dear, wondrously vigorous would be the emotions of love and admiration which it would enkindle; but as it is, this privilege is allotted to beauty alone. He indeed, whose perceptions of the Real took place at a great distance of time, or who has impaired the recollection of it by the indulgence of vice, is slow to apprehend the Idea when thus shadowed forth; and instead therefore of reverencing with meek and awe-stricken worship that in which so glorious a form is enshrined, he brutishly seeks in it nothing more than an occasion for indulging the basest appetites of his nature. The wise man on the contrary finds it a vehicle by which his spirit may rise to the perception of that after which it most passionately yearns.'*

We cannot prosecute the passage any further, as it would lead us astray from our present purpose. Suffice it to say that it un-

* Phædr. pp. 245—251.

olds at length, and in a strain of the most elegant writing would that we could adequately represent it!) the benefit which he philosopher is to derive from the society of his youthful friend παιδικά). We are bound, however, in justice to truth, to say, hat when a certain, then too common, but now, blessed be God! nspeakable abuse of the relation contemplated is referred to, instead of denouncing it with those lightning words, which none ould hurl with greater ease or greater effect, the speaker is content with faintly condemning it as a peccadillo, arising from the ncontrolled spirit of the baser 'steed,' which may indeed for a ime, delay the 'fledging' of the parties concerned, but would ot necessarily have the effect of leading them out of that 'heavenward journey' on which they have unitedly entered.*

Our readers may perhaps suppose, that in making 'the tender assion' (for it was in fact that which in an Athenian most nearly orresponded to the tender passion among ourselves, except, of ourse, in its moral character) a principal preparation for the future state, Socrates could only be following the jocose humour of he hour in the direction which the character of his companion ould naturally give to it. We are however, disposed to think hat there was a deeper and more serious meaning than this upposition would allow. There can be no doubt left by the perusal of the most solemn of Plato's writings, the Phædo, that what we understand by virtue, was not regarded by him as the nly preparative or condition of future blessedness—at least, not f the highest blessedness. It was indeed a part, but it was ot the whole, nor even perhaps the greater part, of the oul's preparation.† The practice of vice is often condemned s unnatural and odious in itself, but yet more as having the necessary effect of disabling the soul for acquiring just views of the True and the Real—the Ideal—by immersing it in thoughts and desires pertaining more or less directly to the body; whereas, the desire and aim of the true philosopher is to separate the soul from the contagion of the body—to shut out from it the intrusions and falsehoods of bodily sensations, and to enable it 'purely and itself by itself to contemplate Truth as it exists in its own eternal nature.'‡ The great end of man is not, according to his view, to secure the approbation of a moral judge, but to gain to the knowledge of Truth, i. e. (for we must reiterate, this explanation being the very key of the Platonic philosophy), the Ideal. And we believe that Plato was perfectly serious in recommending the stu-

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* Ibid. p. 256. This matter is however referred to in a somewhat more satisfactory manner in the Laws (lib. i. p. 636. C.) The purity of Socrates' own character is placed beyond a doubt by Sympos. pp. 217—219.

† Cf. Phædon. p. 69. B. 82. B. ‡ Cf. Phædon, p. 67. A. B.

dy of beauty as the most excellent introduction into the 'heavenward journey' above described, and that too, for the reason which we have seen him give; the greater facility, to wit, of reaching the Idea here than in any other object of investigation.* Moreover, in Plato's conception, the Fair and the Just were kindred, if not identical, terms; so that an acquaintance with the one would either involve as a previous condition, or else necessarily lead to, an acquaintance with the other. It no doubt formed another motive in his own bosom, that discourses of this character would be more likely than any other to arrest and fascinate the beauty-loving (φιλόκαλον) mind of a young Athenian. We dread to add, but we fear we must, that another darker feature in the Athenian character might have been considered by the philosopher as available to the same end; and that where he ought to have assumed the stern tone of the monitor of conscience, he preferred the more *prudent* course of playing with allusions to a popular crime in order to cheat men into the pursuit of wisdom. When however we assert that the approbation of a moral judge was not that which Plato propounded as the great object of man's desires, we would carefully warn our readers against inferring that he deemed there would be no judgment passed upon the soul on its quitting the body. Men *were* to be deterred from vice by the fear of future punishment; but the object of a wise man was to reach *beyond* that—beyond even the favourable sentence of the judge. These were merely auxiliary supports to the system, not its limits, as they are in the Christian religion.

The Gorgias is written with the general view of bringing into contempt that science of artificial rhetoric which was professed by the Sophists, and eagerly cultivated by the young men of Athens, as the great instrument of ambition; an accomplishment necessary, as was alleged by its advocates, for the purpose of defence, in a state in which, no doubt, eloquence was power. The Platonic Socrates contrasts with the demagogue orator, the student of wisdom; one who lives the life of a recluse, ignorant of all but the highest and truest knowledge, and liable, as the ambitious and unprincipled Callicles tells him and he allows, to be haled into court by any villain, who may covet what he possesses, or even aim at his life; 'there,' he admits, 'he may be incapable of making the 'least defence that would avail for his deliverance, and would 'stand gaping with astonishment and dizzy with confusion, the 'butt of his malignant adversary.' We cannot stop to detail the

* We have felt greatly tempted to quote a passage in the Symposium, where the process is traced by which the mind is to rise διὰ τὸ ὀρθῶς παιδιραστεῖν step by step, to the conception of the absolute Fair, unmixed, untarnished and unvarying. But we can only give our readers the reference: Sympos. pp. 210, 211.

argument in which Socrates maintains and proves the magnanimous principles, that iniquity is and must be misery—that prosperous iniquity is of all calamities the most disastrous—that next to not sinning at all, the happiest event that can befal a man is to be purified from his sins by chastisement and suffering. The wisest course, he asserts, if not for this state of being, yet certainly for the future, is to be, as he himself is, the virtuous and contemplative philosopher. To meet the argument of expediency, which must indeed have been strong under such circumstances as then existed, Socrates seeks to outweigh the worldly advantages attending an opposite course, by the future miseries which it will entail. For the gratification of our readers, we quote from this concluding part of the argument a passage, which will serve to illustrate Plato's notions concerning the punishments of the future life.

'Hear now, as they say, a very pretty story, which you, I dare say, will think a fable; but I think it most sound truth, and as such I tell it you. As Homer tells us, Zeus, Poseidon, and Pluto, on receiving from their father the empire which he left them, divided it. In the time of Cronus, as indeed it always was as well as is now, the law of proceeding respecting men was, that he who had passed his life justly and holily, should, after death, go away to the Islands of the Blessed, where he abode in all happiness beyond the reach of evil; whilst he who had lived unjustly and irreligiously, was to go to the prison of vengeance and justice, which they call Tartarus. In the time of Cronus, and even recently since Zeus has had the empire, men were judged in this life by living men, who passed sentence on them the very day on which they were about to die. In consequence the trial was not conducted fairly. So Pluto, and the stewards of the Islands of the Blessed came together to Zeus, and said that it was a common thing for men to come to each region who had no business there; upon which Zeus said, 'I will put a stop to this: at present the trials are conducted badly, through the tried party being alive, and thus having a dress on; many with bad souls are dressed up with handsome bodies and various advantages of birth and wealth, and on the trial are attended by crowds of people vouching for the righteousness of their lives. By all these circumstances the judges are put out, having besides the disadvantage of being themselves dressed, having eyes and ears and their bodies generally operating as a veil between their souls and the objects which they are to consider.''

Zeus then tells them the new arrangement which he has made, which will appear presently. Then Socrates continues:

'This, Callicles, is what I have heard, and I believe it to be true; and accordingly I reckon that the result is about as follows. Death, as it seems to me, is no other than the separation of two things, soul and body. On being separated, each has nearly the same qualities

that it had when the man was alive. The body still continues to exhibit its general characteristics as received from nature, as well as all those which arise whether from the personal habits of the individual or from impressions from without: if the body was large by natural conformation, or by the individual's manner of living, the corpse is also large; if fat, fat; and so on: if the man wore long hair, the corpse has long hair: if, again, he was one whose back was familiar with the whip, and he had dishonourable scars, whether of flogging or of other wounds, the corpse exhibits the same marks; and if his limbs had been broken or twisted awry when alive, they are so still, now that he is dead. In one word, just as he had got to be in person when living, so is he also either wholly or for the most part after death, at least for some space. Now just the same, Callicles, seems to me to be the case with the soul. When stripped of the body, everything in the soul comes to view, both in its natural circumstances and in those adventitious ones brought on by men's several habits when living. When, therefore, after death souls come before their judge, Rhadamanthus (or Æacus, whichever it may happen to be,) makes each one stand up before him, and he takes his view of it without knowing whose it is. Oftentimes, when he gets hold of the soul of the great king [of Persia], or some other king or prince, he sees nothing sound in it, but finds it covered all over with stripes and full of scars, impressed upon it by acts of perjury and wrong; everything awry through falsehood and vain pretension (*αλαζονεία, humbug*)—nothing straight as it should be, because of its having received no nutriment of truth. Through power and luxuriousness, profligacy and want of self-control, it exhibits nothing but disproportion and ugliness. On inspecting it, the judge sends it away with ignominy to the prison-house, where it is to pass through the sufferings due to it for its crimes.

'Now every one who is suffering punishment, rightly inflicted, must either get corrected by the process, and so be benefited himself, or else be made thereby an example to others, that they seeing his sufferings, may take the alarm, and amend their courses. Those who are punished, with a view at the same time to their correction, whether by gods or by men, are those who have committed curable sins; the correction, however, can only take place by a process of pain and torments, whether here or hereafter; for there is no other way of becoming emancipated from sin. But as to those who have been guilty of extreme offences, and so have become incurable, out of these are made the examples that I spoke of. They, themselves, being incurable, no longer receive any improvement; but others do, seeing them on account of their sins undergoing the greatest and most painful and appalling sufferings for evermore, hung up as mere examples there, in Hades, in the prison-house, spectacles and warnings to all the wicked that come thither.'

After remarking that it is from among the high and ambitious ones of the earth that these examples are principally taken, he adds:

'At times, however, when the judge beholds a soul which has lived holily and in the society of Truth, whether in private life or otherwise, especially, according to *my* view, Callicles, the soul of a philosopher who has minded his own affairs, and has not busied himself with matters that do not pertain to him, [i. e. the objects of worldly ambition, wealth, power, pleasure, &c.,] of such a soul he expresses his admiration, and dismisses it for the Islands of the Blessed. Now I, Callicles, am persuaded of the truth of these things, and aim at exhibiting my soul to my judge in as sound and healthy a condition as I can. Bidding adieu, therefore, to the honours which the many seek or bestow, and devoting my soul to the contemplation of truth, I will strive as excellently as I can to live while I live, and die when I die. And I exhort all other men as much as I am able, and, in return to your advice to me, I now exhort *you*, to adopt *this* course of life, and enter upon *this* conflict—of greater moment, to my eyes, than all besides—and I charge it upon you, that you will not be able to help yourself when you come to that trial and judgment which I have now been speaking of; but that, when you appear before your judge, the son of Ægina, and he takes hold of you to inspect your condition, *you* will gape and be dizzy quite as much *there* as you say I should in a court of justice *here*, and, it may be, some one may be then found who will smite *you* with those painful and ignominious blows you spoke of, and heap every expression of contumely and scorn upon *you*.'*

There is no mention here of the millennial cycles, nor of the re-embodying of the soul after it has once quitted the present life; and it might occur to some, that what had been said in the Phædrus on these points was not meant in earnest. The fact is, that it would have been quite out of place in the discourse with Callicles to have adverted to these doctrines; but that they entered into the serious convictions of Plato, appears from the Republic (Lib. x. p. 618,) and the Phædo (p. 107. E.) He had in all likelihood learnt them in the school of Pythagoras, and perhaps had been led to regard them as traditions derived from supernatural teaching. (Cf. Phædo, 70 C.) In reading such passages as we have above cited, we must always receive them in the spirit in which they were intended, as figurative or representative illustrations merely, of certain general truths, and not as historical or prophetical descriptions of particular facts. We may take the warning given to us in the Phædo, after that noble imagining of the future state with which the last dialogue of Socrates concludes.

'Resolutely to affirm that these things are as I have here particularized them, would not be consistent in a man of understanding; but that the facts pertaining to our souls and their abodes in the future

* Gorgias fin.

state, are either these or somewhat similar, it being manifest that the soul is immortal,—this it does seem consistent to believe, and also to put every thing to risk upon the persuasion; for glorious is the risk, and proper is it for a man to recite such imaginings to himself as an incantation ['to lull,' as he says elsewhere,* 'the child within us which is frightened at the bug-bear of utter annihilation']; and it is with this view that I have now lengthened out the tale so much as I have done. However, considering these things, he should be of good cheer concerning his soul, who, whilst he has lived his renounced all other delights—those I mean which respect the body and its adornments—under the conviction of their being foreign to his real nature, and of their tending to evil rather than to good; and has been zealous only for those pleasures which attend the culture of his soul; and who, having decorated his soul, not with foreign ornaments, but with those proper to its being,—healthful-mindedness, justice, manliness, independence, and truth—is waiting for his removal to Hades, ready to go whenever fate shall call.'†

We must now go on to consider the arguments upon which Plato chose to rest the proof of the soul's immortality. They are formally and dogmatically produced in the Phædo. We shall recapitulate them in the order in which they stand, giving of course no more than the outline.

1. The ancient doctrine that the souls of the dead return to this earth, pre-supposes the existence of the soul after death. p. 70. C. D.

2. Universally, we find that opposites are generated from opposites—the great from the little, the strong from the weak, and vice versa. All 'becoming' (γίγνεσθαι, γένεσις) supposes the previous negation of the quality which a thing becomes. Between the opposites there is a two-fold sort of 'becoming,' a passing from the first to the second, and a returning from the second to the first: the great becomes little, and this is called decrease; and the little becomes great, and this is called increase. So of the processes of mingling and separating, cooling and getting hot, &c. Now, as the *state* of sleep is opposed to the *state* of being awake, so is that of death to that of life. And these states pre-suppose a process through which it is arrived at those states: a person asleep has passed through a process of falling asleep, a person awake through a process of awakening. In like manner, then, a person alive has passed through a process of becoming alive, which pre-supposes a previous state of death; and when we see a living man passing through the process of dying into the state of death, are we not to suppose a corresponding opposite 'becoming,' in which they who are in a state of death come to life again? Must nature here be lame and imperfect in her

* P. 77. E. † P. 114.

operations? Why, if there were no such revolving vicissitude and interchange at all things went only from life to death without returning, every thing at last would come to the same state, and there would cease to be any life at all—all would be death. The soul, therefore, does not by death cease to exist.—70 D. 72 E.

3. The intellection of Ideas by the soul, which Ideas, however, the soul cannot see in its present state—for the knowledge of them is not originated, but only suggested, by the adumbrations of them which sensible objects exhibit—proves a previous existence of the soul, in which it contemplated them immediately. For example, equal things suggest to the mind the Idea of equality (*αὐτὸ τὸ ἴσον*): we do not *see* the Idea; it is only recalled to our minds by association; just as a lover seeing the lyre or dress belonging to the beloved object is reminded of that object. The soul must then have existed before it came into the body, and possessed the knowledge of Ideas, or wisdom (*φρόνησις*, cf. p. 79. D.) It forgot it when it was born into this world, but is reminded of it by the forms of sense in which it is shadowed forth. The pre-existence of the soul rests upon the same ground of certainty as the existence of Ideas, i. e. of real Essence (*οὐσία*): 'and to my mind there is nothing so transparently certain as 'this, that surely those things, which we talk of, the Fair, the 'Good, and the like, are most real subsistencies.' pp. 72—77.

4. All the objects with which our bodily senses are conversant are changing and composite in their character, whilst the objects of intellectual perception are incomposite and eternally the same. The body is connected with the former, the soul with the latter. Can we suppose it possible, that, while the body, connected as it thus is in its nature and perceptions with the mutable and visible world, continues after the stroke of death for some time at least—under certain circumstances, as when embalmed, for a very long time—the soul, connected in its perceptions and sympathies with the eternal intelligible world, should yet cease to exist? that the ruling part of our being, that which most approximates to the divine, should be thus short-lived, while the servile part yet continues to exist? Are we not compelled to suppose that the soul, if it have, during life, associated itself, by habitual contemplation, with the divine and immutable, without trammelling and 'nailing' itself down to the body by sensual or worldly habits, will after death forthwith go to that which is so kindred to itself? but that if it have attached itself to its bodily appetites, even though in a course of conduct which is deemed by the vulgar just and healthy-minded, it will yet continue to hover about that visible scene to which it is in its affections thus glued? pp. 78—84.

To the objection that the soul is a result of organization, like the harmony resulting from the proper disposition of the chords

of a harp, and will therefore cease to be when the organization is broken up, it is replied, (1) that it has been proved before by the recollection of ideas, that the soul existed before the body, and therefore cannot be a result of the body's organization; (2) that if soul was a harmony, there would be no distinction among souls of good or bad; all souls would be alike harmonious so far as they are souls at all; (3) that it is inconceivable that the result of an organization should control the organization itself, so far as even to oppose it in some of its most vehement appetites; the objection is therefore untenable. pp. 91—95.

5. Some may say, that its previous existence being admitted, and also the certainty of its existence being much more extended than that of the body, yet it would not follow that it will exist for ever. To obviate this, it is attempted to prove the essential deathlessness of the soul as follows: The cause of a man being great or little is only to be found, (so far as the speaker has been able to learn after an attentive study of the reigning systems of philosophy,) in the fact that the Ideas or Forms of Greatness and Littleness have attached to the man in question. Objects again become *two* or *three*, odd or even, through the impregnation of the Ideas of *Twoness* and *Threeness*, *Oddness* or *Evenness*. A man (A) may be great compared with a man (B), but little compared with another man (C). Now in such a case we are not to suppose that the Idea of Greatness in A can ever itself become the Idea of Littleness, for that is impossible; but the Idea of Greatness which attaches to A compared with B, comes when A is compared with C in contact with the Idea of Littleness, and either retires or perishes, leaving the Idea of Littleness in its place. Thus we arrive at *one* fundamental principle, viz. that no object can contain coexistently Ideas which are opposite to one another; the one or the other must either retire or perish. Again, Hotness and Coldness are different from fire and snow; Hotness is not the opposite to snow, nor Coldness to fire: it is Hotness and Coldness that are the opposite; yet we see, that if Hotness attached to snow, snow would retire or perish; hot snow is an absurdity.* So of fire and Coldness. In like manner, *three* can never be even, nor *two* odd, *three* having the Idea of Oddness essentially connected with it, and *two* the Idea of Evenness. Hence we arrive at a *second* fundamental principle; that not only do not opposite Ideas admit of co-existence in the same subject at the same time, but subjects will not even admit Ideas, the opposites to which they contain in themselves essentially; if such Ideas are introduced, the subjects will either retire or perish. To apply this to

* We must apologize for using such barbarously sounding words; but to give the force of the argument we do not see how we can help ourselves. *Heat* would convey a wrong sense here.

the present qu on: if asked why a man is ill, we may say, not merely that he Illness, but that he has a fever; or how a number may be made odd, we may say, by making it, for example, *three*. In like manner we may say that it is a soul which makes a man living or brings him life: the opposite of life is death; therefore, by the second principle, the soul containing in it necessarily the Idea of Life can never admit the Idea of Death. If this Idea comes to it, it must either perish or retire. It would be as easy to conceive of a cold fire or of hot snow, as of a dead soul. But just as that which does not admit the Idea of Evenness is uneven, so also we call that which does not admit the Idea of Death, undying or deathless. But surely if any thing is imperishable that which is deathless must be so; the soul therefore never perishes. When death comes, it fastens on the mortal or bodily part of us, while the soul escapes and is found elsewhere. pp. 106—106.

Such are the arguments (and we believe that we have presented all) by which a mighty spirit struggled to overcome the barriers of heathenism and natural religion. We *now* see that these efforts were in vain. Should *we* have been more successful under similar advantages? If appeal be made to the incomposite, and therefore indiscerptible nature of the soul, we may quash the appeal by reference to the incontrovertible truth that *no created being can know itself*, and that therefore consciousness cannot tell us whether we, i. e. our own souls, be incomposite or not. If it be further alleged that the justice of the moral government of God requires an after life, we reply that no Christian will affirm that any man deserves future *happiness;* the only question is, whether it is inconceivable that the wicked shall not hereafter be punished. But how can we tell, *a priori*, whether God is bound, or may see fit, *never* to relax *anything* of the punishment which a creature has incurred? How the question may be answered with our *present* knowledge of God's character and government, appears to us doubtful. So far as we know, this argument, drawn from the moral government of God, never occurred to a heathen, obvious as we may think it; and we are sure that some of their noblest philosophers would have put it aside by simply saying, that sin is its own punishment, and virtue its own reward.

On the whole, we are disposed to believe that the only certainty of a future state is derived from faith in the word of God. While others vaunt themselves on the sufficiency of their natural reason, we are content to cry with thankfulness and joy, 'Lord! 'to whom shall we go? *Thou* hast the words of eternal life.' 'Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, 'according to his abundant mercy, hath begotten us again unto a 'lively hope *by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead.*'

Art. III. *The Chinese; a General Description of the Empire of China and its Inhabitants.* By JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, Esq., F.R.S., &c., late His Majesty's Chief Superintendent in China. 2 vols. Illustrated with Wood-cuts. London: Charles Knight and Co.

FEW authors appear before the public with so good a title to the confidence of his readers as Mr. Davis. A residence of twenty years in the 'celestial empire,' added to a more intimate acquaintance with the language and literature of the country than falls to the lot of many Europeans, constitute no mean qualification for the task he has undertaken. His opportunities of observing the people, whose history, institutions, habits, literature, and general character he has depicted, give a weight to his testimony which is seldom due to the statements of foreigners respecting the countries they have visited. Amid the mass of ephemeral publications daily issuing from the press, it is gratifying to meet with a work stampt like the present, with the marks of cautious and extensive observation, and which lays before us the results of a more protracted and diversified intercourse with this singular and unknown people, than any other modern European has enjoyed. Several works are already before the British people illustrative of the condition and polity of China, but the opportunities enjoyed by their authors of observing the people described, were for the most part few and contracted. The embassy of Lord Macartney, in 1792, gave rise to the publication of Sir George L. Staunton, and subsequently to that of Mr. Barrow, while the equally fruitless mission of Lord Amhurst, in 1815, was followed by the works of Mr. Ellis, and of Dr. Abel. Still we wanted a general and systematic work on China,—such a work as long residence in the country, intimate acquaintance with its people, and an accurate perception of the bearing of European interests on its policy could alone produce. Such qualifications, though scarcely to be looked for, are happily blended in the volumes before us, with a power of writing at once appropriate and forcible.

The work is intended 'to give such an account of the manners 'and customs, the social, political, and religious institutions, to- 'gether with the natural productions, the arts, manufactures, and 'commerce of China, as may be deemed interesting to the 'general reader;' and we shall best fulfil our duty as journalists, by supplying a somewhat extended analysis of its contents. It opens with an account of the early intercourse of Europeans with China, in which ample justice is done to the integrity of Marco Polo, whose account of the Chinese empire it was formerly the fashion to decry. Mr. Marsden's translation, in 1818, of the

to protect the empire from those enterprising, which arbarians,' as all Europeans are deemed, were known to nade in other quarters.

undant evidence,' Mr. Davis remarks, 'is afforded by Chinese , that a much more liberal as well as enterprising disposition isted, in respect to foreign intercourse, than prevails at pre- It was only on the conquest of the empire by the Manchows e European trade was limited to Canton; and the jealous and il Tartar dominion, established by this handful of barbarians, questionably occasioned many additional obstacles to an increased rce with the rest of the world. We have already noticed the e junks, which were seen by Ibn Batuta as far west as the coast abar, about the end of the thirteenth century. Even before the 1 century, it appears from native records that missions were m China to the surrounding nations, with a view to inviting l intercourse. The benefits of industry and trade have always xtolled by the people of that country; the contempt, therefore, hich the present Tartar Government affects to treat the Euro- mmerce, must be referred entirely to the fears which it enter- egarding the influence of increased knowledge on the stability lominion.

cording to the Chinese books, commerce, on its first establish- t Canton, remained free from duties for many years, but its in- g importance soon led the officers of Government to convert it ource of gain. As in Siam and Cochin-china at present, the ption of all imported goods seems at one time to have been ; but this did not last long, and the trade, after having con- to increase at Canton, was subsequently carried to other ports of pire. The endeavour to prevent the exportation of silver, ap- o have been an error very easily established; but the regula-

regardless altogether of the means of attainment. Struck by the perpetual hostilities which existed among these foreign adventurers, assimilated in other respects by a close resemblance in their costumes and manners, the Government of the country became disposed to treat them with a degree of jealousy and exclusion which it had not deemed necessary to be exercised towards the more peaceable and well-ordered Arabs, their predecessors.'—Vol. I., pp. 19—21.

Considerable expectations of the conversion of the Chinese were at one time entertained by the papal church. Large numbers of Jesuit Missionaries flocked to the empire, and some of them obtained the countenance of the reigning emperors. But the disputes which arose among them, the intrigues they practised, and the authority which they claimed for the pope, awoke the jealousy of the Government, and led to their persecution and banishment. The monuments of their temporary success, as well as the relics of earlier Christian visitors, are yet to be seen in various parts of the country. The ruins of religious edifices tell a tale of former years, to which no counterpart can be found in the moral statistics of the present day.

The second and third chapters are devoted to the history of our own intercourse with China, and will be read with interest by those who are concerned in the mercantile relations of the two countries. The petty tyranny and gross impositions practised on our merchants, render it a matter of surprise that the trade should have been continued, while the absurd assumptions of the Government contrast most ludicrously with its innate instability and weakness.

Our author then proceeds, in chapters fourth, fifth, and sixth, to the Geography, History, Government, and Legislation of the Empire, on each of which topics, curious and valuable information is supplied. The Government is strictly despotic, and the emperor unites in his own person the civil and spiritual functions. No class of religious teachers is supported by the state; the emperor himself, or his immediate representatives, acting the part of high-priest in religious festivals.

'The Emperor worships Heaven, and the people worship the Emperor. It is remarkable that with all this the Sovereign, in styling himself, used occasionally this term of affected humility, 'the imperfect man;' which presents a contrast to the inflated and self-laudatory expressions of most Oriental monarchs. Every device of state, however, is used to keep up by habit the impression of awe. No person whatever can pass before the outer gate of the palace in any vehicle or on horseback. The vacant throne, or a screen of yellow silk, are equally worshipped with his actual presence. An imperial despatch is received in the provinces with offerings of incense and prostration, looking towards Peking. There is a paved walk to the principal

-hall, on which none can tread but the Emperor. At the
ne, as if his transcendent majesty could derive no increase
nal decorations, he is distinguished from his court, unlike
atic Sovereigns, by being more plainly clad than those by
e is surrounded. In Lord Macartney's mission, while the
f mandarins was covered with embroidery and splendour, the
r appeared in a dress of plain brown silk, and a black velvet
a single pearl in front. Yellow, as the imperial colour, would
present rather to distinguish things pertaining to his use, or
d with him in other ways, than to constitute a part of his
arments, except perhaps on very great occasions. The Sovereign
has the absolute disposal of the succession, and, if he pleases,
ne his heir out of his own family. This has descended from
memorial; and the ancient monarchs, Yaou and Shun, are
examples of such a mode of selection. The imperial authority
ion to all public acts is conveyed by the impression of a seal,
ches square, and composed of jade, a greenish white stone,
f the Chinese *Yu*. Any particular directions or remarks by
peror himself are added in red, commonly styled 'the ver-
ncil.' All imperial edicts of a special nature, after being ad-
to the proper tribunal, or other authority, are promulgated in
ing Gazette, which contains nothing but what relates to the
Government, that is, either reports to the Emperor, or man-
om him. It is death to falsify any paper therein contained:
ust be observed, that these special edicts of the Sovereign, as
le to the exigencies of particular cases, either in aggravation
gation of punishment, are not allowed to be applied as prece-
penal jurisdiction.* There is more wisdom in this rule than
which gave to the rescripts of the Roman Emperors, in indi-
ases, the force of perpetual laws,—a system which has very
been called 'arguing from particulars to generals.'

Pontifex Maximus, or high-priest of the empire, the 'Son of
' alone, with his immediate representatives, sacrifices in the
ment temples, with victims and incense. These rites, preceded
re by fasting and purification, bear a perfect resemblance to
ings with which we are familiar in the history of antiquity.
rchy is maintained at the public expense, nor any priesthood
l to the Confucian or government religion; as the Sovereign
great officers perform that part. The two religious orders of
Taou, which are only *tolerated*, and not maintained by the
ment, derive support entirely from their own funds, or from
y private contributions. This remark must of course be con-
China; for in Mongol Tartary the Emperor finds it expedient
more favour to the Lamas of the Budhist hierarchy, on
of their influence over the people of those extensive regions.
striking circumstance that the Confucian persuasion should have

* Penal Code, Sect. 415.

continued supreme in China, though the conquerors of the country were not Confucians.'—ib., pp. 204—206.

The character, manners, and customs of the people, are depicted in the seventh and two following chapters, and our author's remarks are, in the main, distinguished by sound judgment and trust-worthiness. The Chinese character is commonly drawn from the population of Canton, whom Mr. Davis represents as no fair specimen of the nation. Few Europeans have had an opportunity of observing it on a more extended scale, and they have, consequently, described it as a compound of all the vices which mercantile intercourse, conducted under a despotic and short-sighted government, is adapted to generate. The result has been a partial and unfair judgment, such as we ourselves have frequently complained of in the tours of foreigners. Every Englishman is aware of the injustice which would be done to our national character, if it were sketched from the spectacles witnessed at our sea-ports. The vices of a class are in such case transferred to the community, while the redeeming qualities of the latter are kept completely out of sight.

'The Chinese,' remarks our author, 'have, upon the whole, been under-estimated, or, rather, unfairly despised on the score of their moral attributes. The reason of this has probably been, the extremely unfavourable aspect in which they have appeared to the generality of observers at Canton: just as if any one should attempt to form an estimate of *our* national character in England, from that peculiar phase under which it may present itself at some commercial sea-port!

'It is in fact a matter of astonishment that the Chinese people at Canton should be no worse than we find them. They are well acquainted with that maxim of their Government, by which it openly professes to 'rule barbarians by misrule, like *beasts*, and not like native subjects;' and they are perpetually supplied by the local authorities with every motive to behave towards strangers as if they were really a degraded order of beings. The natural consequence is, that their conduct to Europeans is very different from their conduct among themselves. Except when under the influence of either interest or of fear, they are often haughty and insolent to strangers, as well as fraudulent; and such is the effect of opinion among them, that even in cases where interest may persuade them to servility, this will not be exhibited in the presence of a countryman. A beggar has often been seen who, though he would bend his knee very readily to European passengers when unobserved, refrained altogether from it while Chinese were passing by. It was some time before the very coolies, the lowest class of servants, would condescend to carry a lantern before a European at night; and still longer before they could be induced by any wages, to convey him in a sedan even at Macao, where it is permitted. Is it surprising, then, that they should reconcile it, without

much difficulty, to their feelings to overreach and ill use, occasionally, these creatures of an inferior rank, who, as their Government phrases it, come to benefit by 'the transforming influence of Chinese civilization;' or, rather, is it *not* very surprising that so general a course of honesty and good faith, and so many instances of kindness and generosity, even, should have been experienced in their intercourse with us? If we deny to the Chinese their fair advantages, on a view somewhat more extended than the precincts of Canton afford, and if we condemn them ignorantly, it is the precise fault which we have most to censure on their part. We, in fact, become as illiberal as themselves.'

—ib., pp. 237, 238.

Many of our countrymen will be surprised at the extent to which education prevails. Its quality is undoubtedly very low, but the quantity far exceeds that of any other Eastern nation. 'Among the countless millions which constitute the empire, 'almost every man can read and write sufficiently for the ordi-'nary purposes of life, and a respectable share of these acquire-'ments goes low down in the scale of society.' The Government exercises a despotic sway over the education of the community. It prescribes the books to be studied, the process to be followed, and the rewards and punishments to be administered. The system is part of the machinery by which the rulers of the people seek to keep the national mind in subjection. It knows nothing of the generous and benevolent aspirations of Christian philanthropists, but resorts to instruction, rather than to force, for the maintenance of its arbitrary sway.

'The object of the Government, as Dr. Morrison justly observed, in making education general, is not to extend the bounds of knowledge, but to impart the knowledge already possessed to as large a portion as possible of the rising generation, and 'to pluck out true talent' from the mass of the community for its own service. The advancement of learning, or discoveries in physical science, are not in its contemplation. It prescribes the books to be studied; a departure from which is *heterodoxy;* and discountenances all innovations that do not originate with itself. In this we may perceive one of the causes, not only of the stationary and unprogressive character of Chinese institutions, but likewise of their permanency and continuance.

'The process of early instruction in the language is this: they first teach children a few of the principal characters (as the names of the chief objects in nature or art) exactly as we do the letters, by rude pictures, having the characters attached. Then follows the Santse-king, or 'trimetrical classic,' being a summary of infant erudition, conveyed in chiming lines of three words, or feet. They soon after proceed to the 'Four books,' which contain the doctrines of Confucius, and which, with the 'Five classics' subsequently added, are in fact the Chinese scriptures. The Four books they learn by heart entirely, and the whole business of the literary class is afterwards to comment

on them, or compose essays on their texts. Writing is taught by tracing the characters, with their hair pencil, on transparent paper placed over the copy, and they commence with very large characters in the first instance. Specimens of this species of calligraphy are contained in the Royal Asiatic Transactions. In lieu of slates, they generally use boards painted white to save paper, washing out the writing when finished. Instructors are of course very plentiful, on account of the numbers who enter the learned profession, and fail in attaining the higher degrees.'—ib., pp. 273, 274.

It is not to be expected that among such a people the social affections of our nature should flourish. There is no free play allowed to the kinder and more generous impulses of the human heart; and the Chinese history is consequently destitute beyond that of almost any other people, of bright and attractive specimens of public virtue. The discipline instituted forms an artificial character, the consistency of which but poorly compensates for the absence of those high and commanding qualities which even barbarians frequently exhibit. The two parties interested in a projected marriage are perfectly passive in the arrangements which precede it, and the whole economy of domestic life is characterized by a similar disregard of the unsophisticated dictates of nature. The following is our author's account of the marriage ceremony.

'Some time previous to the day fixed, the bridegroom is invested ceremoniously with a dress cap or bonnet, and takes an additional name. The bride, at the same time, whose hair had until this hung down in long tresses, has it turned up in the manner of married women, and fastened with bodkins. 'When the wedding-day arrives, the friends of the bridegroom send him presents in the morning, with their congratulations. Among the presents are live geese, which are emblematical of the concord of the married state, and some of these birds are always carried in the procession. The bride's relations likewise send her gifts, consisting chiefly of female finery; and her young sisters and friends of her own sex come and weep with her until it is time to leave the house of her parents. At length when the evening arrives,* and the stars just begin to be visible, the bridegroom comes with an ornamented sedan, and a cavalcade of lanterns, music, &c. to fetch home his spouse. On their reaching his residence, the bride is carried into the house in the arms of the matrons who act as her friends, and lifted over a pan of charcoal at the door; the meaning of which ceremony is not clear, but which may have reference to the commencement of her household duties. She soon after issues from the bridal chamber with

* In accordance with an epithalamium in one of their ancient books, in which is this line, 'The three stars shine on the gate.'

her attendants into the great hall, bearing the prepared Areca, or betel nut; and invites the guests there assembled to partake of it. Having gone through some ceremonies in company with the bridegroom, she is led back to her chamber, where she is unveiled by her future husband. A table is then spread, and the cup of alliance is drank together by the young couple. Some fortunate matron, the mother of many children, then enters and pronounces a benediction, as well as going through the form of laying the nuptial bed. Meanwhile the party of friends in the hall make merry, and when the bridegroom joins them they either ply him with wine, or not, according to the character and grade of the company. When the hour of retirement arrives, they escort him to the door of the chamber in a body, and then disperse.

'On the following day, the new couple come forth to the great hall, where they adore the household gods, and pay their respects to their parents and nearest relations. They then return to their chamber, where they receive the visits of their young friends; and the whole of the first month is devoted in like manner to leisure and amusement. On the third day after the wedding, the bride proceeds in an ornamented sedan to visit her parents; and at length, when the month is expired, the bride's friends send her a particular head-dress; an entertainment is partaken of by the relations of both parties, and the marriage ceremonies thereby concluded. On some occasions, the bride is espoused at the house of her own parents, with some little difference in the forms. Both these modes are detailed in the novel of the Fortunate Union.'

—ib., pp. 268—270.

We are induced to make the following extract, not so much for the interest of the narrative, as from the pleasing incident it relates of Dr. Morrison, whose erudition and zeal were devoted with such single-mindedness to the enlightenment of this benighted and pagan people.

'But the case of the French ship *Navigateur*, in 1828, was still more remarkable, and may be given nearly from the relation of M. Laplace, captain of the eighteen-gun corvette *La Favorite*, whose observations on the Chinese we have had occasion to quote in another place. The *Navigateur*, a merchantman, was compelled by stress of weather to put into Touron Bay, on the coast of Cochin-China. The disabled state of the ship, the difficulty of effecting the necessary repairs, and the well-known unfriendliness of the local authorities, forced the captain and crew to the necessity of selling her to the King of Cochin-China, and embarking themselves with their most valuable effects on board a Chinese junk, which was engaged to carry them to Macao. The voyage was short, but still long enough to enable the crew of the junk to conceive and execute a dreadful conspiracy against the Frenchmen. It was in vain that one of the oldest of the Chinese endeavoured by signs to draw the attention of the French captain to the danger which threatened him; the latter had contented himself with making one or two of his sailors keep watch by day, as well as during the night; but this charge was the more negligently executed, inasmuch as most of the people, in consequence of their previous sufferings, had to contend with fever or dysentery.

'The junk was already within sight of the great Ladrone island, the mark by which Macao is made in the southerly monsoon, and the Chinese passengers disembarked at once into boats, with an eagerness which ought to have roused the suspicions of the Europeans, had they not been blinded by the most imprudent confidence. The night passed quietly, and the dawning light seemed to propose a happy landing to the Frenchmen; but it was destined to witness their massacre. These unfortunate men, the greater number still asleep, were despatched with hatchets and knives by the crew of the junk; and their captain, assailed by the assassins in the narrow cabin which he occupied with his mates, after killing several of the Chinese, fell himself the last. One seaman, however, still remained, who, armed with an iron bar, continued to make a desperate resistance, although badly wounded in the head. Having reached the deck of the vessel, almost overcome as he was in this unequal conflict, he leaped into the sea, and appeared in this manner to ensure, by his certain death, impunity to the murderers.

'He contrived, notwithstanding, to swim to the nearest fishing-boat, but was denied succour, with the usual selfish prudence of the Chinese; another boat, however, afterwards received him on board, and landed him by night on the shore at Macao. Sick and wounded as he was, the poor man wandered unknown for some time about the streets, but at length discovered the abode of the French missionaries, who with their ready humanity relieved him at once from his immediate wants. In the mean while the French consul had arrived from Canton, and the affair being brought by him to the notice of the Portuguese authorities at Macao, was placed by them in the hands of the Chinese mandarins. By means of the information obtained from the French sailor, the Chinese passengers who had quitted the junk previous to the massacre, and repaired in all haste to their respective homes, were summoned to Canton. From them was obtained a full evidence as to the criminals, and their design; and a strict embargo was at once laid on all the vessels within the ports of Canton and the neighbouring province of Fokien.

'The assassins being soon arrested in their junk, were put into iron cages and conveyed to Canton for trial and judgment. On their arrival there, it was ordained by the Emperor's strict order that the trial and punishment should take place in the presence of the Europeans at that place. Among the English spectators was the interpreter of the East India Company, Dr. Morrison, the author of the Chinese dictionary, whose labours have been so useful towards illustrating the literature of the country, and who was destined on this occasion to experience a very gratifying reward for his pains in acquiring the language. His attention having been attracted by the loud complaints of an old man, who, like the others, was shut up in a cage with iron bars, and who, in protesting his innocence, called for the French sailor whose life he had contributed to save, Dr. Morrison approached the old man's prison, heard what he had to say, and promised him his assistance with the judges. In a word, accompanied by the Frenchman, he presented himself before the mandarins, pleaded the cause of his client, and

called to their recollection that maxim of Chinese law, and of humanity in general, that 'it is better to let even the guilty escape than to punish the innocent.' He obtained the consent of the court that the sailor should be confronted with the accused; and these, on the first sight of each other, immediately embraced and shed tears, to the great interest and sympathy of the audience. The judges themselves yielded to the general sentiment, and at once absolved the old man. Out of twenty-four prisoners, seventeen were condemned and decapitated at once, and their chief put to a lingering death in presence of the Europeans.'—ib., pp. 385—388.

We pass over the two chapters devoted to the three principal cities of the empire, as well as those relating to its religion and literature, as we expect shortly to have an opportunity of entering more fully into the latter topics. We must, however, so far encroach on our limits as to transfer to our pages a literal prose translation of some stanzas from a poem on London, written by a Chinese in 1813. It has already appeared in other publications, but few of our readers will regret its transcription.

I.

'Afar in the ocean, towards the extremities of the north-west,
There is a nation, or country, called England:
The clime is frigid, and you are compelled to approach the fire;
The houses are so lofty that you may pluck the stars.
The pious inhabitants respect the ceremonies of worship,
And the virtuous among them ever read the sacred books.
They bear a peculiar enmity towards the French nation,
The weapons of war* rest not for a moment (between them).

II.

'Their fertile hills, adorned with the richest luxuriance,
Resemble, in the outline of their summits, the arched eyebrows (of a fair woman):
The inhabitants are inspired with a respect for the female sex,
Who in this land correspond with the perfect features of nature;
Their young maidens have cheeks resembling red blossoms,
And the complexion of their beauties is like the white gem:
Of old has connubial affection been highly esteemed among them,
Husband and wife delighting in mutual harmony. . .

V.

'The two banks of the river lie to the north and south;
Three bridges† interrupt the stream, and form a communication;
Vessels of every kind pass between the arches,
While men and horses pace among the clouds (fogs?):

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* Written in 1813.

† 'Old London, Blackfriars, and Westminster bridges were then the only three in existence.'

A thousand masses of stone rise one above the other,
And the river flows through nine channels :
The bridge of Loyâng, which out-tops all in our empire,
Is in shape and size somewhat like these.—— . . .

VII.

'The towering edifices rise story above story,
In all the stateliness of splendid mansions:
Railings of iron thickly stud the sides of every entrance,
And streams from the river circulate through the walls.
The sides of each apartment are variegated with devices;
Through the windows of glass appear the scarlet hangings:
And in the street itself is presented a beautiful scene;
The congregated buildings have all the aspect of a picture.—— . .

IX.

'The spacious streets are exceedingly smooth and level,
Each being crossed by others at intervals:
On either side perambulate men and women,
In the centre career along the carriages and horses:
The mingled sound of voices is heard in the shops at evening;
During winter the heaped-up snows adhere to the pathway:
Lamps are displayed at night along the street-sides,
Whose radiance twinkles like the stars of the sky, &c.'

Vol. II., p. 198.

The following chapters, from the seventeenth to the twenty-first inclusive, are devoted to the arts and inventions, the sciences, the natural history and productions, the agriculture and statistics, and the commerce of the Empire. Our notice of their contents must be very brief. The following account of the management of their silk-worms will be read with interest.

'Mr. Barrow, who observed the management of the trees and silk-worms in Chĕ-keang, confirms the usual Chinese accounts, by saying that 'the houses in which the worms are reared are placed generally in the centre of each plantation, in order that they may be removed as far as possible from every kind of noise; experience having taught them that a sudden shout, or the bark of a dog, is destructive of the young worms. A whole brood has sometimes perished by a thunder-storm.' The chambers are so contrived as to admit of the use of artificial heat when necessary. Great care is taken of the sheets of paper on which the multitudes of eggs have been laid by the silk-worm moths; and the hatching of these eggs is either retarded or advanced, by the application of cold or heat according to circumstances, so as to time the simultaneous exit of the young worms exactly to the period when the tender spring-leaves of the mulberry are most fit for their nourishment.

They proportion the food very exactly to the young worms by weighing the leaves, which in the first instance are cut, but afterwards, as the insects become larger, are given to them whole. The greatest precau-

tions are observed in regulating the temperature of the apartments, and in keeping them clean, quiet, and free from smells. The worms are fed upon a species of small hurdles of basket-work, strewed with leaves, which are constantly shifted for the sake of cleanliness, the insects readily moving off to a fresh hurdle with new leaves, as the scent attracts them. In proportion to their growth, room is afforded to them by increasing the number of these hurdles, the worms of one being shifted to three, then to six, and so on until they reach their greatest size. The hurdles, as well as the rest of the apparatus, were sent from Canton to St. Helena for the use of the Company's establishment there. When the worms have cast their several skins, reached their greatest size, and assumed a transparent yellowish colour, they are removed into places divided into compartments, preparatory to their spinning.

'In the course of a week after the commencement of spinning, the silken cocoons are complete, and it now becomes necessary to take them in hand before the pupæ turn into *moths*, which would immediately bore their way out, and spoil the cocoons. When a certain number, therefore, have been laid aside for the sake of future eggs, the pupæ in the bulk of the cocoons are killed by being placed in jars under layers of salt and leaves, with a complete exclusion of air. They are subsequently placed in moderately warm water, which dissolves the glutinous substance that binds the silk together, and the filament is wound off upon reels. This is put up in bundles of a certain size and weight, and either becomes an article of merchandise, under the name of 'raw silk,' or is subjected to the loom, and manufactured into various stuffs, for home or for foreign consumption. Notwithstanding the apparent simplicity of their looms, they will imitate exactly the newest and most delicate patterns from England or France. The Chinese particularly excel in the production of damasks and flowered satins. Their crape has never yet been perfectly imitated; and they make a species of *washing* silk, called at Canton *ponge*, which becomes more soft as it is longer used.'—ib., pp. 242, 243.

The Chinese are well-known to be greatly addicted to the use of opium. Their knowledge of this deleterious drug is one of the evils which have resulted from their intercourse with Europeans. Its importation has of late years exceeded the value of all other English imports combined, and the mischievous consequences flowing from it have attracted the serious attention of the government. In 1821, the quantity imported was 4,628 chests, while in 1832, it had attained the enormous amount of 23,670 chests. The frightful evils which must have grown out of the consumption of such an almost incredible quantity of opium, leads us to deplore the existence of a traffic, of which it forms so prominent an article. Few of our readers probably are prepared for the statement, which is nevertheless clearly established by Mr. Davis, that the amount of opium imported by us into China in 1833, exceeded that of tea exported by 2,284,418 dollars.

We must restrict ourselves to one more extract, which we take from our author's account of the manufacture of tea, a subject in which all are interested.

'We have seen before, that the fineness and dearness of tea* are determined by the tenderness and smallness of the leaf when picked. The various descriptions of the black diminish in quality and value as they are gathered later in the season, until they reach the lowest kind, called by us Bohea, and by the Chinese (*Ta-cha*) 'large tea,' on account of the maturity and size of the leaves. The early leaf-buds in spring, being covered with a white silky down, are gathered to make Pekoe, which is a corruption of the Canton name *Pak-ho*, 'white down.' A few days' longer growth produce what is here styled 'black-leaved pekoe.' The more fleshy and matured leaves constitute Souchong; as they grow larger and coarser they form Congou; and the last and latest picking is Bohea. The tea-farmers, who are small proprietors or cultivators, give the tea a rough preparation, and then take it to the contractors, whose business it is to adapt its farther preparation to the existing nature of the demand.

'Green teas may generally be divided into five denominations, which are—1, Twankey; 2, Hyson-skin; 3, Hyson; 4, Gunpowder; 5, Young Hyson. Twankey tea has always formed the bulk of the green teas imported into this country, being used by the retailers to mix with the finer kinds. The leaf is older, and not so much twisted or rolled as in the dearer descriptions: there is altogether less care and trouble bestowed on its preparation. It is, in fact, the *bohea* of green teas; and the quantity of it brought to England has fully equalled three-fourths of the whole importation of green. 'Hyson-skin' is so named from the original Chinese term, in which connexion the *skin* means the *refuse*, or inferior portion of anything; in allusion, perhaps, to the hide of an animal, or the rind of fruit. In preparing the fine tea called hyson, all those leaves that are of a coarser, yellower, and less twisted or rolled appearance, are set apart and sold as the refuse or 'skin-tea,' at a much inferior price. The whole quantity, therefore, depends on, and bears a proportion to, the whole quantity of hyson manufactured, but seldom exceeds two or three thousand chests in all.

'The word Hyson is corrupted from the Chinese name, which signifies 'flourishing spring,' this fine sort of tea being of course gathered in the early part of the season. Every separate leaf is twisted and rolled by hand, and it is on account of the extreme care and labour required in its preparation that the best hyson tea is so difficult to procure, and so expensive. By way of keeping up its quality, the East India Company used to give a premium for the two best lots annually presented to them for selection; and the tea-merchants were stimulated to exertion, as much by the credit of the thing, as by the actual gain in price. Gunpowder, as it is called, is nothing but a more carefully-picked hyson, consisting of the best rolled and roundest

* Chapter xix. p. 339.

leaves, which give it that *granular* appearance whence it derives its name. For a similar reason, the Chinese call it *Choo-cha,* 'pearl-tea.' Young Hyson, until it was spoiled by the large demand of the Americans, was a genuine, delicate young leaf, called in the original language *Yu-tsien,* 'before the rains,' because gathered in the early spring. As it could not be fairly produced in any large quantities, the call for it on the part of the Americans was answered by cutting up and sifting *other* green tea through sieves of a certain size; and, as the Company's inspectors detected the imposture, it formed no portion of their London importations. But the abuse became still worse of late (as we shall presently see), for the coarsest *black* tea-leaves have been cut up, and then *coloured* with a preparation resembling the hue of green teas.

'Nothing could be more ill-founded than the vulgar notion, once prevalent in this country, that the colour of green tea was derived from its being dried on plates of copper. Admitting that copper were the metal on which they were placed, it does not at all follow that they should assume such an appearance from the operation; but the pans really used on these occasions are of cast iron, of the same round or spherical shape as the tatch described under the head of chemistry. Each of these pans is bricked in over a small furnace. A quantity of fresh leaves are placed in the pan, after it has been sufficiently heated and stirred rapidly round by the hand, to expose them equally to the action of the heat, and at the same time prevent their burning. After being a little curled by this drying operation, they are taken out and twisted or rolled by hand to assist the natural tendency; and the process of curling is continued for a longer or a shorter time, according to the nature and quality of the tea. The hand seems to have most to do in the case of green teas, and the fire in that of the black. In the preparation of the finer teas, much care and attention is bestowed on the selection of the *best leaves* subsequent to drying, as in the separation of the hyson from its *skin,* or refuse—a business which falls to the lot of women and children. The tea, when prepared, is first of all put up in baskets, and subsequently packed by the contractors in chests and canisters. The black teas are trodden down with the feet, to make them pack closer: but the green-tea leaves would be crushed and broken by so rude a process; they are accordingly only shaken into the chests.'—ib., pp. 441—443.

The moral condition and destiny of such a people as the Chinese, constituting so large a proportion of the human race, and presenting so many features of varied and complex character, is a subject which demands the deepest consideration of every Christian mind. Is the dense population of this empire to continue shut out from other members of the human family, by the artificial restraints of a timid and semi-barbarous policy? Is the order of nature to be checked—the progress of intellect to be for ever stunted, by the policy of its rulers? Is it to exhibit a spectacle, sickening yet instructive—of intellect alive, but inactive,—of powers just awakened into being to be moulded by the

caprice of tyranny, or the iron-hand of custom. These are questions to which we hope speedily to recur; when the moral phenomenon of the case are fully before us. We rejoice to find that a Christian missionary of sober judgment, and of undoubted information is about to furnish us with his testimony. We wait for the appearance of his volume, and in the meanwhile render our thanks to Mr. Davis for his laboured and valuable work. The Society for the diffusion of Useful Knowledge, cannot better fulfil its vocation than by the re-publication of such volumes.

Art. IV. *The Philosophy of Morals.* By ALEXANDER SMITH, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Smith & Elder.

FEW subjects of human inquiry have given rise to more various theories than the philosophy of human duty. Even in the most civilized,—nay, in Christian countries, where there is so general a practical agreement as to the actions we should do and those we should avoid, a diversity of statement and of sentiment, as to fundamental principles, has prevailed, often exceedingly perplexing to the honest inquirer after truth. Amidst a profusion of lights thrust upon his path, he has been rather confused and bewildered than broadly illuminated; and may have been sometimes almost tempted to imagine that the whole field of ethical investigation which lies beyond the acknowledged rules of conduct, is enveloped in a hopeless obscurity. This consequence has arisen in a great measure from the following distinctions not having always been kept clearly in view: *Why* is an action to be pronounced right or wrong? and *How* do we ascertain the presence of those conditions which mark its moral character? These two essential questions may be said to involve every subordinate inquiry; and much of the obscurity and inconsistency which are to be met with in writers on this subject, may be traced to their indistinct or partial discussion of these two leading points.

Nothing within the compass of ancient learning, is half so interesting as the attempts of some of the master-spirits of Greece to grope their way through the darkness of pagan superstition which surrounded them, to the temple of truth. Partially conscious of the disadvantages of their situation, and sometimes even admitting it in terms, we see them exhibiting that capacity for the perception of moral beauty, which has not been wholly effaced from the human soul, amidst all the marks of ruin which it bears. If these extraordinary men were content to omit some of the moral questions which it would seem natural for them to have discussed; or if they inconsistently or but incidentally

treated of those which they did bring forward,—this arose partly from their always pressing on to some immediate practical result. Among us the ordinary rules of virtue are established by effective sanctions, our controversies relate chiefly to principles. *They* had to sustain the double character of moral law-givers and philosophers; and it is no wonder that, in their circumstances, they rested in that degree of theory which seemed to them to answer the end of pointing out a reason for the rules of life. Socrates was a practical moral teacher. Nor was his great disciple Plato less so. Though an air of mystic sublimity always characterizes him, it is easy to discern in his disquisitions the perpetual aim at practical instruction. His theory of morals, if he had any that was definite, is not very prominent. His appeals are chiefly addressed to the *love of the beautiful.* To him virtue was the harmony of all the moral principles of the soul; it consisted in what is becoming; in the knowledge of the first good and the first fair. His acute and less mystical pupil, Aristotle, placed it in a medium between extremes, one of which is vicious through excess, the other through defect. Cicero, in his Academical Questions,* observes, that the moral views of the Academics and the Peripatetics, differed more in words than in things; and his remark is applicable to the great founders of these two schools. Both arrived at nearly the same end by different roads, which were respectively suited to the sublime and esoteric genius of the one, and the acute and comprehensive mind of the other. The Platonic harmony of life, according to the balance of the fundamental types of the soul, or inborn ideas, may readily have been expressed by the colder and more logical genius of Aristotle as living by the golden mean, or maintaining a mediocrity of the affections under the government of reason. Virtue and happiness were to both the supreme good of man; though it was of Plato's nature to indulge more in contemplating virtue as *in itself* good and fair; while Aristotle was more in the habit of regarding the practice of it as excellent, peculiarly on account of its producing happiness. Both united their talents in stemming the torrent of vice and error with which the Sophists threatened to inundate the whole regions of learning, by their atheism, their cupidity, their quackery, and their destitution of all practical moral principle.

The contest which subsequently commenced between the schools of Zeno and Epicurus, was a match of more worthy combatants on both sides. The Stoics originated from the Cynics; so called, as Aristotle says, on account of their rude (doggish) way of rebuking: indeed, they affected to carry their contempt of external things to an extreme which often degenerated into the

* Quest. I. 4.

greatest coarseness and indecency. From what can be collected of the opinions of the more honourable and celebrated sect of the Stoics, it appears that those of them who most closely followed their master Zeno, held that virtue consists in living according to nature; and that every man has a capacity of discerning and of following nature's law. Virtue is explained to be the true harmony of man within himself, independently of all reward or punishment. It raises him to an apathy towards the pleasures and pains of sense, and gives him such a dominion over the body, as permits even suicide; which was exemplified in the case of Zeno himself, and of his disciple and successor Cleanthes, who both at an advanced age put themselves to death. Apart from this strange and awful perversion of that self-denial which was the practical element of the Stoical morality, this system must be allowed to possess no small moral elevation. In some respects the Stoical doctrine symbolizes with Christianity, especially as we find it in the writings of Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius, who lived after the commencement of the Christian era; but the self-denial of Stoicism would, if carried out, wither up all the most cherished affections of man; and the piety it enjoins is scarcely more than a tame submission to an iron necessity. The founder of the Porch would seem to have placed the fundamental principle of ethics in the moral sentiments.

Epicurus, on the contrary, based his system on the tendency of actions to promote happiness. *Prudence* is his master virtue, from which all others flow, and by this, he maintained, we are taught that to live pleasurably and to live virtuously, are the same thing.* By pleasure, he meant the greatest possible amount of enjoyment in the present life; and, according to the Epicurean doctrine, every virtuous action must have its motive in the design to benefit the agent. It must be conceded to Epicurus that his system lays a much greater claim to clearness and simplicity than that either of Plato, Aristotle, or Zeno. In short, it is much more of a system. It has the merit, too, of placing in a strong light the momentous truth, that virtue is an inseparable ingredient in happiness. Hence this philosopher was evidently more or less a favourite with many of those superior minds who, in modern times, have promoted the restoration of philosophy to the province of reason, as Bacon, Gassendi, Hobbes, Newton, Locke, and others. But it is easy to perceive how readily the ethical system of Epicurus might degenerate into a plea for the most sordid self-interest, and the abandonment of all law but inclination. There was justice in Cicero's remark, *nil generosum, nil magnificum sapit;* and its true tendency

* Diog. Laert. lib. x.

was fully manifested when in the hands of men less intellectual and well-inclined than its author, it gave consolidation to all that was base in human conduct, and furnished the libertine with the garb and the language of the philosopher. Hence, in the worst period of Roman morals, Epicureanism became another name for that abandoned licentiousness which marked the waning power of the masters of the world.

From the time when the Athenian schools were closed by Justinian, to the rise of modern science, a whole millenium elapsed. These dark ages still require to have more of the light of research thrown back upon them, in order to enable us fully to appreciate the mode in which the human mind has found its way, at every step, from the speculations of antiquity to its present opinions respecting all the grand topics involved in the civilization and the knowledge of the western world. Aquinas was the great moralist of the schools; and reigned for three centuries as a kind of minor Aristotle; the ethical part of his *Summa Theologiæ* being the text-book of most of the writers on morals of those times. Neither Aquinas, however, nor any of his followers appear to have made a point of distinguishing the main principles of moral science; those, namely, which relate to the nature of virtue, or the criterion of right and wrong; and to the mode in which this distinction is apprehended by us.

Grotius, may, in some respects, be regarded as the father of modern ethics; his celebrated work, *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, printed in 1635, having eminently served to give a new direction to the studies of the learned, and to encourage a more independent tone of thinking on philosophical subjects, than had prevailed previously to the seventeenth century. But, though Grotius and Puffendorf gave a powerful impulse to inquiry, they have not maintained their reputation with the increasing demand of students in the moral sciences for clearness and logical accuracy; and the vague and indeterminate character of their researches, the chaotic aspect of their discussions, and the want of self-consistency in their views, have brought them justly under the animadversion of Stewart, Bentham, and other critics.

The germs of most of the subsequent systems may be found in the ancient schools. All these theories may in some way be brought under the following statement: that virtue is founded in *prudence* or *propriety*, or *benevolence*; and that it approves itself to us by *self-love*, or *reason*, or a *moral sense*. We shall now, briefly, further illustrate some of these views.

The ethical system of Hobbes, and of that satirist of human nature, Mandeville, is the most complete enthronement of selfishness which it is possible to conceive. Hobbes not only represents self as the ultimate object of every moral action; he reduces even the instinctive love of parents to their children to the mere *pride*

of power; saying that this natural affection 'consists in a man's 'conception that he is able not only to accomplish his own de-'sires, but to assist others in theirs.' As to pity, he defines it 'the imagination of future calamity to ourselves, proceeding from 'the sense of another man's calamity.'* On his system, love to our fellow-creatures is impossible; and there is no conceivable motive for human conduct but self-love. In short, Hobbism is the most gross and selfish form of Epicureanism. It is no wonder that a system embracing such elements should, when it was first propounded to the world, have called forth the most strenuous opposition from the press. Warburton says, that, 'against the author of it, the whole church militant took up arms.' It had been well if the church had always been militant on as good grounds, and with equally legitimate weapons.

Among the most distinguished philosophical opponents of Hobbes, were Cudworth and Clarke; with whom Price and Wollaston substantially agree. According to these writers, virtue consists in a sort of *propriety;* that is, in acting agreeably to the eternal fitnesses of things,—a mode of expression which may be so interpreted as to coalesce with every theory of virtue which recognizes the immutability of moral distinctions. According to Clarke and his school, we feel ourselves irresistibly determined to approve some actions and to disapprove of others. Reason perceives right and wrong by intuition; and hence the obligation to act accordingly, apart from the will of God; which always chooses in harmony with these fitnesses. But this system does not clearly point out in what these fitnesses consist, and it makes no adequate provision even for the limitation of the faculties of moral agents, not to say for the error and vitiation which may attach to their moral perceptions. What finite nature can grasp the boundless range of the eternal and universal abstract relations of things!

Cudworth and Clarke sought for the source of our moral sentiments in reason alone: in Lord Shaftesbury's *Inquiry Concerning Virtue,* we discern the element of the theory of a *moral sense;* unless Dr. Henry More meant the same thing by what he somewhat oddly calls, in his *Enchiridion,* the 'boniform faculty.' Butler and Hutcheson, who pursued Shaftesbury's idea, agree in maintaining that there is a distinct moral faculty in human nature; but both are obscure in consequence of their describing the moral sense, and virtuous actions, reciprocally by each other. Virtuous actions are said to be those which are approved by the moral sense, and the moral sense is that faculty which approves virtuous actions. Thus the nature of good, and the perception

* Treatise on Human Nature; chap. ix.

of good are confused. Butler's theory does not clearly reply to the question, What is it that constitutes an action right? He says, indeed, agreeably to the doctrine of the Stoics, that virtue consists in 'following nature,' or that complex constitution of man of which conscience is the regulating power. To live according to nature, therefore, is to live according to *conscience.* But on this principle exclusively, conscience ought to be a constant and not a variable impulse; whereas, the history of the world proves that conscience may, by its darkness and perversion, lead a mother to sacrifice her babe to the Ganges,—an act surely the most opposed to 'nature' and to all rational moral practice. Butler does not distinctly point out in what conscience consists. When the perceptions of a moral agent, with regard to duty, become by any means erroneous or obscure, the decisions of the moral faculty require to be rectified, if it be admitted that a permanent relation subsists between the nature of virtue and moral agency. Notwithstanding the superior merits of Butler's system to many others, we cannot bring ourselves to think that he has satisfactorily cleared up the question relating to the criterion of moral actions.

Hutcheson was the first of the Scottish metaphysicians since the Restoration; and to his school, with more or less of modification, belong Hume, Adam Smith, and Brown. These, if we may be pardoned for using a sort of German compound, may be called nature-moral-sentiment philosophers. Hutcheson calls conscience the *moral sense;* having for its object a general benevolence so disinterested, as to exclude personal prudence from the sphere of moral approbation; a view of virtue which, as Sir James Mackintosh observes, is 'contradicted by every man's 'feelings.' With Hutcheson the moral sense is analogous to our organic senses; being an internal instead of an external faculty. As we distinguish white from black by the eye, so we feel by this inward sense that an action is right or wrong; and this faculty is a sure arbiter of morality. Here, virtue has no foundation but in our moral faculty; and our estimate of it ought to be equally uniform with the operation of our senses. When we say of an action that it is *right,* all we mean is, that the contemplation of it excites pleasure in our minds, and *vice versâ.* It is obvious that the fact is here overlooked, that right and wrong express qualities of actions, independently of our perceptions, however closely related to them. According to this theory, an alteration in our estimates of actions would change their moral quality from bad to good, and the reverse. Adam Smith's doctrine of sympathy, detailed in his beautiful philosophical romance, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments,* equally renders all morality merely *relative;* and it makes no adequate provision for answering the question, Why is one action right and another wrong?

Similar defects attach to the system of Dr. Brown. Like Hutcheson and Smith, he places virtue simply in the constitution of the human mind. He comes the nearest to Hutcheson, denominating *that* an original susceptibility of moral emotion, which Hutcheson calls a moral sense; but he still more clearly avows that all we mean by the moral differences of actions, is their tendency to excite one emotion rather than another.

That extraordinary theologico-metaphysical genius, Jonathan Edwards, came in some respects between the abstract intellectual school of Cudworth and Clarke, and the natural-sentiment school of Hutcheson and Adam Smith; inasmuch as that he introduced emotion into virtue, though without lowering it, like the latter philosophers, into a mere sentiment, or a kind of instinct. He makes virtue to consist in 'love to *being* in general;' a system too abstract to be reduced to practice; and which, to adduce no other objection, does not make adequate provision for the private affections; for these obviously depend on grounds too limited to admit of being included, in the above principle, among the virtues.—Very different was the system proposed by David Hume. So far as his views on our moral sentiments are concerned, he seems to have blended the theories of reason and internal sense; but in examining what actions are pleasing or displeasing to the beholder, as approving themselves to our minds, or the contrary, he finds that the merit of actions depends wholly on their usefulness or natural tendency to add to the sum of human happiness. He may, in short be regarded as at the head of those philosophers, in this country, who have distinctly advocated the doctrine that *utility* is the foundation of virtue. This system, which evidently has its germ in that of Epicurus, has prevailed with various modifications, more than any other; and it has enrolled on the list of its supporters, some of the acutest minds; witness Paley, Bentham, Mill, and others; among whom we do not hesitate to include our author.

Mr. Smith so far agrees with Paley as to maintain that it is essential to a right action that it should conduce to *happiness*. On other important points, as we shall see, he is decidedly at issue with that most popular of English moralists; whose lax practical application of the principle of utility, has fostered a prejudice against it which later speculations have often tended only to confirm. Hence those who are chiefly acquainted with the doctrine as it is embodied in a tangible shape in Paley's chapters on Lies, and Subscription to Articles, or in the still grosser forms in which it has sometimes more recently appeared, are little aware of the very different complexion it may assume in the hands of others:—for example, of that more refined and elevated moral thinker, President Dwight. Mr. Smith admits that some of the utilitarian philosophers have attempted to deduce conse-

quences from the general principle, which, if carried out, would furnish excuses for the most horrid crimes, subvert the established rules of human duty, and speedily dissolve the whole fabric of society. Hence the violent prejudice, he thinks, which has prevailed among many against the very term *utility* or *expediency*, in reference to morals; as though it were opposed to the idea of strict right and justice, and implied that every man's own desire might be his law, to the neglect of certain general principles, bearing on the various relations in which utility should be viewed.

In consequence of the diffusely analytical and desultory mode which has been pursued in these volumes, those who are accustomed to admire the eminently lucid synthesis of Paley, will miss it here, creditable as the work is to the thinking powers of the author. He seems not to have been unconscious that he has sometimes 'lost his way,' and 'wandered far about;' but he alleges, that he adopted this circuitous method because it promised 'most entertainment' to himself. His readers would, probably, have been equally 'entertained,' and more profited, if he had conducted them by a more direct course. As it is, they are frequently led fatiguingly over the same ground, and their progress is sometimes impeded by the digressions which, however important the subjects, would have been more valuable had these volumes been digested into a more harmonious whole. As a consequence, the work is too long; and should it go to a second edition, we would strongly recommend the author to affect a stricter method, to condense his repetitions, and to reduce the whole by at least one-third. We shall now endeavour to bring together, in as short a compass as we can, the leading principles which are laid before us, as we have been able to gather them in the course of our perusal.

Mr. Smith rejects the hypothesis that moral approbation, and disapprobation, are to be resolved into a mere *feeling*. In the decisions which moral agents pronounce on actions, he says, *reason*, and no other faculty, is competent to be their guide, whether its operation be in any case intuitive or deductive. Admitting this principle, the author does not object to call the faculty which thus discriminates, a *moral sense*, or to regard it as identical with conscience. He takes for granted that there is something immutable in morality, something right which never can be wrong, and *vice versâ*, independently of the feelings or the judgment of moral agents. Something is in its own nature obligatory—why we cannot tell, he says, any more than why a whole must be greater than its part. The order of our moral judgments is this:—that from the very conception we form of pleasure and pain arises the first principle of morals; namely, that it is fit *à priori* that every sentient being should be happy rather than

miserable. The notion of fitness next involves that of obligation. We cannot perceive that a thing is fit to be done, without perceiving that it is what an agent ought to do, rather than the contrary. The idea of obligation implies that it is fit that the state of *him* who *chooses* to do what is obligatory should be better than it otherwise would be: and we must feel some complacency in a being who desires to do what is obligatory, and the reverse. Obligation and fitness are expressive of entirely simple ideas, and therefore do not admit of definition. In proportion as the effects of any action, whether taken as an individual, or as representing a class, are fit or unfit, there exists an obligation to perform or to avoid that action. 'This principle,' says the author, 'without 'any other, is sufficient to explain all the rules of morality.'

In explanation of the criterion of right and wrong, Mr. Smith professes to have treated with more care and minuteness than other writers the apparently conflicting relations of utility; and we think this claim is just. We must not, he observes, simply ask wherein the goodness of an action consists, but wherein lies its fitness, its obligation, its virtue, its merit. The notion of a moral action is complex: an effect is produced,—a sentient being or beings receive pleasure or pain. The effect may be fit or unfit to take place, without reference to the character or intention of the agent. Obligation is a certain situation in which an agent is placed in relation to this effect; he is under an obligation to produce it; there is a reason why he should do so. Different agents may be under different degrees of obligation to produce effects of the same fitness. *Virtue* is a quality of an agent's mind or disposition, by which he is more or less sensible of the influence of the motive which obligation furnishes; but a general definition of virtue is impossible, as it is applied to a variety of qualities. Where two agents are under the same obligation, and are naturally formed with equal degrees of regard to its influence, if one makes a voluntary exertion to fulfil the obligation, and the other none, this exertion is *merit;* and it is opposed to guilt. Thus virtue consists in the spontaneous disposition, and merit in the voluntary choice, to do something which reason is capable of perceiving to be obligatory. A notion of obligation may exist without an immediate reference to any species of effect; but cannot be originally formed without such reference. A sensibility to moral obligation must always be distinguished from mere natural affection of any kind. Virtue is a regard for moral obligation: a regard for this is a regard for fitness; and this again is a regard for the promotion of *happiness.* Virtue, in its simplest essence, is a regard for the good of all sentient beings, including the agent himself:—so understood, the author thinks that the system that virtue is founded in benevolence is unexceptionable. Our notions of merit and of guilt are ultimately contained in those of happiness and misery.

When we ask why we pronounce an action good, we must consider, says our author, whether in so calling it we have respect to its effect,—to the amount of reason why any or some one agent should perform it,—to the disposition leading to its performance,—to the energy of will or self-command employed in choosing to perform it independently of present inclinations; in short, whether the action be characterized as a fit end merely, a special duty, a virtue, or a merit. The practical judgments of mankind are generally founded on a sort of general view of all these particulars. It is further remarked, that those who agree in regarding some common quality as characteristic of all good actions, may assign different reasons *why we ought* to perform such actions: accordingly Mr. Smith holds, with Paley, that utility is the criterion of virtue, while he rejects that writer's theory of obligation. Paley's definition of virtue is 'the doing 'good to mankind, in obedience to the will of God, and for the 'sake of everlasting happiness. According to which definition,' adds Paley, 'the good of mankind is the subject, the will of God 'the rule, and everlasting happiness the motive of human virtue.' The author of the 'Philosophy of Morals,' is of opinion that, understanding every effect to be of utility which is more or less beneficial, '*the utility of actions is the sole principle from which* '*their obligation can be deduced.*' It appears to us that Mr. Smith here differs from Paley in one point, which it is of great importance to maintain. For can it be doubted whether the solemn sanction of virtue which is found in the idea of a Supreme Moral Governor, should ever be kept away from the fore-ground of a system of morals? For this omission we think no attempt at metaphysical accuracy can atone. Mr. Smith successfully vindicates Paley from the charge of theoretically sacrificing truth and justice in maintaining the 'subject' of human virtue to be 'happiness;' and remarks, that a regard to this kind of utility, or benevolence, cannot exist without justice. To say that we ought not to sacrifice truth to utility, is, he observes, to say that we ought not to sacrifice our health to our happiness. There cannot be a regard to utility without a regard to truth. A benevolent man may violate truth, as a benevolent judge may let a criminal escape; but this kind of benevolence is a mere instinctive affection; or is one that mistakes its object. Taking utility in its general and absolute, instead of its specific and relative import, there is no action reckoned morally obligatory of which utility is not the distinguishing characteristic. Yet the utility of an action is not that by which we estimate the virtue or merit of an agent; this merit consists in his endeavour to fulfil moral obligation. Utility does not explain wherein the moral virtue of an agent consists,—but wherein consists the obligation of the action; or why it should be performed. The opponents of utility

affirm that on this principle every man must be left to decide for himself what actions are of utility; but no—says Mr. Smith; whether a certain species of actions will produce good or evil effects, is a point in regard to which there is a true and a false; and the knowledge of this must be gained like other knowledge. Men often act on trust without reference to utility; but when they *do* judge of their duty, they judge from views of utility. If it were to be alleged as an objection that, on the principle of utility, a small theft might, in certain cases, do little or no harm, —the reply is, we must look to general rules: if it be said that men do not always think of general rules, this is no proof that they ought not. Mr. Smith also states that neither the supporters nor the opponents of utility have generally perceived that there is no opposition between it and the doctrine of a moral faculty. Conscience, however, is not a blind instinct. Its easy or uneasy state does not discriminate between a right and a wrong action, irrespectively of the view taken by the agent, of its nature and tendency. This discrimination is not made without a consideration of the effects of the action. Many a man mistakes right for wrong, and *vice versâ*. The decision of conscience is according to our estimate of right and wrong,—our conception, that is, of the action as having a certain tendency or effect. Whether conscience be regarded as a judgment, or a feeling, or both,—the action cannot be distinguished as right or wrong, in the sense of obligatory, independently of its effects. The above may be regarded as a summary of the doctrines contained in these volumes, collected from various parts of the work. If some of the statements are ambiguous, or seem to clash with each other, we can only say that we have as much as possible confined ourselves to the author's own phraseology, wherever it was of consequence to do so. As a further illustration of his views of moral obligation, we extract as follows:

'Some religious persons are fond of maintaining that the merit of any action consists entirely in its being performed to please God. Now I hold it to be exceedingly clear that the smaller and fewer the motives from which a moral agent fulfils a moral obligation, his virtue and merit are the greater: consequently, a man who performs an action simply because he believes it to be right, and for no other reason, may have more virtue and merit, than one who partly performs it for that reason, and partly because it is agreeable to the Deity; more especially as in the latter case, he may be acting from a principle of selfish prudence, a hope of reward, or fear of punishment; and his act must in this single respect be less approved by the Deity. But the Deity, though approving the agent for *acting* without the motive, may yet condemn him for *being* without it.'—Vol. II., p. 79.

'If it be said that the ordinary rules of morality ought to be followed because the observance of them is commanded by the Deity,

we must inquire what are the various specific reasons why we ought to obey the will of the Deity. Now we ought to obey it either because we perceive the obligations of his laws in their own nature, and without regard to their being commanded; or because we assume that being commanded they are of intrinsic obligation, whether we can perceive the grounds or not; or because we shall be rewarded for obedience, punished for disobedience, whether they are in their own nature obligatory or not; or because God has been beneficent or merciful to us, and therefore we ought, in return, to do what is pleasing to him. The first reason resolves itself into the general inquiry. The like may be said of the second. The man who believes himself bound to act on the principle of utility may believe himself bound to follow the divine will, as the most unerring guide in the application of that principle. In regard to the third reason—if we ought to obey the divine commands, merely in order to obtain the rewards of obedience, is our obedience rendered for any thing else in this case but its utility—to ourselves? In regard to the fourth reason, if we ought to obey the divine laws in order to please the divine Being, on account of his benefits bestowed on us, does not this suppose that our obedience is of utility—is pleasing to the divine Being? Did we not think or fancy that our obedience is *agreeable*, we should not have the notion of being bound or obliged in gratitude, as distinct from every other reason, to obey the Deity. Thus I have endeavoured to show that *utility*, in a more or less extended meaning of the term, is the source of all our moral notions; and that however a regard to it may be mixed up with, or even superseded by, other principles of conduct, it is the utility, real or apparent, of an action, and that alone, that can ever produce in the mind of an agent the perception of its being *morally obligatory*.'

—ib., pp. 189—197.

It must be admitted that Mr. Smith has redeemed the general theory of utility from the necessity of lying under those prejudices which have arisen against it in the minds of many reflecting persons, in consequence of its association with the coldly-calculating school of the modern utilitarians. These juridical moralists are sadly wanting in their estimate of the moral beauty of virtue for its own sake, and in their hands it is in danger of being sunk into an affair of narrow expediency and self-interest. Our author is not of the second school of Epicurus; and he has well defended the doctrine he espouses from the charge of being a mere earth-born, selfish calculation. We think, however, that he has erred in not introducing more of the sanction of religion at the foundation of his moral scheme. Though we regard Paley's theory of *motive* as much too selfish, and his practical views as often too lax; yet, whatever be his faults, Paley deserved the name of a 'Christian moralist,' in contradistinction to Hume and many others, by placing in the fore-front of his system 'the will of God,' so far as it can be known, as the rule of virtue; and, insisting on this, as 'the whole business' of mo-

rality, Mr. Smith, we think, keeps this important ingredient of a moral system too much in the back-ground. We do not mean that he overlooks—much less denies that a regard to the will of the Deity is a part of virtue:—but he treats it rather as an isolated duty, than as an element which ought to pervade moral agency in the form of a presiding principle. He merges it too much in the general doctrine of utility, alleging that, after all, *this* is 'the sole principle from which moral obligation can be deduced.' We agree with our author that, so far as induction can lead us, we are able to conclude that all the actions to perform which there is an ascertained moral obligation, will be found universally characterized by utility—that is, they tend directly or indirectly to promote happiness: but we think that the general question, Why *ought* a certain action to be done—why is it obligatory?—is not adequately answered when it is replied that its binding force lies in its perceived utility—that this is the '*sole principle*' of moral obligation. This answer seems to us too much to overlook the Deity as the prime source of all moral relations. It is making utility somewhat like the *fate* of the ancients, which seemed to have an indefinable, shadowy existence, apart from that of the gods, and which bound Jupiter himself in chains. We would rather say that utility, understood in its widest and highest possible sense, and in all its relations, is, so far as we have the opportunity of judging, the *mark* that is borne by those actions which are in harmony with the moral nature of God, the original source of all moral relations, as his physical being is the source of all other existence. To say that the obligation of an action *lies* in its utility, even supposing that we could always perceive that utility, appears too much like placing all those objects of human agency which have not God for their *immediate* object, out of the sphere of religious obligation; which, as Paley remarks, is the same as moral. If an action be obligatory, it is so as more or less bearing the impress of the divine will. Not that we believe it to be the expression of the divine will that *makes* an action *fit as an end*, so as to *constitute* its fitness, any more than the stamp on the coin constitutes it gold or silver; the stamp is only an evidence of its being such. The expression of the will of God, whether definitely given in revelation, or gathered satisfactorily from nature and Providence, is a proof that what is indicated will promote happiness, as being in harmony with the constitution, if we may so say, of the divine mind, which was prior, by infinite ages, to the existence of creatures, and consequently to the relations they now sustain. We would, therefore, not look beyond the nature of the Deity for the foundation of rectitude. There is a moral propriety in acting in harmony with the ideas of the divine mind, because, here, all is perfection. We would take a more Platonic view of the subject than our author seems

to admit, and say that the 'first fair and the first good,' is the abyss where, to creatures, all calculations are merged and lost; and that when we have said that God has pointed out to man a certain train of action as his duty—that the perfection of the divine nature is the source from which these indications emanate, —and that happiness on the grand scale necessarily follows in the train of these actions, as the shadow follows the substance, we have come to an ultimate principle, and can go no farther. Reason dictates the belief that the Creator can have no possible ends in view but his own glory and the happiness of his creatures; and reason approves these as worthy ends. Of this decision of reason the voice of revelation is more than confirmatory—these ends are its sole avowed design, though to trace the manner in which they are promoted and harmonized, is not always within human power; because a darkness rests on the whole subject of moral evil, which reason is not able, and revelation does not profess to dispel. We admit that, by a refined analysis, the glory of God, and the happiness of man may *both* be brought under the category of utility; for the divine glory may, so far as it relates to the Divine Being himself, be regarded as the divine happiness. Yet we think that to say that the sole adequate motive, to us, for acting virtuously is utility, is, at the least, going somewhat far about, rather than near at hand, for the source of obligation. As to the ultimate *fitness* of an end being its tendency to promote happiness, Mr. Smith's views will be found not to differ from those of Dr. Dwight; but we are much mistaken if Dwight would admit that the 'sole *obligation* of an action is utility:' nor would he give so little distinctness and relief to the will of God, so far as known, as the only safe rule and standard of virtue. We cannot bring ourselves to believe, with Mr. Smith, that in any case an action is more acceptable to the Deity because a man has performed it simply from a view of its utility, and without any reference to the divine will.

Our author ably refutes the sentimental school of Hutcheson, Adam Smith, and Brown, on the subject of a moral sense. He resolves conscience, we think agreeably to truth, into an exercise of judgment attended with certain corresponding feelings termed emotions. But we are not sure, whether by leaning a little too much to the intellectual, in order to avoid the sentimental hypothesis, he does not fail to give adequate prominence to the peculiarity of those pleasurable or painful feelings which attend a judgment formed of our *own* moral actions, as distinguished from that of which the actions of others are the object. The volumes before us, however, we may inform the reader, are in general distinguished by much originality and acuteness, considerable power of analysis, and some facility of illustration. The author seems to us to have been particularly successful in exposing the chief

objections that have been brought against the principle that utility, on the grand scale, is a criterion of all virtuous actions.

In the chapter on Liberty and Necessity, Mr. Smith attempts to overthrow the doctrine of philosophical necessity so triumphantly established, nearly a century ago, by that profound thinker Jonathan Edwards. Our author alleges that he 'can 'find no room in the system of necessity for our notions of merit 'and guilt, or *desert of reward and punishment.*' He therefore makes a staunch thrust at that irrefragable fact in man's nature—that his moral choice is always determined by the strongest inducement; or that the phenomena of human volition are, like those of nature, only to be explained on the principle of causation—a fact which it must be allowed is rather unhappily associated, by the term employed, with the idea of something irresistible, or with *physical* necessity. Whatever difficulties we may still feel in attempting perfectly to harmonize this fact in the consciousness of man, with some of the bearings of his accountableness, certain it is that the difficulties which attach to the opposite hypothesis are much greater, for they amount to the utmost absurdities and contradictions. Here the attempt to steer clear of Charybdis produces an entire shipwreck on Scylla. Mr. Smith would fain, if he could, cashier motives altogether from having any thing to do necessarily with our volitions; but, finding that this would be rather too much of a hecatomb to be sacrificed to the shrine of his self-determining power, he thinks better of it, and labours to combine the doctrine of the strongest motive with that of the supreme prerogative of the will to determine *itself*—the very scheme which Edwards demolished with such grave irony, and irresistible power, as the offspring of Mr. Chubb. But let the author speak for himself, that our readers may judge of the manner in which he deals with the subject:

'I shall not stop to suggest the numberless cases in which a man acts without any motive, that is to say, the least assignable, either by himself or others. I shall not advert to the circumstance that a man may act not only without a motive, but contrary to a motive, merely in order to prove his free agency, because it may be contended that his desire to prove his free agency is, in such case, a motive. I shall freely admit, for the sake of argument, at least, that the will never acts without a motive. The doctrine of free agency does not suppose that the will in any case acts without a motive; but only that in following one motive rather than another, it is not in every case, drawn or impelled by a power in the motive, but chooses to act from that motive in preference to the other, by a power of its own: a power exerting itself independently of the strength of either motive. I say that the will is not *in every case* impelled or drawn by a power in the motive; because, as the advocates of free agency need not deny that the will always acts from regard to a motive, so neither need they deny

that motives exercise an influence on the will: an influence greater or less in every case; an influence in some cases irresistible; and, to all intents and purposes, excluding free agency. It is sufficient for the argument that one case can be shown to exist in which the will is not determined by the strength of the motive, but by its own power of choice.'—Vol. II., p. 98.

And what is the case our author adduces? precisely that, because a man may at one time, when in the water, 'suffer himself 'to be borne along by the current, whereas he might stem it,— 'because at another time he is carried with the current in spite of 'all his exertions,' it does not, 'therefore' follow that he has no power over his own motions! We cannot afford room to point out the confusion which here takes place of physical with moral necessity; or the total irrelevancy of the example, if it be meant to prove a self-determining power: but we are irresistibly reminded by it of the Scotchman, who, having unluckily fallen into the water, cried out, 'I will be drowned, nobody shall help me.' Seriously, the above passage, which is a fair specimen of the whole chapter, involves such a mass of contradictions, such a medley of inconsistencies, in regard to the obvious phenomena of causation, the meaning of the term motive, the distinction between physical and moral inability, and the very notion of human freedom, that we are almost tempted to imagine that the author can never have studied the controversy as exhibited in the pages of the great transatlantic moralist, where he would find all his arguments most thoroughly examined, and as thoroughly annihilated.

Though, as our readers will have seen, we think the author does not formally enough introduce the direct sanction of religious obligation into his *theory* of morals, a defect by no means uncommon among philosophical moralists,—yet in his concluding chapter he touches 'on the relation of morality to religion natural 'and revealed;' his chief object being here 'to deduce the spe- 'cial duty of examining the evidence of revealed religion.' His remarks on the Deistical Controversy, and on the General Evidence of Revelation, are for the most part highly valuable, though we should not choose even here to follow him implicitly. He justly observes on this subject:

'There is a *primâ facie* case for the truth of Christianity, from the circumstance that it has been believed by many able and enlightened men, in all countries and ages. If Christianity is a cheat, it is a cheat that has imposed on some of the most enlarged and comprehensive intellects that ever existed—such as Bacon, Newton, Butler; upon some of the most acute, subtle, and penetrating—such as were possessed by

Clarke, Berkeley, Locke: it has imposed upon some men of the soundest and clearest practical judgment—such as Watson and Paley: the very last sort of persons to be easily taken in by groundless pretensions.'
—ib., p. 284.

We are sorry to be obliged, before parting with the author, to add that his work, exhibiting as it does so much real talent, has one great blemish, which will pain the minds of many who might otherwise have read it with considerable interest. We refer to his going out of his way, as it appears to us, repeatedly to attack a vast class of individuals who differ from him in their theological sentiments. We have not the least personal knowledge of Mr. Smith, nor have we any external means of knowing to what party he belongs: but we the more regret his unfair treatment of those alluded to, because it stands out in remarkable contrast with his extreme candour towards Hume, Gibbon, and Voltaire, in particular, whom he hesitates to regard as decidedly disbelieving Christianity. He loses none of his self-possession in speaking of Hume's vagaries in attempting to disprove miracles, and the distinction between virtue and vice, and his own and every body else's existence. He is willing to regard Gibbon's 'attack upon Christianity' as a sort of foible resulting from his being always ready to seize occasions for exercising that delicate irony in which he excelled. Nor does Voltaire fail of obtaining the excuse, that with 'the idea of Christianity exhibited by the French church 'of his day, he *must* have been a deist, or a fool.' Our author is only disturbed from his philosophic calmness by those who maintain a 'certain theological system, much in vogue in the present day:' nor does he accept even of their '*sincerity*,' (which he admits,) as any excuse for them. From a totally mistaken apprehension of their views, he thus exclaims:

'—— Whence the preposterous, the insane raving, about human depravity—the more than childish ringing changes upon the depth of our corruption, our utter and desperate wickedness, and so forth? Are we to set a Scriptural figure of speech against a plain matter of fact? What is the truth? this, that a man's desert of punishment arises neither from his natural appetites, nor the constitutional weakness of his sensibility to obligation, but *from the wrong exercise of his free will.*'—ib., p. 63.

Now this is the precise description of the opinion of all the most enlightened individuals among those who are so unfortunate as to have to run the gauntlet which Hume, Gibbon, and Voltaire escaped. They hold, with Mr. Smith, that guilt consists in 'wrongly exercising free-will,' in 'choosing to neglect or violate

'moral obligation.' But let us have a nearer view of these offenders; who 'seem absolutely engaged in a competition who 'shall run farthest in the race of absurdity—as if there were no 'way of honoring God, but by depressing man below the level 'of a rational and moral being. When we find those who are 'perpetually declaiming against the pride of the human heart, 'coolly declaring their assurance of being specially distinguished 'from the mass of mankind as the objects of the divine favour, 'privileged to determine between truth and falsehood, to discri- 'minate between the accepted and the rejected--when it is assi- 'duously inculcated that the most daring sin a man can be guilty 'of, is to endeavour to please God by doing what is morally 'right—when we are alarmed by the most harrowing representa- 'tions of the future damnation that awaits us, only to be told in 'the next breath that we can do nothing to help ourselves—when 'we are assured that our faith will necessarily produce good 'works, while we are yet required to make it the very first article 'of that faith, that good works can avail us nothing——'

But we will go no farther, though there is much more to the same purpose. Mr. Smith ought to have known, as a man of sense, and a philosopher, that all this is a most violent *caricature* of the avowed religious opinions of all the Protestant churches in Christendom, with scarcely an exception. There are fanatics in all communities; but the opinions of a body of men are not to be judged of from the exceptions. Mr. Smith's *candour* has here wofully forsaken him; and he has, from whatever cause, fallen into the grossest misrepresentations. We are willing to hope that he has sinned ignorantly, as this is the most charitable supposition; and before he writes again about those who revolt him so much more than Hume, Gibbon, and Voltaire, let him read the sermons of Robert Hall, and Dr. Chalmers, in order to know what opinions he condemns.

Art. V. *The Life of Richard Earl Howe, K.G., Admiral of the Fleet, and General of Marines.* By Sir John Barrow, F.R.S. 8vo. London: Murray. 1838.

WE frankly confess that we open such a volume as this with very different feelings from most of our brother journalists. It brings up a train of reflections which sobers and saddens our mind, and disposes us to moralize where others indulge in indiscriminate and wholesale eulogy. We are far from being insensible to the many noble qualities which centered in the character of the hero, nor do we wish to depreciate the value of the service he did his country. But the perusal of such a volume leads us from the individual whose biography it records, to the revolting character of the system which he so vigorously and successfully worked. Nothing is more easy than to dilate in general terms on the gallant bearing and generous intrepidity of our navy,—the old bulwark and pride of England. The glowing picture feeds our national vanity, and leads us to exult in the land of our birth. The heroes who swept the seas of our enemies, and rode off their coasts as the emblems of British supremacy and valour, are regarded as tutelar saints, whom it is impiety to decry, and worse than treason to undervalue. So universal is this feeling that it may be recognized in every grade of society,—may be traced in classes the most dissimilar, and in ages the most remote. The old man tottering beneath the burden of years, and the school boy just warming into life,—the senator, the demagogue, the philosopher and the priest,—the irreligious worldling, and the sincere disciple of the gospel of peace, all these and many other subdivisions of society may be seen yielding themselves to the pervading sentiment, and giving utterance, each in his appropriate phraseology, to an impassioned admiration of military renown. The feeling is so omnipotent, that it is almost impossible calmly to test its propriety, while the utterance of an unfavorable judgment is sure to subject the man sturdy enough to hazard it, to the contempt or indignation of his countrymen. It is a light punishment to have his patriotism suspected,—a thousand to one, but he is charged with a pusillanimous spirit and base desertion of his dearest interests. The stripling despises his cowardice, and the old man points with a look of significant scorn to the long list of British heroes.

And yet the case does not to our mind admit of doubt. It appears to be one of the simplest problems of moral science, a fact on which two judgments cannot be formed by a right-minded and unperverted heart. The *profession of arms*, we do not hesitate to aver, is in utter hostility to the whole scope and genius of the Christian system. No ingenuity can reconcile it with the

spirit of the gospel, or bring it into harmony with that scrupulous conscientiousness which the principles of religion inculcate. The man who *willingly* adopts it (for of such only be it remembered we are speaking) surrenders himself, for the paltry consideration of pay or fame, to the will and caprice of another. He becomes, deliberately, and with design, part of a complicated machinery, over the movements of which he possesses no control;—a machinery ordinarily worked by irreligious and ambitious men, and in ninety-nine cases out of the hundred rendered subservient to deeds of aggression and blood, the most charitable recital of which stains with infamy the page of history. From the moment a youth enters the army, he is bound by the terms of his engagement to obey implicitly the commands of his superiors. To whatever service he may be appointed, he is the mere machine with which others work, the living instrument which ambitious men use for the achievement of their designs. He may be employed against freedom in her purest and noblest struggles; he may be commissioned to desolate the peaceful hearth, to depopulate the busy city, to crush the rising energies of a people strong in the conviction of their rights, and yet he dares not hesitate,—the murderous mandate has been issued, and he is pledged to obey. We are not now speaking of wars, strictly *defensive.* They are of rare occurrence, and are out of the scope of our reasoning. We speak of the profession of arms, of the science of war, of the system so awfully prevalent and popular among us, whereby immense masses of human beings are trained to the work of destruction, so as to be pointed at any moment, with the most deadly effect against such as have wounded the pride, or threatened the interests of their employers. All the advantages of combination and discipline are sought to render them more skilful in the slaughter of their fellow-men, and he is usually regarded as the most successful who can point to the greatest number of battle-fields over which his victorious banner has been unfurled. It is no defence of the system to allege that armies are sometimes employed in the defence of unprotected innocence, and in the establishment of national rights,—that the progress of an ambitious conqueror has occasionally been arrested, and the prey snatched from his grasp,—that the fellowship of the human family calls for and enforces an interposition on behalf of a neighbouring nation imploring help against some formidable aggressor;—all this may be allowed, so far as our argument is concerned, and yet the obvious discrepancy of the military *profession*, with the spirit and requirements of Christianity, be made out. Such cases are the exceptions, few and far between, and not the rule. They are the accidents of the system, and not its ordinary fruits. Our charge against the system is

this, and if we make it out, we care not what minor pleas are urged, that it converts the many into the mere tools of the few, the unreflecting, though still in a moral point of view the responsible, agents of their will. No human being is justified in placing himself in such a position. He cannot so far divest himself of the attributes of a moral nature, nor transfer to another the responsibility of actions of which he is the agent, and for which God holds him responsible. Human laws may pronounce him guiltless, but before a purer tribunal he will inevitably be condemned. The blood of millions will finally be demanded at the hand of the kings and heroes of our race. Upon them the chief condemnation will fall, but their blind and unscrupulous agents must not expect to escape. We confess that this consideration very seriously modifies our estimate of the character of George the third, whose private worth we cordially admit. The destructive wars of his reign were the passion of the monarch, and we would not have the guilt they involved lying upon our souls, for all the dignity and wealth which his crown conferred.

We have made these remarks in no querulous spirit, nor with the most distant idea of engaging the attention of the statesmen of the day. Our duty is with the religious public, and we are solicitous of inducing them seriously to reflect on the degree in which they are implicated in this national crime. Our conviction is that that degree is anything but trifling, and if this conviction be correct it becomes them instantly to repent of and abandon the sin. The nations of Europe, exhausted by a long struggle, have now enjoyed an unwonted degree of repose. This has been the result of necessity rather than of choice. The 'sinews of war,' and not the spirit of strife have been wanted, and statesmen have consequently been content to carry on their schemes by other means. But the political atmosphere of Europe is yet charged with inflammable elements, and a thousand accidents may cause them to explode. It therefore becomes the Christian part of our population to bethink themselves during this period of leisure,—to try their principles,—to test their spirit,—to be prepared in a word for the crisis which must come, when our statesmen having gathered up their resources will seek again to plunge the nation into war. Shall they be permitted to do so, and not only be permitted, but as in times past shall they be cheered on and encouraged by the disciples of that religion which proclaims 'peace on earth, good-will towards men.' The religious people of this country are sufficiently numerous and powerful to determine this case, and if they fail in their duty, God will not hold them guiltless. But we must pass on to the biography before us.

Sir John Barrow, in the preface to his volume, anticipates two questions as not unlikely to arise, respecting his publication.

The first regards the new materials put forward, and the second the competency of a landsman to do justice to the subject chosen. Respecting the former he tells us,—

'The fresh materials consist of something more than four hundred letters, all in the hand-writing of Earl Howe, and all addressed to one individual, long and high in his confidence, embracing a period between the years 1776 and 1799, on a great variety of subjects, professional and otherwise;—of several private letters to and from the Earl of Chatham;—of the noble Admiral's private journal during the time his flag was up, very full, and written entirely by himself;—of various communications received from several flag-officers and others, who served under him, and now living;—and of a few very interesting letters from his Majesty George III., and George Prince of Wales, to a member of the Howe family.'

The latter inquiry is met in an equally satisfactory manner, though not without severe, but merited reflection, on 'our naval writers of novels and romances,' who are represented as having failed in their duty to one of the chief ornaments of their profession. His late majesty is known to have taken much delight in the naval service, and the following passage from the preface of our author will not be read without interest.

'If I entertained doubts of engaging in the task, which I certainly did from the want of all private correspondence with or from the noble Earl, that could throw any light on his moral character, his opinions or sentiments, previous to his arriving at his flag, those doubts at once gave way to the flattering approbation, and the expression of a desire on the part of his late Majesty, that I should undertake it. His commands on this occasion were personally conveyed to me only a few days before the commencement, or rather indication, of the fatal illness which deprived the nation of a Sovereign eagerly devoted to its honour and its interests—of a Prince punctual in the discharge of his public duties, easy of access, and always ready to oblige, and do a good-natured act—of a man kind-hearted, amiable, and affectionate in all the relations of private and domestic life.

'His Majesty was pleased to say that, having understood I was about to employ myself in writing the life of the late Lord Howe, he was glad to hear it was likely to fall into such safe hands, for the Admiral was a great favourite with his father, and indeed a sort of connexion of the family; that he knew the present Earl had for some time past been desirous of finding some one qualified to write the life of his grandfather, and ought to consider himself fortunate. . . . . The King then entered into the history of Lord Howe's life, went over the leading features and events that distinguished it, which an extraordinary memory enabled him to do with a degree of correctness quite surprising; he pointed out some passages in the Earl's life, not generally known, and which he said would require caution in touching upon, and that he was desirous of mentioning them to me. Though

this interview, with which I was honoured, happened on the Sunday immediately preceding the last levee he ever held, I could not discover, on that day, any difference from his usual cheerfulness, manner, or appearance.'

Richard Earl Howe, the second son of the Right Honourable Scrope, Lord Viscount Howe, was born in 1725, and is supposed to have received his education at Eton. His course of education must have been very brief, as he entered the naval service as midshipman, about the age of fourteen. He rose rapidly in his profession, being made lieutenant of the Comet bomb in 1744, and commander in the following year. He was shortly afterwards advanced to the rank of captain, and was appointed to the Triton on the 20th of April, 1747. His intrepidity and success led to his appointment in June, 1756, to the command of a squadron for the protection of Guernsey and Jersey then threatened with an invasion from France, and the skill with which he conducted this service, confirmed the favorable judgment previously formed of his character. His subsequent promotion is identified with the naval history of his country, and need not be here particularized. He was chosen by George the Second as the tutor of the Duke of York, the elder brother of George the Third, and the following anecdote of what took place on Howe's introducing his royal pupil to the captains at Portsmouth is strikingly characteristic of the simplicity of seamen.

'In the case of the Duke of York we have a pretty specimen of the economical mode then in practice, of launching forth into the world a young prince, the heir presumptive to the throne. Captain Howe having equipped his young *élève* in the true Portsmouth fashion, the captains of the navy then present attended him in their boats on board, where they were severally introduced to the young midshipman. An anecdote is told, which being highly characteristic of the true simplicity of seamen, is not unlikely to have occurred. A sailor standing with some others on the forecastle, and observing what was going on, whispered his messmate, 'the young gentleman a'nt over civil as I thinks: look, if he don't keep his hat on before all the captains!' 'Why, you stupid lubber,' replied the other, 'where should he larn manners, seeing as how he never was at sea before?'—pp. 59, 60.

The coolness, moderation, and firmness of Howe, combined with his private worth, and the high professional character he had established, pointed him out to the ministry of the day as the commander best qualified for the American station, and he consequently proceeded to the Colonies, then in a state of revolt, in the early part of 1776. He had previously met Dr. Franklin, at the house of his sister, Mrs. Howe, and though the negotiations which ensued failed to accomplish their object, they appear to

have laid the foundation for a mutual respect not wholly devoid of important consequences. The American royalists, in the true spirit of infuriated partizans, condemned the moderation of the British commander, who instead of laying waste the coast of the revolted colonies, regarded his commission as best fulfilled by combining a spirit of conciliation with the display of his naval superiority. Howe was a tory in politics, not of the ultra and rabid tribe which flourish in our own day, but of that more respectable class in whom the feeling of ancient loyalty to the crown is the absorbing passion. It was not therefore to be expected that he should sympathize with the colonists in the principles they avowed, or perfectly understand the nature of that mighty impulse by which they were moved. Still he endeavoured to arrest the progress of war, and to bring the disputants to an amicable arrangement. His efforts indeed were unsuccessful, but they do honour to the spirit of the man who made them. The following account of his overtures to Congress, displays alike the difficulties of his position, and the clear-sightedness and determination of the men with whom he had to deal. We are not answerable for some of the terms used by the narrator.

'Before, however, he put his forces in motion to intimidate, rather than at once commit any direct act of hostility against, the rebellious colonists, his first act was to send ashore, by a flag, circulars to as many of the late governors of provinces as were in the neighbourhood, acquainting them with his powers, both civil and military, and inclosing a declaration, granting general or particular pardons to all such as, in the confusion of the times, might have deviated from their just allegiance; and who were willing, by a speedy return to their duty, to reap the benefits of the royal favour. These papers were immediately forwarded by General Washington to the Congress, and the Congress as speedily published them in all their gazettes, for the purpose, as was stated, 'that the good people of these United States might know of what *nature* were the concessions, and what the *terms*, with the expectation of which the insidious Court of Great Britain has endeavoured to amuse and disarm them.' In fact, the declaration of himself, and his brother Sir William, came too late; not that a few months, sooner or later, would have made much difference, for the Congress, had, on the 4th July, issued a declaration, 'that the United Colonies of America, are, and of right ought to be, *Free and Independent States*, and that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown.'

'Lord Howe, however, unwilling to resort to extremities, so long as the least hope remained of conciliating the colonists, next attempted to open a communication with General Washington, and sent some of his officers with a flag and a letter addressed to 'George Washington. Esq.,' which he refused to receive, as not being addressed with the title, and in the form, due to to the public rank and capacity which he

held under the United States. On the 20th of the same month, Adjutant-General Paterson was sent to New York by General Sir William Howe, with a letter also addressed to 'George Washington, Esq., &c. &c.' Washington received him with great courtesy, and dispensed with the usual ceremony of blindfolding in passing through the fortifications, but he declined to receive the letter. The adjutant, on his part, trusted there might be no difficulty owing to any informality in the address, assuring him there was no intention of derogating from his rank. The General replied, 'that a letter directed to any person in a public character should have some description or designation of it, otherwise it would appear to be a mere private letter; that it was true the *et ceteras* implied *everything;* but they also implied *anything;* and that he should absolutely decline any letter directed to him, as a private person, when it related to his public station.' Some conference took place about the treatment of prisoners, but nothing satisfactory could be obtained from General Washington.'—pp. 91—93.

Howe's conduct does not appear to have been fully approved by the Admiralty, and we should have been glad if his biographer had been more explicit on this point. He consequently relinquished his command as soon as was consistent with the public service, and being informed on the eve of doing so, that he had been appointed Vice-Admiral of the red squadron, he expressed his feelings by saying, 'though impressed with a just sense of the 'king's most gracious patronage, I cannot cease to lament the 'public testimonies of their lordships' disesteem, which I have 'experienced by a repeated separation from the class of flag-'officers, with whom I was first advanced to that rank.' These were strong words for Howe to employ, who was one of the most patient and enduring of men, and it would have been well for the purposes of history if the secret springs of such treatment had been minutely traced. It is well known that the most absurd and unstatesmanlike views of the resources and energy of the Colonists were entertained by the British government at the commencement of the struggle. The language employed was that of proud ascendency and contempt. All that was thought to be necessary to awe the Colonists into submission, was an adequate demonstration of British strength. With this view, Howe was sent out, and when he failed to realize the utopian expectations of his employers, their chagrin knew no bounds.

The year 1782 was distinguished by the gallant defence of Gibraltar, then assailed by the combined forces of France and Spain. The garrison was happily commanded by General Elliot, an officer of determined and resolute bravery, who was assisted by a marine-brigade of gun-boats, under the orders of Capt. Curtis. The preparations made for the assault exceeded anything which Europe had witnessed. They are thus briefly described by our author:—

'The account of the tremendous preparations, on the part of Spain, for the siege of Gibraltar, had reached England, but the government was not aware of their extent, or that they were such as, from their nature and magnitude, had never before been attempted by any power in Europe;—the huge floating batteries, so constructed as to be deemed impervious to shot, and so contrived with tubes supplied with streams of water, by means of pumps, as to render them incombustible by red-hot shot, which had previously and successfully been used by the garrison in setting fire to some of the blockading ships and boats —all these preparations had satisfied the Spanish government that these novel machines, the invention and construction of an ingenious Frenchman, could neither be set on fire nor sunk, and that the destruction and capture of the fortress were now inevitable.'—pp. 130, 131.

Though many of our readers are probably acquainted with the detailed narrative of the siege, published by Colonel Drinkwater, we cannot abstain from quoting the following extract from the manuscript of an Italian officer in the service of Spain.

'On the morning of September 13th, 1782, the floating batteries got under way with a fair wind to proceed to Gibraltar, and at seven o'clock they had arranged themselves for the attack; whilst thus employed, our batteries from the land side redoubled their fire upon the garrison. At nine o'clock the floating batteries had got within gun-shot of the walls, when a tremendous fire was opened upon them by the British garrison, by which however the commanders were not disconcerted, but in a short time placed them in line so as to be able to open their fire together.' [They were completely moored, says Drinkwater, in little more than ten minutes.]

'The brunt of their fire was directed against the fortifications on the Old Mole and the south bastion, and we conceived great hopes, from the cool and intrepid manner of beginning the attack, that our success was certain. The floating batteries were so constructed, that the shot, which pierced their sides or roofs, would at the same time pass through a tube which should discharge a quantity of water to extinguish the fire which it might create; this hope however proved fallacious. From nine till two they kept up a well-directed fire with very little damage on their part; but our hopes of ultimate success became less sanguine when, at about two o'clock, the floating battery commanded by the Prince of Nassau (on board of which was also the engineer who had invented the machinery) began to smoke on the side exposed to the garrison, and it was apprehended she had taken fire. The firing however continued till we could perceive the fortifications had sustained some damage; but at seven o'clock all our hopes vanished. The fire from our floating batteries entirely ceased, and rockets were thrown up as signals of distress. In short, the red hot balls from the garrison had by this time taken such good effect, that nothing now was thought of but saving the crews, and the boats of the combined fleet were immediately sent on that service.

'A little after midnight the floating battery, which had been the first to show symptoms of conflagration, burst out into flames, upon which the fire from the rock was increased with terrific vengeance; the light produced from the flames was equal to noon-day, and greatly exposed the boats of the fleet in removing the crews.' [The light thrown out on all sides by the flames, Drinkwater says, enabled the artillery to point their guns with the utmost precision, whilst the rock and neighbouring objects were highly illuminated, forming, with the constant flashes of our cannon, a mingled scene of sublimity and terror.] 'During the night one or other of these batteries was discovered to be on fire; they were so close to the walls that the balls pierced into them full three feet, but being made of solid beds of green timber, the holes closed up after the shot, and for want of air they did not immediately produce the effect. At five A.M., one of them blew up with a very great explosion, and soon after the whole of them, having been abandoned by their crews, were on fire fore and aft, and many of their gallant fellows were indebted to the exertions of the English for their lives. As the English boats were towing one of these batteries into the Mole, not supposing her to be on fire, she also blew up.'

'It was at this tremendous moment,' adds Sir John Barrow, 'that the national spirit and character of Englishmen for rescuing fellow creatures in distress shone in their true light, and were never displayed with greater lustre. Brigadier Curtis with his little gallant crew in his pinnace were close to this floating battery when she blew up, and were by the explosion involved in one vast cloud of fire and smoke, and masses of burning wood, by which the coxswain was killed, and several of the crew wounded; one of these timbers went through the pinnace's bottom, and she was only saved from sinking by the sailors stuffing their jackets into the hole. All the other gun-boats were equally exposed, in dragging from the wrecks that had already exploded, and from amidst the mutilated carcases of the dead, the wounded victims that were still alive, and in picking up from logs of wood steaming in the sea, the miserable wretches not yet deprived of life. 'Notwithstanding the efforts of the Marine brigade,' says Colonel Drinkwater, 'in relieving the terrified victims from the burning ships, several unfortunate men could not be removed. The scene at this time exhibited was as affecting as that which, in the act of hostility, had been terrible and tremendous. Men crying from amidst the flames for pity and assistance; others on board those ships where the fire had made little progress, imploring relief with the most expressive gestures and signs of despair; whilst several equally exposed to the dangers of the opposite element, trusted themselves on various parts of the wreck to the chance of paddling to the shore.' '—pp. 133—136.

Howe was employed to relieve the garrison, and the manner in which he discharged the service, won the applause of enemies as well as of friends. 'It was not in England only,' said Mr. Fox, when speaking on the address of thanks on the peace of this year, 'that the character of Lord Howe was admired, a foreigner of 'distinction had written from Paris in the following terms: 'Every 'one here is full of admiration at the conduct of Lord Howe. All

'praise his bravery and humanity. All wish to take his conduct 'for their example. This makes us think that *in your country*, a 'court-martial will be appointed to try him whenever he arrives in 'England.'

The most splendid and important service of Lord Howe's life, was the victory of the first of June, 1794. It revived the ancient fame of the British navy, and led to the subsequent triumphs of Sir John Jervis and Nelson. Though less decisive in its immediate results than the engagements of Cape St. Vincent and the Nile, yet as occurring at the commencement of the war, it exerted a more powerful influence. It re-kindled the resolution, and gathered up the flagging spirits of British seamen, and emboldened them to those desperate, but triumphant displays of courage which followed. Lord Howe's temperament was vastly different from both of his illustrious contemporaries, yet it is not too much to assert that he prepared the way for their triumphs by the spirit he diffused through the navy. He put to sea on the 2nd of May, and after searching fruitlessly for the French fleet for some weeks, discovered it on the 28th 'very far distant in the south-east, the wind blowing fresh from the south by west, with a rough sea.' This and the three following days were employed in a series of manœuvres, which led to no decisive result, but on the 1st June the fleets engaged in good earnest. The following brief account of the battle is quoted from Mr. James, the indefatigable and accurate historian of naval actions.

'The enemy was discovered this morning about three or four miles to leeward in order of battle, under an easy sail, to the westward. The fleet being duly arranged in the same order on the larboard line of bearing, and notice given of the intention to pass through the enemy's line for engaging them to leeward, at about thirty minutes after eight, A.M., the signal (36) was made for each ship to steer for and engage her opponent in the enemy's line; whereupon the fleet bore up accordingly. The action commenced on the part of the British fleet soon after nine. The Defence, Marlborough, and Royal George, Queen, and Brunswick, being the only ships which pushed through the enemy's line, together with the Charlotte, for engaging them to leeward. The Gibraltar omitted to cross the French admiral for engaging his second ahead, as his station required. The Cæsar's main-top-sail was backed, and whilst distant from the enemy, though the signal for closer engagement was abroad.

'Soon after ten A.M., the French admiral, engaged by the Charlotte, drawing ahead (as he had continued to do from the beginning of the action, though the main-sail, top-gallant-sails, &c., were set in the Charlotte for keeping him on the same bearing when standing down to fetch under his stern), he bore away to the northward. The fore-top-mast, and soon after the main-top-mast (of which the weather-leech of the sail had been some time before cut in two and the sail rendered useless), in the Charlotte going over the side, no hinderance of the

movement, or pursuit of the French admiral could be made. But he hauled to the wind again on the larboard tack, about three miles to leeward, and formed with eleven or twelve more of his ships not disabled by the loss (at least) of any of their masts. Ten of the enemy's ships, almost all of them totally dismasted, were left to windward; but three of them with their sprit-sails, or sails raised on the stump of the fore-mast, joined the French admiral; the ships of the fleet being either so much dispersed, or disabled in their masts and rigging in the different actions, as to be prevented from opposing the escape of those French ships, or of assembling in force to renew the engagement. And when those three ships had joined the others, the enemy stood away large to the northward; leaving seven of their dismasted ships in our possession, one of which sunk while the prisoners were removing, and many of the crew perished with the ship.'—pp. 232—234.

Sir John Barrow has interwoven in his narrative, the accounts furnished by several eye-witnesses of the engagement, and the daring heroism detailed is highly illustrative of the intrepidity of British seamen.

'The conduct of the Marlborough,' he remarks 'as described partly by Captain Berkeley and partly by her First Lieutenant, Monckton, after the former was carried off deck wounded, is so noble, and at the same time attended with such remarkable circumstances, that it ought not to be passed over:—

'"The Marlborough engaged the Impetueux for about twenty minutes, when she payed round off and dropt with his bowsprit over our quarter, where he lay exposed to a very heavy raking fire which we kept up. Every creature was driven from her decks, and some of my men boarded her, but were called back. I had now the satisfaction to see all his masts go over the side. At this moment a seventy-four, which was astern of the Impetueux, attempted to weather and rake us; but he met with so severe a reception that he dropt on board his consort's quarter, and then luffing up, boarded the Marlborough upon the bow; but the steadiness of our troops, and the good use made of our guns and carronades, prevented him from availing himself of his situation. In a few minutes I had the pleasure of seeing this ship's masts follow the example of the other, and they both lay without firing a gun, or without any colours, which makes me suppose they had struck, as not a soul was upon deck to answer; and what confirmed me in this opinion afterwards, when we were dismasted and lay along-side the Impetueux, within half-pistol shot was, that no attempt was made against us, until our own fleet came up and took possession of them."

'"I now attempted to back off from the two wrecks, and unfortunately accomplished it just as the French admiral came under our stern, who backed his maintopsail and raked us, by which he did us considerable damage, and carried away our three masts. It was from this ship I received my wound, and therefore the remainder is the account of my first lieutenant."

'Lieutenant Monckton thus proceeds:—"At the time Captain Berkeley was obliged to quit the deck, we were still on board, but

backing clear of our opponents; our masts being then shot away by the three-decker under our stern, carried away the ensign staff, and deprived us of hoisting any colours for a few minutes. I ordered the wreck to be cleared away from the colour chest, and spread a Union Jack at the spritsail-yard and a St. George's ensign at the stump of the foremast; but perceiving that the latter was mistaken by some of our own ships for the tri-coloured flag, I ordered the flag to be cut off. At this time we were laying along the Impetueux, within pistol-shot; and, finding that she did not return a gun, and perceiving she was on fire, I ordered our ship to cease firing at her, and suffered them quietly to extinguish the flames, which I could easily have prevented with our musketry. While clearing away the wreck, the rear of the enemy's fleet was coming up, and perceiving that they must range close to us, and being determined never to see the British flag struck, I ordered the men to lie down at their quarters to receive their fire, and to return it afterwards if possible; but being dismasted, she rolled so deep that our lower-deck ports could not be opened. The event was as I expected; the enemy's rear passed us to leeward very close, and we fairly ran the gauntlet of every ship which could get a gun to bear, but luckily without giving us any shot between wind and water, or killing any men, except two, who imprudently disobeyed their officers and got up at their quarters. Two of their ships, which had tacked, now came to windward of us, and gave us their fire, upon which one of their hulks* hoisted a national flag, but upon our firing some guns at her she hauled it down again; and a three-decker having tacked also, stood towards us, with a full intention, I believe, to sink us if possible: the Royal George, however, who I suppose had tacked after her, came up, and, engaging her very closely, carried away her main and mizen-masts, and saved the Marlborough from the intended close attack. I then made the signal for assistance on a boat's mast; but this was almost instantly shot away. At five the Aquilon took us in tow, and soon after we joined the fleet.'

'Captain Berkeley then concludes the report by stating, that 'the perfect discipline and well-directed fire which the officers kept up at their quarters, could only be equalled by the coolness, obedience, and bravery of the men; and the very trying and critical juncture in which Lieutenant Monckton took the command of the ship, and kept the British flag triumphant until the victory was decided, demands my utmost praise.' This brave fellow was made commander a month after the battle, and captain the following year.

'A curious incident is said to have occurred on board this ship. When she was entirely dismasted, and otherwise disabled, by the extreme severity of the conflict,—the captain (the Hon. G. Berkeley), and the second lieutenant (Sir Michael Seymour), severely wounded, the latter having his arm shot off, and the ship so roughly treated, that a whisper of surrender was said to have been uttered, which Lieutenant Monckton overhearing, resolutely exclaimed, 'he would nail her

* Dismasted ships that had struck.

colours to the stump of the mast.' At this moment a cock, having by the wreck been liberated from the broken coop, suddenly perched himself on the stump of the main-mast, clapped his wings, and crowed aloud; in an instant three hearty cheers rang throughout the ship's company, and no more talk of surrender. At the same time the Aquilon frigate, commanded by the Hon. Sir Robert Stopford, seeing the helpless state the Marlborough was in, came to her assistance and towed her out of the line. The gallant admiral, in reply to a question about the cock, says, 'it partakes of a cock-and-a-bull story, but there is no mistake in the cheers of the crew on my taking her in tow.' It is nevertheless a true story: through the kindness of Sir Thomas Hardy, an inquiry was made among the old pensioners of the Marlborough in Greenwich hospital, and two of the most intelligent, Alexander Boswell and William Brett, fully corroborate the circumstance; and the latter states that, on the arrival of the ship at Plymouth, the cock was given to Lord George Lennox, the governor, by desire of Captain Berkeley. Lady Hardy has been good enough to ascertain from her aunt, Lady Mary Lennox, that the story is perfectly true, that the cock lived to a good old age, and that while the Marlborough remained at Plymouth it was daily visited by parties of her crew.'—pp. 271—276.

The following anecdote of Captain Gambier will be read with pleasure, and is in happy accordance with his subsequent character.

'The Defence, Captain Gambier, behaved most gallantly, and was terribly cut up and totally dismasted; she was one of the few that passed through the enemy's line, got into the midst of the French ships, and lost her main and mizen-masts. Captain Gambier was an excellent officer, and a gentleman of strict principles of religion and morality. At the close of the action, Captain Pakenham, a rattling, good-humoured Irishman, hailed him from the Invincible, 'Well Jimmy, I see you are pretty well mauled; but never mind Jimmy, whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth.' Another incident took place in the little Defence: the lieutenant of the after-part of the main-deck, seeing a three-decker, the Republican, (which shot away her remaining mast,) suddenly bearing down towards them, struck with a kind of momentary panic, ran up to the quarter-deck, and addressing the captain with great eagerness, exclaimed, 'D— my eyes, Sir, but here is a whole mountain coming upon us; what shall we do?' Captain Gambier, unmoved, and looking gravely at him, said, in a solemn tone, 'How dare you, Sir, at this awful moment, come to me with an oath in your mouth? Go down, Sir, and encourage your men to stand to their guns, like brave British seamen.' On asking Captain (then Lord) Gambier, some years afterwards, if the story was true, he replied, he believed something of the kind occurred.'—p. 277.

The whole nation was enraptured by the tidings of this victory, and the following letters which passed on the occasion between George the Third and Mrs. Howe, the sister of the Admiral, sufficiently bespeak the importance attached to it.

'*Windsor, 11th of June*, 1794.

'Mrs. Howe's zeal for the great cause in which this country is engaged, added to her becoming ardour for the glory of her family, must make her feel with redoubled joy the glorious news brought by Sir Roger Curtis; she will, I hope, be satisfied now that *Earl Richard* has, with twenty-five sail of the line, attacked twenty-six of the enemy, taken six and sunk two:* besides, it is not improbable that some of the disabled ships of the enemy may not be able to reach their own shore. I own I could not refrain from expressing my sentiments on the occasion, but will not detain her by adding more.

(Signed) 'GEORGE R.'

To which gracious communication Mrs. Howe returned the following admirable reply:—

'When Mrs. Howe heard last night of the victory obtained by your Majesty's fleet, she did not feel a possibility of any addition to her felicity, but the approbation expressed by your Majesty of what has been performed, and the honour done her by so precious and so gracious a notice of it, under the hand of her adored Sovereign, has proved the contrary: and she has only to regret that a woman cannot throw herself at your Majesty's feet this morning at the levee, and there to have endeavoured to express her heartfelt gratitude.'—pp. 263, 264.

Having already indulged so copiously in extracts from this volume, we must pass over several which we had marked, and restrict ourselves to the following comparison of Howe, St. Vincent, and Nelson, three of the most distinguished names occurring in the naval history of our country:

'Howe unquestionably led the way. He was his own sole instructor in naval matters—not brought up in any particular school—hardly indeed can it be said there was any school in the early part of his career. Whatever he gained, from the various commanders under whom he served, must have been by comparison, observation, and reflection. At that time, there was very little system observed in the navy, and still less of science. Naval tactics, evolutions, and signals were then but feebly creeping into use, in humble imitation of the French, and had made but slow progress—rarely attempted indeed to be carried into practice except by one individual—the talented and unfortunate Kempenfelt, who perished in the Royal George. After him, Howe seriously took them up, and never lost sight of these important objects until he had completed a system which long bore the name of 'Howe's Signals.' In the perfecting of this system he was indefatigable—whether on shore or afloat, theoretically or practically this favorite and most useful object was uppermost in his mind. It is scarcely necessary to repeat that Howe was professionally and characteristically bold, cool, and decisive—a thorough seaman in theory and practice—and his knowledge was conveyed to others mostly by mildness, persuasion, and the force of example.

* 'A very common error at his time.'

'In tactics and in discipline, St. Vincent was a disciple of Howe. In giving his opinion on the expediency of a night action with a superior enemy, the former decided against it, on the ground of being in such a case deprived of the great advantage of Howe's signals. In discipline the scholar may be said to have carried his mode of instruction beyond the master. Where Howe was patient, gentle, indulgent, and kind, by which he won the attachment of both officers and seamen, St. Vincent was rigorous, peremptory, and resolute, rigidly maintaining that the life and soul of naval discipline was obedience—his favourite word was *obedienza*. The one obtained his object by pursuing the *suaviter in modo*—the other by the *fortiter in re*. The mutinous seamen at Portsmouth, but half subdued, were at once completely reduced to order by the kind and gentle treatment of, and the confidence they placed in, Lord Howe. The mutiny in the fleet off Cadiz no sooner sprung up, than it was crushed by the prompt and vigorous measures of Lord St. Vincent, whose determined and resolute conduct, on that occasion, was absolutely necessary to prevent that spirit of insubordination from spreading which had manifested itself in many of the ships employed in blockading a distant and an enemy's port.

'These two gallant admirals, pursuing different modes of attaining the same ends, and of very different temperaments, had the greatest respect and deference for each other. St. Vincent always spoke of Howe in terms of the highest praise and regard. He used to say he was a man of few words, but what he said was always to the purpose, and well worthy to be remembered. The kindly feelings of men towards each other are frequently discovered in trifling incidents or expressions: Lord St. Vincent, on entering the breakfast-room, would often say, 'Well, I have got on my blue breeches this cold morning; Lord Howe wore blue breeches, and I love to follow his example even in my dress.' On the other hand, St. Vincent was considered by Howe as the first naval officer of his day. In a letter already quoted, he says, 'I will only commission you to assure him (Lord St. Vincent) in my behalf, in simple veracity, that his eminent services have not exceeded my expectations.'* He was unquestionably a fearless and intelligent commander, bold in design and prompt in execution, free in his opinions, generous, and charitable without ostentation; a keen observer of mankind; indulgent to minor offences, severe in those of an aggravated nature. In politics he was a Whig, firmly attached to his party; but his friends always maintained that he never allowed his political feelings to interfere with his professional duties. As an officer his talents were certainly of the highest order, and many excellent commanders were educated and brought forward under his auspices.' With all this merit, which public opinion duly appreciated, he is said (by one who knew him well) to have affected, as well when about us under circumstances on shore, the character of a blunt tar, obstinate in his resolutions, and rough in the manner of exercising his authority

* A beautiful and highly-prized letter was written by Lord Howe to St. Vincent on his victory of 1797, which by some means or other is said to have disappeared from the family papers, to the great regret and annoyance of the surviving connexions.

over the officers of his fleet; but notwithstanding this, the feature by which he was best known in society was that of a refined courtier, smooth and complimentary in his address. His professional character, however, was steady resolution and firmness of purpose.

'The character and conduct of Nelson were widely different from both of the above-mentioned officers. Without being a thorough seaman, he knew well how to stimulate exertions and to animate zeal. He had the peculiar tact to make every officer, from the highest to the lowest, believe that his individual share in any enterprise contributed mainly to its success—thus giving encouragement and inspiring confidence to each in his own exertions. In the result he was singularly fortunate: where he led all were anxious to follow. Nelson was indeed a being *sui generis*—'none but himself could be his parallel'—and it may be feared he has left few of the same breed behind him. That he had his weak points cannot be denied, but what human being is exempt from them? He has been unjustly compared with an Anthony, ready to sacrifice the world to another Cleopatra—than which nothing can be more incorrect; with one unfortunate exception, which in a moment of infatuation, has cast an indelible stain on his memory, he never suffered the deplorable influence alluded to in any way to interfere with his professional duties. Whenever such demanded his presence, all pleasures and indulgences gave way; neither these nor the least care of life occupied for a moment a share in his thoughts. A passionate and insatiable love of fame was the 'spur' to Nelson's noble mind.' To be 'Crowned with Laurel or covered with Cypress'—'a Peerage or Westminster Abbey'—'Victory or Westminster Abbey'—these were the *words*, the signal for each terrible conflict. He never anticipated defeat, but went into battle with the full conviction he was to conquer or die. The *words* were the ebullition of that feeling, which carried his feeble frame through exertions and energies, that nothing short of his ardent and spiritual nature could have supported. The strength and elasticity of his mind got complete control over bodily pain and infirmity. These in the scale of human affliction were to him as nothing, when in sight or pursuit of an enemy. An ambitious love of distinction, a thirst for the acquisition of honours, or a glorious death, was the ruling passion, and his destiny led him to experience them all. Conqueror of 'a hundred fights,' he died at last, as all true heroes would wish to do, in the arms of victory!'—pp. 426—431.

Sir John Barrow's volume is a valuable addition to this department of biography. Though wanting the charm which so eminently characterises Southey's Life of Nelson, it will be read without weariness by all classes, and must certainly leave an impression highly favourable to the private character, as well as to the professional services of its subject. It is not free from the false morality which unhappily pervades the higher classes of society. We refer especially to some remarks occurring at page 421, respecting duelling, the most absurd and palpably unchristian of modern fashions. When will men bearing the form and claiming the attributes of a rational nature, cease to dishonor themselves, and throw contempt on their Maker?

Art. VI. *General Introduction to a Course of Lectures on English Grammar and Composition.* By HENRY ROGERS, Professor of the English Language and Literature, University College, London. William Ball. 1838.

THESE lectures have a claim on our notice which the generality of such performances do not possess. Besides a full and perspicuous declaration of the objects of the course to which they are introductory, and the mode in which it is proposed to secure them, they contain the discussion, and we think the determination of certain questions, upon which opinions have been hitherto divided, or altogether erroneous. For these reasons we proceed to draw the attention of our readers to the little volume whose title stands at the head of our remarks.

In what the author justly calls a singularly eloquent article on Montague's Life of Lord Bacon, contained in a late number of the Edinburgh Review, and attributed to Mr. Babington Macaulay, a view is taken of what Bacon accomplished by his Novum Organum and Advancement of Learning, which we think with Professor Rogers, implies a low and unjust estimate of the influence these immortal works have had on the spirit of physical research, and an erroneous judgment of the mode in which that influence has been exerted.

The method of investigation which bears Bacon's name, and will carry his fame down to the latest ages, was certainly not originated by him. It is that by which all discoveries have been and will be made from the beginning to the end of time; and the misconception of this point is most happily ridiculed by the reviewer. But though it is the only way to success, it was not the only way taken. A natural impotency to discern or pursue it, has ever been among the evidences of the fall. With few exceptions, up to Bacon's era, men had done little else than blunder in the wrong one—asking their toiling fancies for that information which can only be obtained by observation and comparison of facts. Since that time we know the case has been different, and we only subscribe to the opinion of all subsequent philosophers, in giving Bacon the credit of having instituted the true and natural mode of interpreting the laws of our economy. This he did by giving us a perfect account of the steps by which it is pursued. The close observation of his own consciousness brought to light the facts involved in this process, and the exact order of their succession (and this is all the wise ever attempt in their researches). He thus became the discoverer, for so practically he may be considered, of the natural method of investigating truth, by the exercise of that method itself. Unable to confer lesser benefits, as he has shown himself, his labour created a

atent that will be prolific of happy inventions while the world ndures—as long as the known, and as yet unknown laws of nature continue to be the rich inheritance of mankind.

The utility of this achievement is disputed by the reviewer, ecause 'it was only telling the world to do what all the world was doing before,' and he illustrates his meaning by what we hink Mr. Rogers's pages will prove to be an unfortunate refeence to—systems of Grammar, Logic, and Rhetoric. It is not oo much to say that had the acuteness of a rare sagacity been reinforced by a severer discipline in the studies he condemns, the listinguished author of the views in question would not have lent is genius to the support of a fallacy, nor so successfully have indered its detection by many of his readers, by surrounding it with a dazzling eloquence. He would have been unable to do he one, and unwilling to do the other. 'A process,' says the reviewer, 'is not likely to be better performed because men 'know how they perform it.' Upon this our author joins issue with him.

We cannot profess to do justice to Mr. Rogers's able refutation of this position, for our limits confine us to very brief extracts. He is of course principally concerned in it, as it excuses from the study of Grammar and Rhetoric—but if it be shown not to hold good in these cases, it must be surrendered as inapplicable to any. In an Appendix a more specific defence, on this ground, of Bacon's philosophy, is undertaken. After stating that the systematic exposition of the principles of induction corrected the spirit in which men applied them; and secondly, gave uniformity to the conduct of philosophers, our author says:

'As to the first; it is quite true, as the Reviewer has remarked, that no accurate rules can be laid down for determining when any particular induction has been properly performed, 'what collection of facts is scanty, or what number of experiments are sufficient to determine' a point; but surely the *spirit* in which such inquiries will be conducted, will be prodigiously affected by our knowledge or ignorance even of those general rules, to which the Reviewer attaches so little importance. To be put distinctly on our guard against those various errors and prejudices, which Bacon has so fancifully yet beautifully described under the name of *Idola*, and which so often vitiate the conclusions of the vulgar, (however naturally sagacious they may be,) must surely tend to render our inquiries more enlarged, liberal, and comprehensive, and to diminish the chances of our failure. If not, we must adopt the paradoxical conclusion, that if two men, of equal sagacity and skill, one of whom was thoroughly and systematically acquainted with Bacon's principles, and the other totally ignorant of them, were requested to attempt an explanation of some complicated phenomena, both would be *equally* liable to error;—to rest contented with a hasty induction or slight collection of facts; to be imposed

upon by those numerous prejudices, against which the one is distinctly put on his guard beforehand, while the other is left in ignorance of them, or must detect them by that which the whole history of philosophy shows is not sufficient for this purpose,—his unaided sagacity.—I believe there is not a person in the world who would receive this statement. Here, as in other cases, 'to be fore-warned is to be fore-armed;' and to me it appears, there would be as great a difference between the two men, as there would be between two skilful military commanders, one of whom is well acquainted with the general localities of the country he is traversing, and with the points in which danger or ambush may lie concealed, and the other entirely ignorant of both.

It is no argument to reply, that many philosophers now act upon the inductive philosophy in the most enlarged spirit, who have never perused the writings of Bacon. The spirit, which he first inculcated, has been universally diffused; his principles have been transferred to innumerable volumes, and illustrated by a host of examples. It is a natural consequence attending the wide diffusion and practical adoption of certain great principles, that we become, in some degree, ungrateful to the memory of him who at first propounded them. Nothing can be more true than the statement of a great modern writer, that the 'philosophy of one age becomes the common sense of another;' it may be added with equal truth, that when it does thus become familiar 'common sense,' we often forget to recognise its philosophical origin.

As to the second point;—Bacon's distinct enunciation of the inductive method made the adoption of that method *uniform*. Though all men had performed the inductive process on some occasions, it does not follow that all men performed it whenever they ought; on the contrary, we know, from the history of philosophy, that they often did not: in other words, they were (to use the language of Bacon) 'anticipators,' not 'interpreters,' of nature. The Reviewer, indeed, tells us there is no distinction between them, except that the former perform the process of induction 'ill,' the latter 'well.' Yet he himself admits the contrary; for he acknowledges that men may form their conclusions not only from a hasty and scanty induction, but *on no induction at all,—'from premises grounded on assumption.'* Thus, he admits, the schoolmen often acted, and thus, we may add, the *generality* of the ancient philosophers acted: it is true, they often instinctively adopted the method which Bacon recommends, but as their adoption of it was *only* instinctive, as they had *no distinct consciousness* that this was the sole method by which they could discover the truth they sought, they did not adopt it *uniformly*. Now it is precisely this clear perception of the principles on which we act, which makes all the difference between a vague and indeterminate, or uniform and steady application of them.'—pp. 121—125.

We should gladly quote more largely, but there is yet another topic which invites us. This occupies a great part of the second lecture, and we therefore cannot pretend to do more than create a desire to see in its entire state, what we must be content to produce in a broken and imperfect abstract. In speaking of

hat large class of compositions which have the communication of leasure for their object, the author disputes Dr. Whateley's deinition of poetry, that metre is its essence. Ordinary language, for it must be recollected that this is a question about the popular meaning of a term,) is, he alleges, opposed to this. For nothing is more common than to hear passages of Jeremy Taylor called 'noble poetry.' And this is done when it is manifestly the object of the writer, for the time at least, to please. Nobody, however, would term them 'noble verses.'

'For, according to this theory, Euclid's Elements, Mrs. Dalgairn's Cookery-book, Dr. Johnson's Dictionary, the Companion to the Almanac, the Eton Grammar, or the London Directory, *done into verse*, would be poetry! 'True,' it would be replied by a disciple of Dr. Whately, 'it is poetry, but it is *very bad* poetry.' If it were admitted to be poetry at all, there would be no doubt of that. But in popular estimation, it would not be considered poetry at all; showing, that while we ordinarily restrict the term only to metrical composition, we do not consider its essence to be metre; but that to constitute it poetry, certain other conditions must be complied with. What, then, are those conditions? I do not know that any other answer can be given, than that the general structure of the composition must be *designed and adapted* to impart pleasure, this being the end of this species of composition. This, of course, involves a limitation to such subjects as are, in some way or other, capable of pleasing.—If it be said, that this account of poetry does not tell us what that particular quality of thought or style is which produces the pleasure, I answer no; because there is no *one* such quality. The elements which produce it are manifold, and may be mingled in all kinds of proportions; and the answer to such a question, therefore, could only be given by an analysis of the various causes which conspire to produce this pleasure.

* * *

'Poetry, then, as the term is generally used, (and here I am happy to have the entire concurrence of Dr. Whately,) does not consist in any one particular quality of thought or style, but is a *species of composition*. The topics of which it treats may be treated in other species of composition: the faculties of mind it more peculiarly demands—imagination and fancy—are employed by the orator, and the historian, as well as by the poet; the various powers of language, whether proper or figurative, are none of them exclusively its own: comparison, simile, metaphor, and every kind of trope, are found, though used in a different way, nearly as often in the pages of South or Burke, as in those of Milton or Byron. In a word, the materials or elements of eloquence and poetry may be the same; it is the manner in which they are employed, the proportions in which they are mingled, the shaping which is given them to adapt them to the object, which form the sole distinction.

* * *

'The essential conditions of poetry then, are, that the subjects shall

be capable of imparting immediate pleasure, either in themselves, or from the fidelity and truth to nature with which they are exhibited, and that the language in which they are clothed shall be designed and adapted to promote the same end. Any such thoughts so expressed have, in my opinion, the *essence* of poetry, and if expressed in a metrical form, are poetry in the *ordinary* sense.'—pp. 86—91.

We apply the term poetry then,

'To Milton's Paradise Lost, and to Pope's Rape of the Lock; to Byron's Childe Harold, and to Hudibras; to Spensers's Fairy Queen, and to Thomson's Seasons; to Scott's Marmion, and Crabbe's Tales of the Hall; to Milton's Comus, and Burns's Tam O'Shanter; to Dryden's Ode on Cecilia's Day, and to Prior's Alma; to Cowper's Task, and to Pope's Dunciad; to Gray's Elegy, and Philips's Splendid Shilling.

'If these views be correct, it is easy at once to see the inadequacy of those definitions of poetry, which have made its essence to consist in some one quality of thought or diction, rather than in the *general mode* of exhibiting the immensely varied subjects of which it treats, in pursuance of the primary design of imparting pleasure. Thus to take one example, (and I have no time to advert to more,) poetry has been sometimes defined as consisting in the various forms of what is called figurative language, as comparison, simile, metaphor. It is true, indeed, that these are amongst the characteristic excellencies of poetry, and one of the *many modes* of employing language by which it succeeds in attaining its end of imparting pleasure. It is also true, that there are some forms of such language which are more peculiarly proper to poetry. It is easy, however, to see, that this definition is, in one respect, too wide, and in another too narrow: it is too wide, for it would give the formal character of poetry to every sentence in any historical or argumentative work which contains a brilliant metaphor; and it is too narrow, inasmuch as it would take it away altogether from much which all agree in allowing to be poetry of a highly pleasing order,—I mean from innumerable passages of descriptive poetry, and the poetry of sentiment and passion. To restrict myself to the former; it would be easy to point out many passages of the most vivid description, which do not contain a single comparison or metaphor in them; in which, in fact, every word is strictly proper, and used in its literal sense. The following examples will suffice.'—pp. 93—95.

The examples given are, Goldsmith's Description of the Village before it was Deserted; Thompson's, of the Traveller Lost in the Snow; and Cowper's Picture of the Woodman Going to his Work; and happier could not have been pitched upon. Three beautiful passages from Shakspeare; the Laughter of Achilles, in Troilus and Cressida; the Dying Apostrophe of Anthony to Cleopatra; and the pathetic words uttered by Lear after his restoration to reason; to which a writer in the Edinburgh Review is compelled to refuse the title of poetry, because they are desti-

tute of imagery, although their claims, we suppose, would be supported by the whole world.

The fact that poetry appears generally in the garb of metre is accounted for, by that contrivance being one means of attaining the end in view, viz. delight. But it may fairly be doubted whether the comparatively modern origin of prose compositions that contemplate the same object, be not the reason why any difficulty is felt in classing them under the head of poetry. Mr. Rogers enumerates their points of similarity with the acknowledged models of poetry, and thus justifies the grouping in one common class of Homer's Iliad and Scott's Ivanhoe; Don Juan and Hudibras; Gulliver's Travels and the Rape of the Lock; &c., &c. He acknowledges the want of a term by which all persons would be content to express their belief in the propriety of this classification. He has supplied argument sufficient, we think, to make them extend the sense of the old one.

As long as clear conceptions are felt to be desirable, and while there are people who are not satisfied with phraseology of uncertain meaning—who prefer that the current coin of discourse should be assayed before it is issued, such discussions as these will possess a value apart from their subject. The impatience of laxity in expression will be generated and increased by every instance of its correction. But there is such a thing as literature, and people will criticise, justly or not, and therefore we thank Mr. Rogers for determining as we think he has, a much vexed question—ridding us, for the future, as far as lay in his power, of much writing on these subjects which is erroneous and inconsequential.

It is unnecessary for us to characterize his volume,—we have, in part, enabled our readers to do this for themselves; and he is already familiar to them by our reviews of the only biography of John Howe worthy so noble a subject, and of the valuable preliminary Essays he has contributed to the collected works of Jonathan Edwards, Jeremy Taylor, and Burke. One merit in these lectures we cannot pass over which augurs well for the class under his tuition, as Professor of English Literature—the propriety of his style for his purpose. This is to instruct and convince, and to it every thing is subordinate and subservient. He is no where willing to use the common license of an Introductory Lecture, for what is called fine writing. His object is to carry his readers with him, not to make them stop to admire. That is an after process to be performed by the judicious. But does a composition so perspicuous and energetic, need such frequent italics? We do not remember being indebted to their admonitions for one of the emphases we gave to his sentences as we read them.

Art. VII. *Two Memorials Addressed to the General Meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, on the Alleged Corrupt Character of some of its Publications.* 8vo. London: L. & G. Seeley.

THE Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, is generally described by the epithet 'venerable,'—that is, the orthodox churchmen generally thus describe it. The term may refer to its *age*, as it has existed for more than a hundred years; or it may refer to its staid, sober, dignified character,—so opposite to the noisy, bustling, platform activity of modern institutions; or it may refer to the fact, of its concentrating in its support the great mass of the clergy, and being thus so completely identified with the Establishment, as to merit an epithet universally employed as descriptive of *it*. Whatever be the cause, such is the custom; and no one, we believe, who knows any thing of the subject, will doubt, that whatever terms of admiration or respect the Establishment itself deserves from her sons, the very same terms may be applied to the 'Society,' as combining in its members the rank, dignity, learning, and official and personal support of the clerical body, which, in popular language, is the church. The influence of the Society is immense; its books and tracts are circulated zealously and extensively; they have exerted, and do exert, no ordinary power over the formation of the religious opinions of church people, especially of the lower and the higher classes. With the orthodox of the latter, it is almost a point of honour to support the institution; even the Evangelical party very generally subscribe to it, although the late Mr. Simeon, of Cambridge, was 'repeatedly black-balled,' (to use the words of the 'Record,') before he could gain admission,—all admitted to membership having to be regularly proposed and formally voted in, we believe by 'the ballot.'

As Evangelical principles have become diffused among the clergy, the eyes of many have been opened to the Pharisaical and unscriptural nature of the theology inculcated in the publications of the 'Venerable' Society. The 'Record' and 'Christian Observer,' have, for years past, been occasionally dilating upon this topic; while frequent and great contentions have taken place in the meetings of the Body itself, between the advocates of the Evangelical system and those of the old formal and Pharisaical orthodoxy. It is admitted, on all hands, that the numbers of the latter are very far beyond theirs whom we deem Scriptural in their doctrine, and that the great mass of the Society's publications, represent, very naturally, the creed and principles—the theological 'image and superscription,' of the majority of its members.

Among the means by which a reformation in the Society's publications has been attempted, certain clergymen have had recourse to that of memorializing the General Meeting, in order to secure the appointment of a Committee for this purpose. This effort having proved fruitless, they have thought proper to publish to the world what they had hoped it would have been enough to submit to the Society. The pamphlet at the head of this article, consisting of no less than 110 octavo pages, contains 'Two Memorials,' as the title states;—it contains, however, also, the resolutions of the Society upon them, and the letters of the Secretaries conveying the resolutions to the memorialists. The 'Memorials' as published, and forming almost a volume, are preceded by the following dedication, which we give, as at once showing who the memorialists are, and the deep importance which they attach to their object.

'To the King's most excellent Majesty, the Right Rev. the Bishops, the Rev. the Clergy, and to the General Body of Members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and its District Committees; the following Correspondence Respecting the Alleged Errors of some of the Publications Circulated by the Society, is Respectfully Dedicated by their Fellow-Members and Memorialists:

'Hastings Robinson, D.D., Rector of Great Warley,
'Henry Budd, M.A., Rector of White Roothing,
'Guy Bryan, M.A., Rector of Woodham Walter,
'Charles Isaac Yorke, M.A., Rector of Shenfield,
'Henry B. S. Harris, B.A., Rector of Leaden Roothing.' } Essex.

Every body has heard of Mr. Binney's 'celebrated sentence;' it has become so familiar that we need not repeat it. Now, we speak in perfect, calm, sober seriousness, when we say, that the point which the pamphlet before us aims at establishing, is this—*that 'the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,' probably 'destroys more souls than it saves.'* This, to use Mr. Binney's words, is the 'deep, serious, religious conviction' of its authors; and, we hesitate not to add, that such *must* be the conviction of any man, or any number of men, who regard Scriptural views of Evangelical truth as necessary to salvation, and who sympathize with the apostle Paul's vehement hostility to 'another Gospel:'—'if I, or an angel from heaven, preach it, let him 'be accursed.'

In our number for November last, we reviewed the pamphlet entitled 'What? and Who says it?' by John Search,—a production, which unanswerably shows that Mr. Binney has said nothing but what churchmen themselves have said both before him and since. It required no talent—no argumentative ability to do this; the unanswerableness of the pamphlet referred to, consists

in the simple citation of the words of the 'Christian Observer,' the 'Record,' Dr. Chalmers, &c., in which statements are made, and opinions expressed, *identical*, in substance, with those of 'the person,' whom Dr. Burton described, as 'a man whose heart was 'untouched with the charity of the Gospel, and whose conver-'sion was not to be effected by human means!' Those who have seen '*What? and Who says it?*' will remember the use that its editor makes of the presumption in support of the 'celebrated sentence,' from the character of the Christian Knowledge Society's publications, as depicted by *churchmen*. He quotes one, as acknowledging that he concealed the whole twelve volumes of its Tracts from the eyes of his family, as containing unsound and delusory statements of truth!—another, as affirming, that many of its publications perverted the Gospel, or blended it with vital and fundamental error;—and, not content with this, who went on farther to express his 'conviction' that the *preaching* of the men, whose views accorded with such books—men constituting 'an overwhelming majority' of the clergy—'led their hearers down to the chambers of death.' It is to be regretted that Mr. Search has made no use of the Memorials before us. They had not, we suppose, fallen into his hands, for, if they had, he could not fail to have perceived the importance of their testimony. They are not hasty leading articles of a newspaper,—nor rapidly written reviews for a magazine,—nor driving, dashing declamation like what is indulged in by Chalmers,—nor any thing, in fact, which, while writing, the author might feel was intended only for his own circle, and would not be scrutinized by the eyes of opponents. They are the deliberately composed and adopted Memorials of five clergymen—presented to a General Meeting of the members of a 'Venerable Society,' the majority of which Body was known to be strongly opposed to their views;—the second is a long, laboured exposition and support of the positions of the first;—there could be nothing hasty in the business, for it necessarily occupied several months, and could only have been begun after much thought, frequent consultations, and many prayers;—and, finally, after the writing, and transcription, and adopting, and forwarding, and waiting for replies, they are not only committed to the press, but formally dedicated to the secular head and the spiritual dignitaries of the church; and publishers are appointed, not only in London, but at *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, as if to facilitate their being procured, examined, and '*Searched*' by the members of their erudite and 'venerable' Universities!

The first Memorial was presented to the Society in June, 1836, in consequence of a letter from the Secretary, six months previously, in answer to *another* Memorial which had been presented before, requesting the republication of 'Fox's Acts and

Monuments,' which request the Society thought proper to decline. It is not our intention to go into the discussion of matters connected with a Society to which we do not belong; our object will be, to select a few passages from the pamphlet, showing in what way *five clergymen* speak of an Institution whose influence on the religion of the nation, and consequently on the final condition of multitudes of immortal souls, is necessarily great. The complaint of the memorialists originated in the Society's want of Tracts against Popery,—in its ceasing to issue some such Tracts, which it had once published—and in its declining a direct request for the republication of the 'Acts and Monuments.' This last circumstance led the memorialists into a statement respecting the origin of the Society, and the objectionable nature of many of its publications;—and, this being followed by no result, led them to reiterate their accusations, and to support them by proofs, which constitutes the *second* and more elaborate Memorial of the two.

They begin by showing, that the 'Society for Promoting *Christian* Knowledge' arose out of the efforts of certain bishops to counteract the doctrine of *justification by faith*, as explained in the Homilies, some expresssons in which, they conceived, were carried too far, and needed mitigation. A scheme, it appears, was entertained of getting up another set of Homilies, and some were actually written; the entire plan, however, was never fulfilled, but it led, ultimately, to the formation of the Society in question, and infused into its publications that character, which they have always exhibited, and still maintain. This is stated in the following passage:

'The Undersigned submit to the General Meeting, that the character of these Homilies intended for an Essay, is dry and unevangelical, and directly opposed in their spirit to the doctrine of '*Justification by faith only*,' as held by our Church throughout all her formularies, and by all the Reformed Churches. Let the following extract serve as a specimen taken from the second Homily in this volume, p. 249. 'A charitable man that has had much occasion given him to forbear and forgive others, and to do good for evil, *dares lay claim to mercy and pardon*, with much humble assurance; for though he is very ready to call the debts of others to him, as the owing a few *pence*, while he acknowledges he owes many talents to God; yet from a forgiving temper in himself, he gathers both an argument *to plead for forgiveness*, and *a character* that makes him conclude, that 'much is forgiven' him, because he feels 'he loves much.' He has a brightness in his mind while he looks up to God, and he is sure that such prayers, joined with pure and tender affections to all about him, are as a sweet-smelling savour before God.' Among the manifold errors of this passage, it is only necessary to remark, that any charitable man, however self-denying his charities, should '*dare* lay claim to mercy and pardon with much

humble assurance,' is in fact, to arrogate to himself that claim to justification which a lively faith finds in the blood and merit of the Saviour alone. Hence his justification is made to proceed from himself, and not from the mercy of God in Christ Jesus, applied by faith to himself through the Spirit.

Such was the divinity provided for the Church of England, BY THE DIVINES IN WHOM THIS SOCIETY ORIGINATED, extracted from a Homily, which was composed by Bishop Burnet, 'corrected very justly and critically' by Bishop Lloyd; and with which Archbishop Tillotson 'was so pleased,' that 'he told' the author, he 'must take for his share the whole Ten Commandments.'

'*And, as they submit, it has been proved above that the first founders of the Society held and recommended a style of divinity* DIRECTLY OPPOSED *to the great leading doctrine of the Reformation; so it seems equally evident from the character of* THE GREAT BODY OF THE SOCIETY'S TRACTS AND PUBLICATIONS, *that the same erroneous style of doctrine has prevailed from the very origin of the Society to the present day.*'—pp. 7, 8.

The memorialists proceed to state, that the 'fashionable divinity' prevalent at the time, when this Society was formed, being *against* the doctrines and views of the Reformers, none of their 'admirable Tracts on Doctrine and Practice' were selected by it for circulation—'but,' instead of this, they observe,

'As the necessary consequence of the operation of the principle above asserted, 'the claim' of justification by human merit in opposition to *justification by faith alone*—the great fundamental doctrine of the Reformation,—they are not aware that one single work of the Reformation (the Bible and Prayer-Book excepted) was received on the original list of the Society's books and tracts.'—p. 9.

Again:

'The early tracts very naturally partook of the sentiments of the Founders of the Society, which were, *in the great fundamental principle of faith and practice,* as shown by one of the most influential of them, Bishop Burnet, *at variance with the recorded doctrine of the Reformation:* neither does it appear, that at the present day, the works of the Reformers are adequately recommended by the Society; or *that the evangelical sentiments of the Reformers* (so far as the books and tracts circulated by the Society testify the fact) *are those which the Society considers itself as engaged* EITHER TO ADOPT OR TO CIRCULATE.'—pp. 10, 11.

As to correcting such publications they observe,

'Where *the principle is generally defective,* the correction of an objectionable passage, or the insertion of an explanatory paragraph, must be utterly unequal to correct the evil. If the principle be defective,

the superstructure is defective: and like the walls of a house built on an imperfect foundation, the only effectual corrective is to rebuild it. That the Tract Committee therefore to whom such references were made, should report, that having given the best endeavours to fulfil the wishes of the Board as to the correction of the tracts already on the list of the Society, they felt themselves unable to perform them, and therefore begged to relinquish that part of their office which respected the correction of such tracts, was but to be expected. An impossible task was imposed on them, and they could not but feel themselves unable to perform it.'—pp. 11, 12.

The two following passages will show the light in which the memorialists, with their views of Evangelical truth, and anxiety for the souls of men, necessarily view the deluging of the nation with such 'unsound,' 'delusory,' and 'destructive' statements, of the *way to be saved.*

'The Undersigned then, solemnly contemplating the numbers, pecuniary resources, varied means of usefulness, extended influence, and *professed* object of the Society, as a Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, a Society venerable for its antiquity, and *possessing confessedly the largest means of Promoting Christian Knowledge in the land, through the medium of the Established Church,* and therefore, most awfully responsible for its proceedings both to God and man; do most earnestly implore the General Meeting to take into their serious consideration, the objections which are so repeatedly, and, as it appears to the Undersigned, *justly brought against the general principle of the Society's tracts.*'—p. 12.

'If an apology be sought for the length of this Memorial, it must be found in *the awful importance of its subject;* which relates to the correction of the publications of a Society, which, while for more than the last hundred and thirty years, it has been a blessing to the land, by the circulation of tens of thousands of Bibles and Prayer Books; raises a doubt, whether *from the questionable character of many of its accompanying publications, it has not been exercising a contravening influence,* AND IMPEDED THE PROGRESS OF DIVINE TRUTH BY AN UNHAPPY ADMIXTURE OF ERROR.'—p. 16.

These extracts are all taken from the *first* Memorial, and sufficiently indicate its character and aim, together with the views and feelings of the memorialists. They are obviously men strongly attached to the great doctrine of justification by faith—the essence of the Gospel—the doctrine of a standing or falling church—and as strongly impressed with the *unsound character and most dangerous tendency of the Christian Knowledge Society's publications.* The manner in which the Memorial was received and disposed of will be seen by the following extracts from the letter of the Secretaries to the memorialists.

* * * *

'The Standing Committee also regret, that any Members of the Society should think it necessary at this distance of time, to bring charges of unsound doctrine against several eminent Prelates of our Church, who were connected with the Society in the earlier periods of its history; and they trust that you will see the propriety of their declining on the part of the Society to enter upon the discussion of such a question.

* * * *

'With reference to those parts of the Memorial which relate to the *Doctrines* contained in the Society's publications, we are directed to transmit to you the following Resolution of the Board, agreed to [at] a numerous meeting held the same day on which the Memorial was read, *his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury in the chair.*

'RESOLVED,

'That on the re-appointment of the Tract Committee, the Board feels it right to repeat the declarations which its Secretaries were instructed to make to the District Committees in the year 1834, namely, that *it is not disposed to yield to* UNREASONABLE OBJECTIONS, *nor to give up those principles of* SOUND DOCTRINE WHICH IT HAS SO LONG MAINTAINED: and that *it is most anxious to maintain* UNCHANGED *the character of the Society, as an institution formed for the purpose of promoting sound Religious Knowledge according to the doctrine and discipline of the United Church of England and Ireland.*'—pp. 17, 18.

The memorialists constantly aver and reiterate, that the doctrines taught by the Society, are *not* in accordance with those of the church; that they are unsound and dangerous, and an impediment to the progress of truth; and that the entire character of the Society's divinity should be changed: but, a numerous meeting of the members of the Society itself, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at its head, 'resolve' that all this is *very* '*unreasonable*'—that the principles of doctrine are most '*sound*'—and that they will maintain their theology *un*changed, because it *is* in accordance with the 'doctrine and discipline of the united church of England and Ireland!' and, if the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the General Meeting of a Society embracing 99 hundredths of the clergy, do not know what accords with the doctrine of the church, where are we to look for information respecting it? What *is* the church? printed papers, or the living body of ecclesiastics at any one time existing and teaching? What is the *doctrine of the church?* the views expressed in printed documents, or the sentiments uttered and enforced from her pulpits? On the *first* supposition, the Archbishop and the Society are either right or wrong;—if right, the memorialists must regard the church as most dangerous to salvation; and if wrong, what security is there in subscription for either honesty or truth? if the latter supposition be taken, the Archbishop and the Society must

be right, for they must know what *they themselves think* 'sound doctrine'—and *then* the Memorialists must feel, that, *with their views,* they cannot but conclude, that his Grace himself, and the great mass of their brethren, are, every Sunday, 'impeding the 'progress of divine truth,'—connecting so much of it as they teach 'with an unhappy admixture of error,'—and giving currency to those 'unsound and delusory statements' which Mr. Budd, *one of the Memorialists,* told the 'Christian Observer,' he most 'CARE-'FULLY CONCEALED FROM THE EYES OF HIS FAMILY!'

The first memorial having received the reply given above, the memorialists composed a second, which occupies ninety pages of their present publication; it repeats, as we have said, the allegations of the first, but it is extended in consequence of its adducing *proof* in support of these allegations. This consists of several long extracts from 'Nelson's Fasts and Festivals,' and 'The 'Whole Duty of Man;' two works most extensively circulated by the Society, which constituted a sort of standard of Church of England religion, almost universally, during the greater part of the last century; and which still hold an undisputed place in the estimation of the great majority of the clergy as sound exponents of doctrine and duty—*the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bartlett's Buildings' Society being witnesses.* If any one is anxious to see the case in full, he can purchase the pamphlet itself; *we* shall content ourselves, after this general account of it, with merely selecting some of the expressions of the reverend memorialists to illustrate the way—*not* in which *Dissenters* speak —but in which *churchmen and clergymen can speak of the ruinous influence of their own national institutions.*

In introducing the two works above mentioned, which they describe as of 'the longest standing,' and as having met with the 'largest circulation' of any of the Society's publications, they say, that 'both these works set forth *a Christianity unknown both* 'to the Bible and to our church; a Christianity *as dishonourable to* 'the mercy of God as it is oppressive to the incapacity of man.' They say, that they do not wish to convey the idea that they have nothing to recommend them, for, 'they admit, they have so 'much of what is really good *as to make their errors more dan-* 'gerous,' and that

'They afford practical illustrations of the evil tendency of the design recommended by Archbishop Tillotson, and other early founders of the Society, to improve on the Reformation, as Bishop Burnet expresses it, by 'mitigating the height' to which our Homilies 'have carried justification by faith only;' *the practical adoption of which sentiment by the Society your Memorialists cannot but deem the fruitful source of the false doctrine of human merit, which, in their judgment, distinguishes so many of the Society's publications.*'

After having gone through Nelson's Book, contrasting, in parallel columns, its doctrines with those of the Homilies, they sum up the examination of it by expressing '*the utter hopelessness of* '*correcting it so as to adapt it to general circulation*,' as '*the* '*poison of false doctrine pervades it from first to last:*' a work, be it remembered, which *has* been generally circulated for a hundred years, and *is* generally circulated still! They then add the following,

'Such is the saint built upon Nelson's system, *and on that of* the large proportion of the Divines of the Church of England of his day, and of THE GREAT MASS OF THE SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS;—*the man of meritorious conditions*, which his incapable nature is unable to perform; a man who is in fact to arrive at heaven by the merit of his own good works, as those works are measured by a mitigated Law, and helped out by a weak and conditional Gospel; which brings neither comfort to ruined man, nor honour to the free mercy of a forgiving God. *And the prevalence of this system in our Church*, your Memorialists beg leave to press on the Society, *fully accounts for the unevangelized state of the Church of England* FROM THE TIME OF THE RESTORATION TO THE PRESENT HOUR; a state, which your Memorialists apprehend also, *must continue, so long as* THE GREAT INFLUENTIAL BODY OF THE CLERGY AND LAITY, CONSTITUTING THIS SOCIETY, *continue to circulate publications which uphold a system as Scriptural and Christian, which is opposed to the doctrines and spirit of the Reformation*, as scripturally exhibited in the Homilies, Articles, and Liturgy of our Church.'

After this they proceed to the examination of the 'Whole 'Duty of Man,' a work, they say, 'unhappily of equal celebrity' with Nelson's; 'long and largely circulated by the Society;' 'built on the same false and unscriptural principles;' 'neither 'suited to the wants of men, nor honourable to the mercy of 'God.' They admit, that it contains 'some excellent observa-'tions,' but '*they protest against the scheme of salvation inter-*'*woven throughout, as being essentially* DEFECTIVE, UNSOUND, 'and DANGEROUS.'

The following language, also, is by no means measured, which occurs in the body of their remarks.

'Your Memorialists offer no apology for the length to which the above remarks on this confusion of the two covenants of the Law and the Gospel have extended. *They deem it the* MASTER-MISCHIEF *of the modern system of Divinity*—the Author having degraded the second covenant of mercy into a covenant of works, is necessarily driven into the GROSS IMPIETY and MONSTROUS ABSURDITY of *Mitigating the Divine Law, or sinking the perfection of Godhead to meet the sinful imperfections of fallen man.*'

Again, in page sixty-four: '*So mighty and so prevalent a mischief* is this characteristic error of the modern school of divinity.'

Again:

'But, further, the *practical evil* of this modern system is most awful. So far from hiding pride from man, by admitting him into a share of saving himself by his *conditional* righteousness, it elevates his pride, stimulates his presumption, and is the most effectual bar to that humility which is the appropriate soil in which alone the mercy of the Gospel can flourish: the full vessel refuses to be a recipient. It 'makes the heart of the righteous sad, whom God hath not made sad,' (Ezek. xiii. 22.) by encumbering the free Gospel of the covenant of grace with impossible *conditions*. It banishes grace out of the Church by elevating the congruity of nature into spiritual power, and thus misrepresenting the meetness of mere nature as divine grace, *as the prevailing system of modern divinity from the time of the Restoration to the beginning of this century* too lamentably proves; and as is sufficiently apparent to any one conversant with the style of sermons of that long period, which usually, with a Scripture text, begin by informing us what natural reason or the religion of nature say on the subject; and then conclude with a scant and meagre mention of this motley confusion of grace and conditional works as the Gospel of Christ, or rather as the subject of 'revealed religion,' without even giving us the name of the Gospel. *And it is with a still more distressing apprehension of the* PRACTICAL EXTENT *of this evil, that your Memorialists contemplate the probability that a* LARGE PORTION OF THE CLERGY WHO PATRONIZE THIS SOCIETY, ALSO PATRONIZE THIS SYSTEM OF THE MODERN SCHOOL OF DIVINES, AS EXHIBITED IN THE SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS.'

In concluding their review of the work in question, they say, 'your Memorialists would ask the standing committee, whether '*this* doctrine, which the Society has so long maintained' among its 'principles of sound doctrine,' is not *in direct contradiction* to 'the great principle of the Reformation?' and they urge that, instead of determining 'to maintain *unchanged* the character of 'the Society,' they ought immediately to set about the work of correcting their errors, and excluding from publication some of their most favoured productions.

The Memorial concludes with noticing two or three *Tracts* of the Society in which the Memorialists find the same 'unsound' and 'dangerous' sentiments, addressed to youths, in 'the First 'steps to the Catechism,' 'Pastoral Advice,' &c.

In page eighty-six occurs the following:

'The second extract from Lewis, is, as your Memorialists apprehend, the master-error of *this doctrine of confusion, the grand characteristic of this modern school of Divines*; of which Archbishop Tillotson,

and *the Divines who originated the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, were the Patrons and Assertors;* and which *so abundantly characterizes* THE GREAT MASS *of the tracts of the Society,* viz. the representing 'faith and repentance as the meritorious *conditions* of the forgiveness of sin.''

They speak, also, in the next page, of this 'master-error as '*the impure leaven, corrupting some of the leading works, and* '*many of the elementary tracts of the Society.*'

The last sentence of the letter containing the Society's reply to the Memorial, is as follows:—

'The Standing Committee do not see any sufficient reason for recommending to the Board the appointment of a Committee for the revision of the Society's publications, in the manner suggested by the Memorialists.'

Thus rejected, the Memorialists have had recourse to their last hope—*publishing* their Memorials, and dedicating them to the King, the Bishops, and the members of the Society—with what success time must show. Another Monarch is now upon the throne; a Queen—buoyant, beautiful, and young! one, it is said, who likes the lightness of the Italian Opera better than the heavy *opera* of the Reformers, and who, therefore, probably understands very little about the questions here submitted to her; and, what she does understand, as the Archbishop of Canterbury is her chief pastor, is most probably *against* the Memorialists. They have made out a sad case against a Society which unquestionably represents the *general* state of opinion and feeling in the church, and by doing so, have told a terrible tale about *it*. We have room for but few comments; a word or two, however, must be added.

We request, then, our readers to turn to our number for November last, and glance over, in connexion with this article, that which they will find there on the pamphlet of John Search; or, if they have the pamphlet itself, so much the better. Let them listen to the language of churchmen not only respecting their own church, but respecting their own brethren—their brethren, charged with destroying souls by their personal preaching, and with combining to support a society which, for the last hundred years, has been filling the land with 'delusory' and 'destructive' doctrines, 'vital and fundamental error.' Let them hearken to Mr. Budd, who tells us that he 'conceals' the 'twelve 'volumes' of this Society's tracts 'from the eyes of his family' as so much spiritual poison; let them mark that he says this in the pages of the 'Christian Observer,' and that the editor publishes and sanctions the accusation; let them observe how the 'Record' speaks of the vast majority of the clergy united in the

society in question, as 'blind leaders of the blind,' men 'ignorant of the gospel, and who *cannot* preach it;' and who, by what they *do* preach, are 'leading their hearers down to the chambers 'of death;' let them notice the manner in which the same authority describes many of the Society's publications as *not* containing the gospel, or so encrusting it with error, that the 'unhappy readers are led away to *another* gospel, which is not 'another;' let them listen to the editor of the 'Christian Observer' affirming that the *working* of the Establishment, from the opposition of patrons and persons of influence to the doctrines of Holy Writ, has been 'most ruinous as regards the salvation of 'the souls of men;' let them hear the editor's witness, Dr. Chalmers, whom he calls to substantiate his position, and who *does* substantiate it by the most vehement assertions; who describes patrons and prelates—ministers of state and ministers of the sanctuary—as inflicting, annually, an immense sum of 'outrage' on all that is good—withering and blighting piety and order—'by their systematic opposition.' to the 'only system of doctrine 'which has the truth of heaven impressed upon it—the alone sys-'tem that can either regenerate the people for heaven, or Chris-'tianize and moralize the families of the land;' let our readers, we say, hearken to all this, and then let them observe, how five grave and reverend clergymen, in two solemn memorials to the guilty Society itself, dedicated to the King, the Bishops, and the clergy generally, actually support and reiterate all those accusations—describe the books they object to, as pernicious and destructive—the mass of the ministers of the church as sympathizing with their doctrine—patronage, as having been employed to sanction such, and to discourage the holders of opposite tenets—the only tenets that are true, saving, and protestant: let all this be listened to and looked at, and THEN let any Dissenter wonder, if he can, or any churchman point, if he dare, at 'the person' who *thought* that the Establishment destroyed more souls than it saved!

Mr. Binney, and the Dissenters who think with him, may be wrong; the Essex Memorialists may be wrong: the editor of the Observer may be wrong; Dr. Chalmers may be wrong; the Record may be wrong:—the Archbishop of Canterbury and the 'venerable Society' may alone be right, *their* system may be the only true one—this is a question we do not entertain: but we do entertain and assert *this*, that if the sayings and sentences, the recorded opinions and convictions of men, are to be looked at and compared, *churchmen* have said, repeated, sustained, surpassed *all* that could be included in, or meant by, those few words, which, for four years, have led them to roar and redden with indignation. If there has been any propriety in the language applied to the author of the 'sentence,' it might, with greater propriety, be applied to the writers in question. How would it sound? 'The

'*thing* Budd.' 'The person Robinson.' 'The yahoo Yorke,' with 'blustering Bryan,' that 'bullies and bawls, and curses the 'Society' as the enemy to salvation.' 'The Scotch corrosive 'sublimate.' 'The bitterness and blasphemy of the Essex Me-'morialists.' 'T. Chalmers, the mouth-piece of an evil spirit,'—'the spirit of the first apostate—*the devil.*' 'There are men who 'shrink from the contact of such a man as Mr. Wilks,—a very 'humble degree of right feeling is necessary for *that.*' But we cannot go on: all this is sickening and disgusting—yet it is all *deserved* by clergymen as much as it was by the minister of the Weigh-House, for many have expressed themselves as offensively as he. Far, however, be such reviling from us, for, as we contended in our number for November, we *claim* for churchmen the same liberty we ask for others, that of expressing their *opinions*, whatever those opinions be; but we have put the language they have used respecting Mr. Binney, into a form in which it might be used against themselves, and we trust it will have a moral effect, and preserve them from indulging in it in future, as the drunkenness of a helot taught the Spartans, what the drunkenness of Spartans taught them not.

We once intended to enter into the inquiry, whether the Memorialists are the men to produce any great effect in the Society they are solicitous to reform. Space, however, or rather the want of it, warns us to desist from farther remark. Our opinion, we may just mention, is, that they are not. They seem good men; pious, honest, devout;—sincere, and simple-minded in seeking an object which they conscientiously and properly feel to be of awful importance. But, we cannot say, either that their views themselves, on some things, are the most correct, or their arguments likely to have weight with others. Their *explanations* of truth we separate, as we do those of other writers, from the truth itself; and while we believe the same truth with them, we should be sorry to hold it exactly in the same manner. Their mode of explaining the atonement, for instance, expels, in our opinion, every thing like grace or mercy, from the Gospel, and reduces it to a system of hard, rigid, rigorous law; it gives the Supreme Ruler, as the representative of law, *twice* over, what as such, he demands; and it gives to the sinner a positive *claim* on his justice, instead of simply opening a way for mercy not to be inconsistent with it. They indulge in much that is intended for *reasoning*, but we frankly confess that we have no hope of its carrying any conviction to the minds of their anti-evangelical brethren, but that of their sincere belief of some opinions which both reason and Scripture compel *them* to reject. One of the most extraordinary passages which we ever remember to have met with is the following:

'If God had intended to 'take off from the hardness of the law' in the second covenant, or to sink its perfections to the level of fallen man's incapacity, *would he have expanded the law from one precept originally given to Adam in Paradise, into ten precepts, as he did in the republication of the same law to Moses on Sinai?* The Sinai covenant, by enlarging the requisitions of the law *from one commandment to ten*, increased the hardness of the law *in a ten-fold degree.*'

—p. 65.

Do these writers suppose that the moral law did not exist in Paradise? Do they really think that *moral* precepts depend merely on the divine pleasure? Do they mean to tell us that the one *positive* precept given to Adam was a law similar *in kind* to the decalogue? that the decalogue was an expansion of that precept, or a republication of that law? There seems some strange confusion here in the minds of the Memorialists. In the same page they say, 'Where 'sin abounded' in *oceans* of trans-'gressions and offences, 'grace did much more abound,' in *an 'universal deluge* of mercy, which swallowed up *all the oceans* of 'sin, however numerous or extended.' Yet, if we understand their theology aright, it is of that kind that *limits* the *extent* of the atonement to a specific number of persons, in such a sense, as that, for *others*, there is, and *can* be, really and in fact, *none!* The men, we repeat, are good men, sincere, spiritual, holy; but, we do not think that they are fitted, judging by their Memorials, to produce any great effect on the un-evangelical members of the Society, many of whom, we suspect, are too strong and too clear-headed not to perceive the confusion and inconsistency of such passages as the above, and thus to be in danger of charging truth with the faults of her advocates, and of refusing submission to the one from their just conviction of the weakness of the other. The Memorialists may be zealous and useful as parish ministers—they may be respectable and respected in private life—we agree with them in their judgment of the Society's publications—but we much fear, that they are quite out of their proper place, in attempting to be the *Knoxes* and the *Luthers* of the present age. We *wish* them better success than we dare to *hope.*

1. *Minutes of Evidence before the Select Committee, on the Affairs of Lower Canada in* 1834. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, March 11, 1837.
2. *Report of Commissioners on Grievances complained of in Lower Canada.* 1837.
3. *The Canadian Portfolio. Nos. I. II. III. IV. V.* By J. A. ROEBUCK.
4. *The Speech of the Right Hon. Henry Brougham and Vaux, in the House of Lords on Jan.* 18, 1838. Ridgeway.
5. *A few Words on the subject of Canada.* By a BARRISTER. Longman.
6. *Canada; Emancipate your Colonies!* An unpublished argument, by JEREMY BENTHAM. London: Effingham Wilson. 1838.

THAT a revolution, assuming the nature and the name of a popular revolution, should have been attempted in any part of the British dominions, during the administration of the authors of the Reform Bill, or rather their more radical successors, and that such revolution should have been so attempted during the first year of the reign of one who was born, nursed, and matured by parents devoted to the cause of popular liberty, is a matter most strange and wonderful, and not to be accounted for upon any of the ordinary principles of political action. Yet such is the case; rebellion has stalked through a valuable portion of our colonies, in defiance of a professedly liberal government, and at the commencement of an avowedly liberal reign; and what we have to inquire now is, the *why*—the *how*—and the probable *end.*

Before, however, entering into the immediate subject, we may be pardoned for a preliminary inquiry into the justice or propriety of rebellion under any circumstances. We deprecate war, and the consequent spilling of human blood, *per se;* we especially deprecate *civil war,* as being an *enlarged fratricide*; but still we think there are circumstances in which even civil war may be justified; that rebellion may not only be shown to be right, but expedient; and that names are associated with popular revolutions, of the best, the brightest, the most exalted, and the most excellent of our fellow-creatures.

It is at once a libel and a fallacy, to say that success has any thing to do with the true reputation of men who have embarked in revolutions. Algernon Sydney, Lord William Russell, the Scottish Covenanters, the French Hugunots, William Tell, George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and Kosciusko, owe nothing to the accidents of success or failure, for the feeling which is entertained towards them. The cause in which each embarked was just. It lives in the pages of history, unobscured by the momentary mists of party feeling. It is seen in its naked character, and men can now judge of it without passion or prejudice.

Let us therefore begin our strictures upon this Canadian rebellion, with an admission, that if its leading features are similar to those of the great events to which we have referred, they will merit praise rather than blame. If the cause of freedom demanded, and the well-being of society required, the dreadful alternative of civil war, those who engaged in it deserve our sympathies and support. But if, on the contrary, the name of liberty has been taken in vain; if there has been a desecration of her altars; if she has been used as a mask to conceal selfishness and tyranny working upon ignorance and cupidity; if our sympathies are sought to be enlisted on false pretences—we have only one duty to fulfil, which is, not to permit our readers to be led astray by mistaking a mischievous and delusive movement, for an emanation from the pure and bright spirit of liberty.

There is, however, a middle course. The Canadian rebellion may be ostentatious in its leading pretences, and yet real in many of its operative causes. It may choose to unfurl banners that do not belong to it, and yet it may have others which it might honorably use. It is our opinion that both may be proved to be the case.

In 1759, Canada, then called the County of Quebec, was conquered by a British army. In the peace which followed, in 1763, that conquest was formally ceded to us by treaty. At that period, Upper Canada was a 'waste howling wilderness,' and Lower Canada was inhabited by Frenchmen, having no political liberty, no representative body, and subjected to the old feudal system of tenures, from which England had freed herself in the reign of Charles the Second. What the position of Canada then was, is well described by Mr. M. Martin, a warm partizan of Canadian reform. He says,

'The population of Canada on its conquest by the British was about 65,000, inhabiting a narrow strip of land on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and chiefly employed in agriculture; no people had a greater right to be thankful for the cession of the country to Great Britain than the Canadians; Bigot, the intendant or king's financier, and his creatures, plundered the colonists in every direction; a paper currency termed card money, founded on the responsibility of the king of France, for the general support of the civil and military establishments of the colony, and which, having been faithfully redeemed during a period of thirty years, enjoyed unlimited credit, enabled Bigot to conceal for a long time his waste and peculations; and while the British were capturing Canada by force of arms, the French monarch was destroying the commerce and prospects of his subjects by dishonouring the bills of exchange of the intendant to whom he had granted absolute power, thus involving in ruin not only the holders of 12,000,000 livres (£500,000 sterling), but also those who possessed any paper currency, which at the conquest amounted to £4,000,000

sterling, the only compensation received for which was four per cent on the original value.

'Civil and religious liberty was granted to the Canadians; and in the words of the writer of the Political Annals of Canada, 'previous history affords no example of such forbearance and generosity on the part of the conquerors towards the conquered—forming such a new era in civilized warfare, that an admiring world admitted the claim of Great Britain to the glory of conquering a people less from views of ambition and the security of her other colonies than from the hope of improving their situation and endowing them with the privileges of freemen.'

In 1774, an act was passed to make the old French laws, to which the people had become habituated, and were unprepared to change, the general law of Canada. This act enacted, that, 'in 'all matters of controversy relative to property and civil rights, 'resort should be had to the laws of Canada, as the rule for the 'decision of the same.' Provided always, that such laws should not affect lands then and thereafter granted in 'free and common 'soccage.' At the same time a Legislative Council was created for the government of the whole province.

In 1791 an act was passed for dividing the Province into two parts, under the names of Upper and Lower Canada; and to grant to each a representative form of government. Before this time, nothing like a representative form of government had been known in Canada; and this bestowal of it, by Mr. Pitt, evidently took place from the dread which that minister entertained, that if he did not voluntarily give it, the Canadians, animated by the neighbouring States of North America, would take it. The division of the Province, however, made Lower Canada necessarily French, and Upper Canada as necessarily English. The representatives being chosen by the majority, such majority in Lower Canada carried all before them. The minority (i. e. British settlers) being vandyked among the majority, could of course do nothing; they were scarcely any where in sufficient force to secure even one representative.

In this act there were some very important provisions. The government of the Provinces was authorized to make allotment for the support of a Protestant Clergy. In Upper Canada, future grants of land were to be in 'free and common soccage;' in Lower Canada they might be so if required, subject to such alterations, with respect to the nature and consequences of such tenure of 'free and common soccage' as might be established by any laws which might be made by his Majesty, with the advice, &c. of the Legislative Council and Assembly of the Province. In addition to this, there is a clause for regulating the navigation and commerce of the country, and confirming a previous act, that no internal taxation should be permitted to be levied by the Imperial Parliament, but that the Legislative Councils and Assemblies of

Canada, should have the power to act for themselves in all such matters. This act is held to be the first Charter, or Constitution, of Canada.

The Executive Council, appointed by this act, was to consist of eleven members—which may be called the Council of the Crown. The Legislative Council, or the House of Lords, was to consist of fifteen members (since increased to 34). The Representative Assembly, or House of Commons was to consist of 50 members (since increased to 88): and the object of the whole clearly, and in fact, *avowedly*, was to imitate the principles and form of the British constitution.

This law, in theory, remains the same to the present period; the changes since then having been of detail and not of principle. Concessions after concessions have been made by the Crown and the Imperial Parliament. All the hereditary revenues of the Crown have been given up, to be disposed of by the Native Legislature for their own purposes. The army and the navy are paid, not out of Canadian taxes, but out of British taxes. Their staple article of commerce, timber, is protected, and forced into our markets, at an annual sacrifice of a sum of money nearly equal to the whole revenue of the Canadas. They are at once untaxed and unfettered. Not even a stipulation or proviso was entered into, that with the vast property surrendered to them, they should be bound to make a permanent, or even periodical provision for their own civil expenses; and, being left to themselves, what have they done? In the first place, for the ostensible object of effecting further changes in the constitution, to which we shall hereafter refer, they *stopped the supplies.* Not the supplies, be it remembered, of the army and navy, which everywhere might be justifiably done, when the Executive set itself against the Representative body, and used, or exhibited any inclination to use, such army and navy in trampling upon the people and their representatives, but the supplies that the Assembly of Lower Canada stopped, and for years continued to stop, were supplies necessary for the ordinary and every-day protection of property and administration of justice. What the objects of those supplies were, we cannot better illustrate, than by quoting from the evidence that was given before the Select Committee in 1835.

Mr. Sewell, Sheriff of Quebec, called in, and examined.

What degree of inconvenience in the sheriff's office was experienced in the district of Quebec, through the stoppage of the supplies?—The persons who supplied the gaol were not paid; I had no funds in my hands to pay them. I have advanced from my own resources some part of these expenses; for the remainder I gave a conditional bond, payable when the Government should pay me.

What is the amount of the claims on Government for money either

advanced by you, or for which you are responsible?—About £2,500, excluding the salaries to the sheriff, the gaolor, and the turnkeys.

Have you had any payment since the sum of £782, which appears to have been appropriated to the Quebec gaol out of the advance of £31,000 from the military chest?—None.

Since the supplies were stopped, has the gaol been in a healthy state?—Yes, generally.

Has there been no cholera?—Four cases in 1832, and two in 1834.

Has the physician's salary been paid?—No.

Have the repairs of the gaol been carried on or stopped?—There have been partial repairs, and they have not been stopped.

Has the ventilation and cleansing of the gaol been carried on as usual?—Yes; the expense forms part of the arrears of £2,500, which I have already mentioned.

Suppose there had been a fire in the gaol, and any part of it destroyed, how would you have got money to rebuild it?—I know not. I could not have done so from my own funds.

How many gaols are there in Lower Canada?—There are gaols at Montreal, Three Rivers, Quebec, Gaspé, and Sherbrooke. I know no others.

Have they all been similarly circumstanced?—I believe so.

In what way, in Lower Canada, does the arrest of prisoners take place?—In town by police officers; in the country, by officers of militia, who are bound to pass them from one parish to the other, till they reach the gaol of the district.

Are there any constables in Lower Canada?—Yes, in the towns. In the country parishes the duties are performed by sergeants of militia.

Is there not a high constable for each district?—For the three principal districts.

What are his duties?—To attend the courts, marshal the constables, and see that they do their duty.

Are not the high constables salaried officers?—They have both salaries and fees.

Have their salaries been stopped?—I believe so.

The Hon. L. Gugy, Sheriff of Montreal, called in, and examined.

What degree of inconvenience, in the sheriff's office, was experienced in the district of Montreal by the stoppage of the supplies?—Advances which I made from my own resources alleviated the inconveniences. The gaoler, however, suffered much, and, would have suffered more if he had not been assisted by loans of money from myself. I advanced money for the support of prisoners; nor had I any hesitation in doing so for one half-year, but when the payments extended to four half-years, it became very inconvenient.

What would have been the consequence if you had not made these advances?—I should have been obliged either to open the gaol, or else resign my situation, and leave the Government to find a successor.

What is the amount now due to you by the province?—Exclusive of my salary and of allowances, there is due to me on account of my advances £2,486, as certified by the inspector of public accounts.

Were these advances only for Crown prisoners, or did they include debtors?—They were for Crown prisoners; the debtors are only supplied with fuel and water.

What is the average number of prisoners in the gaol?—It fluctuates between 90 and 150.

How many of these are usually debtors?—Seldom more than 10.

Mr. John Neilson, of Quebec, also says:

In respect of gaols we are miserably off at present; it is discreditable. As to the administration of criminal justice, I have myself been obliged to advance, out of my own pocket, funds for the apprehension of criminals, and the means of subsistence to petty jurors, who have come from a distance of 20 or 30 miles to serve at quarter sessions, and who were, at that distance from home, in a starving condition.

These advances were made as loans, but great part of them have never been repaid.

Not content with stopping supplies, the next step was to supersede the law, and by secret and arbitrary means to set the ordinary courts at defiance, and form new tribunals, in which persons, appointed by no competent authority, and, we presume, much in the same way as Lynch law is enforced in the United States, were to act as "Pacificators," or judges, under a law and practice of their own.

When even this would not do, and it was determined by the British parliament that the accumulated revenue of Canada, arising in a very great proportion from the voluntary surrender by the Crown of its hereditary property, for the purpose of supplying, without taxing the people, all that was required for their civil government and local and public improvement—when the British parliament, at the suggestion of the ministers, passed those celebrated resolutions, and especially the 8th, for appropriating by force such sums so received to their legitimate purposes;—before any seizure was made, any law enacted, or any step taken upon such resolutions, the rebellion broke out, the causes and consequences of which it will now be our province to investigate and anticipate.

I. The first ostensible cause put forward by the Canadians in the van of their grievances is, the existence of a *Legislative Council*, or House of Lords, not elected by the people; and the first of the changes they desire is, that such Legislative Council shall be so elected.

There had been much animosity existing for a length of time between the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council; and especially since the latter prevented the former from passing a bill, in 1831, to pay each of its members' salaries out of the public revenues. In 1828, the claim of the House of Assembly was—not that the Legislative Council should be elected by the

people, but that it should be independent of both Crown and people. Their language then was—

'The enlightened and patriotic statesmen who devised our Constitutional Act, and the British parliament by which it was granted, intended to bestow on us a mixed government, modelled on the constitution of the parent state; the opinions publicly expressed at the time in parliament, and the Act itself, record the benificent views of the Imperial Legislature. A Governor, a Legislative Council, and an Assembly, were to form three distinct and *independent* branches, representing the King, the Lords, and the Commons; but the true spirit of that fundamental law has not been observed in the composition of the Legislative Council; for the majority of its members, consisting of persons whose principal resources for the support of themselves and their families, are the salaries, emoluments, and fees, derived from offices which they hold during pleasure, they are interested in maintaining and increasing the salaries, emoluments, and fees of public officers paid by the people, and also in supporting divers abuses favourable to persons holding offices. The Legislative Council, by these means, is in effect the Executive power, under a different name; and the Provincial Legislature is, in truth, reduced to two branches, a Governor and an Assembly; leaving the province without the benefit of the intermediate branch, as intended by the aforesaid Act; and from this first and capital abuse have resulted, and still continue to result, a multitude of abuses, and the impossibility of procuring a remedy. We acknowledge, that the Legislative Council *ought to be independent*, and if it were, we should not be entitled to complain to your Majesty of the repeated refusals of that branch to proceed upon various bills sent up by the Assembly, howsoever useful and even indispensable they might be.'

In 1834, however, when it was determined to stop the supplies, a Legislative Council independent of the Crown would not do, and then the demand became, that such Legislative Council should be elective—*Monsieur A. Norbert Morin* gave evidence before a select committee of the House of Commons, and stated the then views of the Canadian Assembly. But before we state these views, as we shall have occasion to refer frequently to this gentleman's evidence, we will officially introduce him to our readers.

Monsieur *Augustin Norbert Morin*, a member of the House of Assembly for the province of Lower Canada, called in, and examined.

Are you the bearer of the resolutions of the House of Assembly, dated the 21st of February, 1834?—I am the bearer of the petitions founded on the resolutions.

The petitions are to the House of Commons and the House of Lords, are they not?—To both Houses.

Are you a Member of the House of Assembly;—Yes: and I have been so for four years.

Are you charged with any other communications to make to the authorities of this country, than are contained in the petitions?—None; but I have papers and statements which relate to the objects mentioned in the petitions.

Of course you are perfectly well acquainted with the views and feelings of the petitioners?—I believe I am.

You are commissioned as the Agent of the House of Assembly, are you?—I have a commission from the House of Assembly to support those petitions, conjointly with Mr. Viger, the agent of the House of Assembly, now in England.

Did your appointment take place by a resolution or a vote of the House of Assembly?—By a resolution of the House of Assembly.

Will you state the immediate circumstances which led to the passing of that resolution?—The circumstances which led to the passing of that resolution were the misunderstandings which have existed between the Colonial Administration and the House of Assembly for several years, grounded upon the several arbitrary and violent measures upon the part of the administration, as we conceive it, and also grounded upon the support which those measures have received from other constituted authorities in the colony, and also in part from His Majesty's Executive Government here in England.

Will you state to the Committee some of the more prominent of the differences which existed?—I believe the recent addresses of the House of Assembly relate to two principal points; the one is the defects in the laws and constitution of the country, and the other the manner in which those laws and that constitution have been administered. With regard to the laws and constitution, the petitioners advert, in the first instance, to one of the provisions of the Act of the 31st of Geo. 3, c. 31, which has established the present form of government in the colony. The petitioners have come to the conclusion, that one part of that Act principally, is not conducive to the good government of the colony, to wit, that part which creates a second branch of legislature, under the name of Legislative Council, entirely at the will and pleasure of the Executive.'

Here is the charge: now for the details:

'In what respect does the House of Assembly consider the Legislative Council unfit?—Because there are in it a number of persons who hold public offices, and are otherwise dependent upon the Executive, being connected with it by speculations on public property, or otherwise; because, also, the addition which has been made to that Council has been far from being sufficient to give it an independent character, inasmuch as if the new members were not in general connected by official stations with the Executive, they have long been known for their political bias on one side, that is to say, on the side of the colonial administrations, and for *their antipathies against the people of the country* and their *laws and institutions*, and for the violent manner in which they had publicly expressed a desire to introduce *changes in those laws and institutions*, in a way contrary to the rights and wishes

of the people, and in order to establish a subserviency to *other laws and institutions*, which these individuals might consider better, but *which the people of the provinces knew not, and were entirely unacquainted with.*'

Then as to the remedy:

'They (the Assembly) came to the belief, that any addition, by the exercise of the royal prerogative, and any renovation in the same way, would never insure a proper composition of the Legislative Council, because at all times it might be in the power of the local administrations, and their advisers, to make a choice of persons to serve their own particular objects. I believe this is a firm conviction, both in the Assembly and in a majority of the people. They have afterwards considered whether there was any other way, than by the exercise of the prerogative of the Crown, to constitute a second branch of the Legislature: a House of Peers, composed of hereditary members, was not at all in agreement with the consequences of the laws, nor with the physical state of things in America, there being there no materials to form a permanent aristocracy. They, in consequence, came to the belief that the wishes of Parliament, and the views of His Majesty's Government might be fulfilled with advantage to the good government of the provinces, by having an elective Legislative Council.

Will you explain what you mean by interests not connected with the colony?—The Legislative Council had before, in their debates, pretended to be an exclusively *British* body, and to act as *British* men in opposition to the House of Assembly, who were by them unjustly considered *not to be British*, and resolutions were even proposed in the Council to that effect some years back. Now, since their reformation, the Legislative Council have expressly avowed that purpose; for instance, they have pretended that the House of Assembly wished to preserve the lands of the Crown *only for the native Canadians*, which is not the fact; and upon that ground they have pretended that they were a body necessary to protect *emigration* against the House of Assembly. They have also pretended that they represent the interests of the Established Church of England, which they considered not to be represented in the House of Assembly, and to which, apparently, they wished to give a protection of a particular kind. They have also pretended to represent British commerce for the same reasons. All those pretensions we consider as relating to interests vested out of the province, contrary to the rights and welfare of its inhabitants, and injurious to the representation of the people in the House of Assembly.'

Thus, in the very words of the Deputy of the House of Commons of Lower Canada, we have the evil and the remedy. The former, to a certain extent, we acknowledge—the latter we consider preposterous. We invite our readers to take a fair and dispassionate view of the whole question.

Mr. Pitt, by his bill of 1791, intended to model the Canadian constitution upon our own; and, if circumstances had been similar, no doubt such a machinery might have been found to work very harmoniously, which was all that that corrupt and wily minister wanted. As to having two independent Houses, the one to serve as a check and counterpoise to the other, and yet both to harmonize in promoting the public good, the idea was only fit for a child or a mountebank. The thing never did exist anywhere, and never will exist anywhere. The House of Commons worked smoothly enough with the House of Lords, but why? Because each was independent of the other? No. But because the one was dependent upon, and in great part created by the other. The practice of nomineeship—the close pocket boroughs—the law of primogeniture, and a variety of other circumstances, made both of them, as to interests, "one and indivisible." Mr. Pitt's object was to delude the Canadians with a mockery of representation, while he secured the reality of power by forming an executive counsel of his own creatures, and an aristocracy nominated by himself. Had he not, by supporting despotism on a grander scale, been involved in a war that required his undivided attention, no doubt he would have found means of forcing the law of primogeniture upon the Canadian people;—of thereby creating an aristocracy which might be hereditary, and of enacting the farce of a constitution for the benefit of the few and the mockery of the many, as it was then enacted in Great Britain.

So far as the Legislative Council, or House of Peers of Canada, is concerned in the dispute, we are quite ready to acknowledge its absurdity and inefficiency; but we are not disposed to make it elective. Our remedy would be, either to do away with it altogether, or to cause it to be composed of men who having been returned by the people for a certain number of years (say 15 or 20) to another Assembly, and thereby affording presumption that they enjoyed the confidence of their constituents, might then take their seats for life in the Legislative Council, or House of Peers, being independent of both the monarchical and democratical influences.

It is quite true, that the Legislative Council, faulty as it was, has rendered great service in Lower Canada. It has been truly "a screen" by which the local government has often been enabled, after the great error was committed of dividing the Canadas, to protect British settlers and promote British interests, to check the Assembly in its miserably selfish object of arresting legislation, and acting for the feudal Seigniors and Seigniories; and has, by its firm, though perhaps not altogether disinterested conduct, prevented the British minority from being crushed and sacrificed to the feudal pride and national hate of the French majority.

That our readers may be satisfied of the truth and justice of our views, we refer them to the following extracts from the Gene-

ral Report of the Canada Commissioners, Lord Gosford, Sir Charles E. Grey, and Sir George Gipps. These gentlemen say,

'By the separation of the Provinces, effected in 1791, nearly every thing that the extended territory of Quebec had contained of English, was then collected into a distinct body, and Lower Canada was again forced, we may say, by Act of Parliament, to be French. A constitution, too, was, under these circumstances, given to it, confessedly on the model of our own, in which the House of Representatives was endowed with powers analogous to those of the House of Commons, whilst, from the very nature of things, the great majority of the members of this House could be no other than French Canadians. In scarcely any instance since the existence of the House of Assembly, has the majority of French Canadians over English been so little as two to one; and, of late, it has far exceeded that proportion. We have even heard the speeches of the minister of the day referred to, to prove that it was his intention to keep the province French; a construction, however, which we consider erroneous. Mr. Pitt always expressed his desire that Lower Canada should become ultimately English, though he thought the best means towards that result was, not to do violence to the predilections and customs of the original inhabitants; and it was certainly, we apprehend, no part of his plan to discourage English settlers. For many years, indeed, after the establishment of the Constitution of 1791, a vague sort of idea seems to have existed, that by the introduction of new settlers, the numerical disproportion between the two races would be made to disappear, and the English even to predominate; and so, perhaps, in spite of all opposing circumstances, they ultimately may; but the progress has been much slower than was expected, and at the present moment the highest calculation of the inhabitants of British descent does not make them more than one fourth of the whole.

The House of Assembly was not slow to perceive the importance of the functions which had been assigned to it by the Constitution; the Government alone was slow to perceive it, or, if perceiving, to acknowledge it, and to provide with prudence for the consequences. Instead of shaping its policy so as to gain the confidence of that House, it adopted the unfortunate course of resting for support exclusively on the Legislative Council. The existence of a majority of French Canadians in the Assembly, seems to have been thought a sufficient reason that there should be a majority of English in the Council; for the principle observed in the first nominations, of making it of equal numbers, French and English, was early departed from, and thus the Council and Assembly were constituted of antagonist principles almost from the commencement.'

Further on they say,

'The maintenance, on the other hand, of the principle on which the Council is actually constituted, affords no triumph to either party; it

is but the maintenance of that Constitution, which, five years ago, all parties in the province were emulous in praising; it is but the maintenance by England, in one of her favoured Colonies, of institutions modelled, as far as they can be, on her own. Great Britain, in giving those institutions to Canada, intended to bestow upon it the best gift that was in her power; and it is not yet proved, at least we have yet seen no proof, that, under existing circumstances, a benefit would be derived from changing them.'

The consequences to British interests of making both Houses elective, are powerfully put in the same report.

'The great majority of the people of direct British descent, while they are firmly united in opposition to an Elective Council, are nearly as unconnected with the holders of office as are the body of French Canadians; and the office-holders themselves, beyond the sphere of their own immediate duties, are little remarkable for anything but the exemplary patience with which they have borne the severe sufferings inflicted on them by the Assembly. We do not know where any persons are to be found of British descent, who enjoy any influence in society, and at the same time wish for an Elective Council; whilst, of the higher class of French Canadians, there are several who have no desire for it. And if we look to the poorer classes of the community, we shall find, that the feeling is equally intense, to say the least, in the British population, against the proposed change, as it is amongst the French Canadians in favour of it. The French Canadians of this description, or by far the greater part of them, give their whole confidence to their leaders; and when we consider how often they have been exposed to hear assertions that the Executive Government is corrupt, that the eminent individuals who have been their governors have robbed the public treasury, and that, in the distribution of Wild Lands, the *settled inhabitants of the country* have been denied their due proportion, we cannot but suppose that such representations must have their influence in urging many to assent to the demand for a change in the Constitution.'

Having now shown the evil effects of making both Houses elective, let us look at the composition, temper, and character of that one which demands this change in the other. *Mr. James Stuart*, an Advocate of Lower Canada, is asked, and answers as follows:

'Can you state, from your own personal knowledge, whether the representation of the two sects or parties, as you may choose to call them, is at all equivalent to their numbers in each case?—The English that are dispersed among the French Canadian population, constituting a minority, they have no influence whatever in the elections in the part of the country which they inhabit. They cannot return a single member to the Assembly, and are therefore, otherwise than constructively, not represented at all in that body.

Still, returning to the question of a fair and equal representation, taking the number of the population into consideration, do you not suppose, throughout the whole province, there is a fair and equal representation in accordance with the population?—If the population were all of the same *national* character, and exclusion from the Assembly on *national* grounds did not take place, the representation would not be objectionable; but as things are, the representation as it exists, is most objectionable on the part of the English.

Do they not have influence in proportion to their numbers?—Their numbers have influence in deciding a contest between two rival candidates supported by French interest, but alone are *powerless*, and this influence might as well not exist.

Are they not in the condition of every minority?—They are in the condition of a minority under very peculiar circumstances.

We think we have now shown enough to prove to our readers, that much may be said against the present system of the Legislative Council, against a reform of that Council by making it elective, against a continuance of that Council under existing circumstances, and against the composition and objects of the House of Assembly.

II. The second great point of opposition by the French Canadians, refers to the *law of tenures*, a subject which we will endeavour to simplify while discussing it, inasmuch as it is at once the most difficult as well as the most important part of the whole question.

In commencing the argument, we cannot do better than give, from Mr. Montgomery Martin's valuable work, a description of the tenures of Lower Canada.

'When the country was first settled by the French, the feudal tenure was in full vigour in the continent of Europe, and naturally transplanted by the colonizers to the new world. The king of France, as feudal lord, granted to nobles and respectable families, or to officers of the army, large tracts of land, termed seigniories, the proprietors of which were termed seigniors; and held immediately from the king, *en fief*, or *en roture*, on condition of rendering fealty and homage on accession to seigniorial property; and in the event of a transfer, by sale, or gift, or otherwise (except in hereditary succession), the seigniory was subject to the payment of a *quint*, or fifth part of the whole purchase money; and which, if paid by the purchaser immediately, entitled him to the *rabat*, or a reduction of two-thirds of the *quint*. This custom still prevails, the king of Great Britain having succeeded to the claims of the king of France. The lands being held for terms of years, renewal fines, according to the actual and existing value, are charged.

The position and extent of these seigniorial grants are:—

Territorial Division.	Number of Seigniories.	Extent of Seigniorial Grants.		Almost unfit for cultivation in the Seigniories and Fiefs.
		Arpents.	Acres.	
Quebec, including Anticosti and other Isles	79	5639319	5656699	2600000
Montreal and Islands	63	3269966	2786011	500000
Three Rivers and St. Francis, &c.	25	1220308	1039707	400000
Gaspé and Isles	1	1547086	1318117	600000
	168	12676679	10800534	4100000

Estimating the number of acres of land in Lower Canada under cultivation, at 4,000,000, it will be perceived what a large portion of territories is embraced under the seigniories.

Now that any class of men, save those who are benefitted by it, can be enamoured of, and go to war for, such a system as this, must be a matter of the greatest astonishment. Its operation is to prevent improvements and conceal frauds. The *seigneurs*, or Landlords, no doubt, find their account in it, by the renewal of fines, which are enlarged in proportion to the existing value, though such value may have been entirely occasioned by the expensive improvements of the tenant, and also by the means which it affords them of concealing the '*hypotheques*,' or claims upon the property, and borrowing and selling as though no such '*hypotheques*' existed; such frauds are of frequent occurrence; and many instances are given in the reports before us. It has all the evils of our tithe system, with the addition of many more peculiar to itself. It was by getting rid of this system, that England has produced her agricultural prosperity, and effected her expensive and most important improvements in the cultivation and value of her land. The last shadow of feudalism (which had long ceased to be an oppressive substance), to wit, copyhold tenures, fell before the spirit of reform, and that "stalwart" Scot, Sir John Campbell, a short time ago. Every Englishman's house is his castle, and every English freeholder, who is possessed of land, can 'sit under his own vine and his own fig-tree, without any one 'daring to make him afraid.' This is our national pride and glory; and our agriculturalists would fight quite as fiercely, and a vast deal more successfully, to retain it, than the Canadian '*habitans*' to prevent it. The very fact, therefore, of any large

body of men other than the *seignieurs* themselves contending for such an unjust system of tenures, must be a matter of the greatest and the gravest astonishment.

This system, foolish, mischievous, and criminal as it was, was not interfered with by the government, save in an act called the 'Tenures Act,' which merely enabled parties, if they thought proper, by mutual agreement to get rid of it. This act, which has occasioned an immense outcry in Canada, is well-described by Mr. James Stuart, formerly Attorney-General, and member of the House of Assembly, who was examined as follows before the Committee of the House of Commons.

As to the operation of that Act, Mr. Stuart is asked,

Are you aware of any instance in which property or the rights of the inhabitants of Lower Canada have been injuriously affected by Acts of the British Parliament? The Tenures Act, for example, is that in any particular objectionable?—There have been very few instances in which the British Parliament has exercised the power of legislation with respect to the affairs of Lower Canada; I do not recollect more than two, I mean as to matters of internal legislation. Strong considerations of utility and expediency, as affecting the interests of the inhabitants of Lower Canada, urged, I presume, the passing of the Tenures Act, which in its general scope and character is calculated to be highly beneficial. The great object of the Act was to provide for the voluntary, optional, and gradual conversion of the French feudal tenure into that of free and common soccage. No compulsory obligation whatever has been imposed by this Act; it was left entirely to the discretion of the parties concerned, from a sense of their own interest, to determine whether such conversion should take place or not. With this view of the matter, the commencement of the projected change was to take place on the part of the seignior, or tenant *in capite:* he was to be permitted on the most easy and liberal terms, if he should be so inclined, by an amicable commutation, to alter the tenure by which he held his estate, in respect of the Crown; a subsequent conversion was then to take place between the seignior and his terre-tenant, the actual holder of the land, when the latter might desire it, but no obligation was imposed on the seignior to commute with his terre-tenant until after he (the seignior) had previously commuted with the Crown, and then only on payment of a full and fair equivalent and indemnity for the change.

Do you happen to know whether the possessors of seigniorial property in Canada have availed themselves of the provisions of the Tenures Act?—Up to the period of my leaving Canada, no person holding lands *a titre de cens* in seigniories, that is, terre-tenants, had availed themselves of the provisions of the Tenures Act; nor could they have done so, as no seignior has yet commuted with the Crown for the settled parts of his seigniory, *so as to admit of his tenants obtaining from him the benefit of a conversion of their tenures.*

Yet even this gradual, limited, and *optional* reform in Tenures,

was followed, in order to please the *seignieurs*, by another act of the British Legislature, a few years ago, by which the Canadian Legislature was enabled to make such alterations in it as *they* might deem desirable. Surely this ought to have been considered satisfactory even by the most bigotted; but satisfactory it was not, and we will show the reasons why.

All the land granted by the Crown to new settlers, was granted in 'free and common soccage;' or, in other words, a freehold estate in fee. All the lands in America were so held; all the lands in Upper Canada were so held; and such lands fetched a much higher price in the market than the lands subjected to the feudal dues of the Canadian laws. This was a stinging fact to the French *seignieurs*, who desired to retain the old law, and an exciting example to the *habitans*, who had sense enough to desire to get rid of it. The great success of many of the British settlers, under their free tenures, as compared, or rather contrasted with the feudal system, excited in the breast of the French Canadians, feelings of bitter envy, added to national antipathy: (unfortunately, this is too generally the case, whenever new comers rival and eclipse old residents.) The operation of this feeling may be traced throughout the whole of the Canadian disputes. It was and is, a battle between French and English races, and the ignorant *habitans* are kept in their way of thinking, by their artful and selfish *seignieurs*, in order that their eyes may not be opened to the vast advantages of enfranchising their tenures. Mr. Neilson, one of the deputies from Lower Canada, admitted the fact, in giving the following evidence, before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1828 respecting the tenure of free and common soccage:—

'Is it your belief, from your knowledge of the people of French extraction in Lower Canada, that from seeing such a system established in their immediate neighbourhood, they would be likely, in course of time, to conform themselves to it, and to wish to adopt it?' His answer is, '*Upon the whole, many of us have been rather afraid than otherwise that they would conform too fast to what they saw in their immediate neighbourhood*; but I conceive there might be a great many improvements introduced among them with their own consent, without making them exactly such as is in their neighbourhood, *for it is not altogether what we could wish.*''

What can be clearer than this? It surely is unnecessary to add another word to the subject.

The House of Assembly, not satisfied with clamouring against the British Legislature for interfering with their tenures, and by such clamour, procuring the act we have referred to, giving the Canadian Legislature the power to alter the law in any way they please—took other steps to effect their great object of keeping down British interests, under the mask of pitying the 'poor un-

fortunate emigrants,' who were landed on their shores, by seeking for a length of time so to impede emigration, as to stop it altogether. Mr. Morin, the Deputy for Canada, in his evidence shows this pretty clearly.

'The office of agent for emigration is to direct the emigrants who may come from this country at once to those lands upon which they may be settled to the greatest advantage, is it not?—That office is connected with the executive; and portions of country have been set apart and put under the control of that officer to settle them with emigrants.

Your real objection then to the mode of granting land is the facility which is given to *British* emigrants to settle?—*Yes, in preference to the inhabitants of the country.*

Will you state in what manner in preference?—First, by the operation of that agency for emigrants; and secondly, because the system, not being established under the control of the Legislature, has not become known or been put generally in operation in the *ancient settlements* of the country. It is only since about one year that there have been sales in those *anciently settled* parts.

At the end of the rules for the sale of lands, laid down by Lord Goderich in 1831, the Committee find this paragraph: 'Such is the system of management which I propose to adopt with respect to the Crown lands. It has been formed after no little consideration and inquiry into a subject of the utmost importance to the prosperity of a country circumstanced like Canada. To promote the prosperity, to adopt the measures best calculated to favour the full development of the natural resources of the province, has, I trust I need not assure the Assembly, been my only aim. If, however, upon a full consideration of the reasoning upon which my views are founded, they can recommend any modification by which this plan can be rendered more likely to forward that which is our common object, any suggestions which they may have to offer shall receive the fullest and most attentive consideration.' In consequence of that recommendation, have any suggestions been made by the House of Assembly for the purpose of establishing a better system of sale of land in the province?—The suggestion that has been made has been that the lands should be under the control of the legislature.'

In other words, under their own.

There is one point connected with this British law of Tenures (though not necessarily so), to which the Canadians have a right to object, and which wisdom as well as humanity would justify them in opposing; we allude to the cruel and criminal law of primogeniture. The French law as to intestacy, is more humane, and also more just and wise than our own. Under it, the children of an individual dying without a will, and where property is exclusively real, are all provided for—the eldest receiving a larger portion than his brother and sister. It is not in the nature of an unsophisticated people (and we believe the poor *habitans* of Canada to

be such), to understand the subtleties by which, in England, we justify the starving, by act of Parliament, all the younger children of an intestate, for the benefit of the eldest. They cannot perceive the great national advantages of making the estate follow the title, and dooming all but the noble and fortunate holder to the splendid pauperism of the Pension List, the dignified sinecurism of the Place List, or the sanctified pluralism of the Church List. Perhaps, even as a matter of policy, they may hold with Bacon, that 'Money (or property), is like manure, good for nothing unless it 'be spread.

Having alluded to the ignorance of the *habitans*, as well as to their unsophisticated character, we cannot close this part of the subject better than by the following extract from the evidence of Mr. Stuart.

'To what causes do you ascribe the dissatisfaction which has prevailed in Lower Canada, and what remedies would you suggest?—The political disorder, and the consequent dissatisfaction which now prevail in Lower Canada, I conceive are mainly ascribable to the composition of the House of Assembly, in which a few individuals are enabled to exercise a power and influence inconsistent with the rights of their fellow-subjects and with good government, and over which there is not that check and control on the part of the constituent body which ought to be found in a representative government.

Do they not represent the opinions of the people?—In the present state of Lower Canada, the opinions by which the Assembly are governed, can hardly be said to be those of the people. They are the opinions of a few individuals possessing uncontrolled power in the Assembly, which they disseminate with unceasing activity among the people, and call their opinions. The people are possessed of excellent natural intelligence, and of the best qualities and intentions, but they are without the advantage of education, and are not conversant with the political subjects on which they are called to decide. They are, therefore, liable to be deceived.

You have stated, that you think the great bulk of the population of Lower Canada hardly competent to form an opinion upon political subjects; but do not they feel very great confidence in those whom they send to represent their interests in the Assembly?—The fitness of that confidence would depend upon the qualifications and character of the individuals in whom it is reposed. In many cases the greater the confidence the greater the evil, where confidence may have been misplaced.

III. The next great head of Canadian grievances, is *the abuse of patronage and of Government influence.* This is a very sore point. Little acts of personal favoritism on one side, and consequent exclusion on the other, do more to excite discontent than a hundred times their amount in another shape. There are not many places in Canada to give away, and those are, compared

with similar English appointments, very poorly paid, yet if they are distributed in the majority of cases to the minority of the people, in preference to the larger class, the sense of injustice and exclusion, generates an amount of animosity wholly unproportioned to the small pecuniary loss. As to Lower Canada, there is no doubt that this charge is true, though to a smaller extent than in any other colony belonging to this Country. In the East, in the West, in the North, in the South, wherever the English Government prevails, the same charge may be made. 'The trail of the 'serpent is over them all.' Rotten at heart, the English Government has been rotten in all its members. The Lord Charleses and the Lord Henries have been provided for, as the price of political prostitution, by being sent to the Colonies. The Colonists know it; nothing can disguise the personal and profligate object of such appointments. Wherever there have been means of expressing an opinion upon them by a Representative Assembly, or a free press, that opinion has always been expressed in the same way. As knowledge and power have increased, those complaints have become so formidable, that Government have been driven to the alternative, either of abolishing the places, or giving them to those who cried out the most lustily against them. The latter has been the course pursued towards Canada. Pitt and his successors filled nearly every office and every place in the Executive and Legislative Councils with their own creatures. The Canadians most bitterly complained that they were governed by *foreigners*, and they hated those 'foreigners,' no matter whether such government were wisely and justly administered or not. Many individual instances occurred to give a colour to that hatred. Sir John Caldwell had been made Receiver-General; and when it was suspected that the public property (not, however, belonging to the people, but, at that time, belonging to the Crown) was in some danger, all accounts were pertinaciously refused; and when at last exposure could no longer be prevented, it turned out that this gentleman and his father were defaulters to an enormous amount. Notwithstanding this exposure, Sir John Caldwell was retained in the Legislative Council, and allowed to oppose by his vote all the measures sent up by the very Assembly that for years had been struggling against him.

At this time, two-thirds of this Legislative Council were composed of dependents on the Crown and the Executive Council; and the various places in the Colony were filled by persons not of Canadian birth. Since this period, practical reforms have been constantly taking place. Before 1828, the Legislative Council consisted of twenty-seven members, of whom eighteen were dependent on the Government. Since then it has been increased to thirty-five, of whom only seven are dependent on the Government; thus reducing official influence from two thirds, to one fifth:

and it appears, from a minute of Lord Aberdeen (see House of Commons papers for 1836, p. 113), that *Mr. Papineau* and *Mr. Neilson*, the leaders of the House of Assembly, were themselves offered seats in that very Council.

The great Reform Bill of England altogether altered the means of carrying on government. Patronage, to a great extent, can no longer be exchanged for votes. Whatever other ministers, with an unreformed parliament, might be disposed to concede to well-grounded remonstrances, a government responsible to a reformed parliament, it might fairly be supposed, would go still farther—and none but the most prejudiced, or the most selfish and wilfully blind, can fail to see, in the correspondence that has recently been laid before Parliament between the local Governor and the Colonial Secretaries—that a most anxious desire has existed, to effect every reform that might be considered practicable or pleasurable to the Canadian people. This, however, did not satisfy the Papineau party. Under the name of reform, they sought to rid themselves of British influence altogether. They continued to harp upon abuses already reformed, and grievances already abated. To the ignorant population they contrived to represent the British government as a monster of corruption, and themselves as the most exemplary of patriots. *Monsieur Morin*, in his evidence, proves this:—

'In the 52nd resolution it is stated, that the French origin, and the use of the French language by the people of Canada, 'has been made by the colonial authorities a pretext for abuse, for exclusion, for political inferiority, for a separation of rights and interests.' Is there not a strong feeling amongst the people of Canada generally, that the colonial subjects of French extraction are excluded from all places of honour and profit, and that they are in fact made, by the conduct of the authorities there, to feel themselves so far an inferior set of people?—*That is their belief, and, I believe, founded upon facts.*'

This fallacy has been kept up, and made to rankle in the breasts of an ignorant but a sensitive people. And the mode of pretending to grant supplies, on conditions which those who proposed them knew would not be agreed to by the other House, was for the purpose of stopping all government, all law, all protection of property and life, and making it appear that such was not their act, but the act of the British majority in the Legislative Council.

Though we sincerely entertain this conviction, should we therefore refuse or lessen those reforms which justice, wisdom, and humanity demand? Certainly not. Lord Durham, whose whole life has been one consecutive act of devotion to public rights, is sent over, not to protect tyranny, but to promote liberty; not to maintain abuses, but to reform them; not to narrow the just influence of the people, but to extend it; to grant freedom to all,

without injustice to any; in a word, to reform and reconstruct the whole government and legislature of the colony.

We will conclude this article by offering one or two suggestions as to the means by which this great object can be effected. But first let us see what the Canadians themselves say. *Mr. Papineau*, in addressing His late Majesty, and arguing for an Elective Legislative Council, or House of Peers, uses, on the behalf of the House of Assembly, these words:

'In case Your Majesty should not consider it proper at this time to adopt such a measure, we will not take upon ourselves, in stating the result of our deliberations, to determine whether the entire abolition of the present Legislative Council of this province, and the assimilation of its government to that of several of the adjacent colonies, would tend to cause peace and harmony to be re-established in the conduct of affairs. The people of the country, if they had an opportunity of being legally constituted for that purpose, would be the best judges to decide this weighty question. We therefore proceed upon the supposition, that an intermediate branch may, in certain cases, produce more maturity in the deliberation and examination of Bills, than if only one body were called upon to assent to them; at the same time, circumstances of rare occurrence might happen, in which the popular representation might, for the moment, contravene the interests of the body of their constituents, and that those interests might be cherished in the second branch, and guarded, until the wishes of the people were more fully expressed, either by more decided representations, or by the means of new elections.

The second branch, as actually in existence, is in no way connected, in the majority of its members, with the superior and permanent interests of the country; is not adapted to fulfil that end; and even putting the case, of which as yet there has been no example, that a provincial administration were to send to it a majority of men of opposite principles, the following administration, or perhaps the same, might very soon hasten to recompense the body in such a way as to insure its approbation of their measures.

The habits, the climate, the newness of the country, the changeability of fortunes, the division of estates, and the laws which facilitate it, are obstacles to the existence of a permanent aristocracy; so that an hereditary legislative body, with the powers of the House of Lords, would be simply an impossibility in Canada. Landed property being here almost wholly owned in small lots by the mass of the people, it would be impossible to make a choice so as to form a permanent Legislative Council, even supposing it to be a numerous one, of men who, in their own persons, would present an essential portion of the existing means and capital of the country; much more, they could not counterbalance, in importance and in wealth, any one single county of the province; and even supposing that such a body could be collected, the above-mentioned circumstances would very soon bring it into decay. In fact, several persons heretofore called to the Legislative Council, and who we may reckon then possessed a large and permanent

interest in the country, have since found themselves entirely destitute of fortune.

As to the idea of perforce creating an aristocracy through the medium of law, either by endeavouring to establish, upon a system of *substitutions* (entails), or otherwise, a state of things which the moral and physical circumstances in which the country is placed forbids, or by making provision out of the public funds for legislators for life, and without responsibility, it is one that is so contradictory to the known ideas of the constitution of England, as a practical model to go by, that your faithful and loyal subjects, who now most respectfully address Your Majesty, do not think it necessary to dwell upon it.'

With every word of this argument we fully concur; yet we are by no means disposed to arrive at the inference desired, viz. an elective House of Peers. No elected body, if liable to re-election or rejection, can be an independent body. If the same electors have to choose two Houses, without any other difference than the money qualification of those elected, both Houses, with that exception, will be counterparts of each other. The great object of having a second House, is to prevent the influences which govern the first House from leading to the enactment of rash and improper laws. If the same influences govern both Houses, that object can rarely be effected. To give independence, respectability, and public confidence to such second House, should be the great aim. Wealth will not give these—birth will not give these—all the nonsense that Papineau and the Canadian party talk about, of the necessity of wealth to form an aristocracy or second House, is sheer delusion. If the members of their Legislative Council really possessed such wealth, they would hate it ten times more, for it would be ten times more influential and mischievous. There might be a plan, however, for forming a Legislative Council, which would embrace all those objects, and which would, we think, be popular even with the French Canadians themselves. Our plan of future government would be as follows:

1. Let there be but one House of Assembly, or House of Commons for the whole of the British dominions in North America, to which representatives may be sent, according to population, from Lower Canada, Upper Canada, Novia Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, &c.

2. From such House of Assembly let an upper House, or Legislative Council, be formed, to consist, besides the present counsellors, of all members who have been returned for (say) 14 years by the same constituency. These gentlemen, enjoying public confidence, may be supposed to be devoted to public interests; and, with the experience they will have gained, may be fairly considered the best fitted to correct the errors of the lower House; and, being made independent of both the popular and the monarchical influences, by holding their seats for life, will

form the best and readiest court of appeal to which both may refer.

3. The Executive Council, and all placemen, save the Governor-General and his Secretary, should, as the present holders die, resign, or are dismissed, be North Americans by birth or adoption, and should sit in both Houses, or either House, as they might consider expedient from time to time; but must not be permitted to vote, and of course need not be returned by any constituency.

4. The three Estates so formed, to be enabled, by an act of the Imperial Legislature, to unite the British tenure of Canadian lands, "free and common soccage," or which our readers will better understand as *freeholds* in fee, with the French law of descents, in cases of intestacy; so that, in seeking to induce them to abolish and abandon their feudal tenures, which promote fraud and prevent improvement, we may not deter them from so doing by the injustice and inhumanity of our laws of primogeniture.

5. To give to the House of Assembly so formed, the full and entire control and appropriation of all the Crown and other revenues, duties, &c. upon the distinct stipulation, that out of such revenues and duties, a permanent civil list should be forthwith passed.

6. To leave to such three Estates all questions regarding emigration, official responsibility, the Wild Lands, and the law of tenures for future settlers; but not to permit any existing tenure to be altered without the consent of all parties concerned.

7. To have no state or dominant church whatever; but leave all matters affecting religion or education, and the disposal of all funds for the objects of either, to the decision, appropriation, and apportionment of the House of Assembly and Legislative Council —the Executive Council and Governor not to be permitted to interfere in the matter.

8. To give local charters to the different towns and districts creating municipal bodies by popular elections, and giving to such municipal bodies so created the sole right of declaring and maintaining that mode of tenure which each may deem the fittest for its own locality.

We throw out these cursory and perhaps crude remarks with hesitation, but with great sincerity. We do not agree with the celebrated Jeremy Bentham, whose pamphlet is before us, in thinking it to be good for the mother country and good for her colonists, to be suddenly and for ever separated; we have old-fashioned prejudices in favor of "ships, colonies, and commerce"; and have no desire to leave two rival races to cut one another's throats in their struggles for supremacy. We may have spoken harshly of the selfish objects of the leaders of the French Canadians; if so, our only excuse is that we are Britons, and that we feel as Britons towards our countrymen, whose properties, if

not liberties and lives, would have been sacrificed, had those French Canadians triumphed. We may have expressed opinions contrary to some of the leading principles of our own Constitution; if so, our plea must be that we are REFORMERS, and disposed to advocate every sound and well-considered change, that may conduce "to the greatest happiness of the greatest number." We may have spoken somewhat contemptuously of the intelligence of a section of the Canadians; if so, we would not only make the *amende honorable*, but express a fervent hope, that they may frame such a Constitution for themselves, based upon such principles of popular rights; rejecting all the extrinsic glitter, and intrinsic guilt of our law of primogeniture; eschewing all fallacies of church craft and state craft; benefitting every one, without injuring any one;—that the experiment being triumphant there, the mother may at last learn of the daughter, and Great Britain, instead of trying to create hereditary law-makers in Canada may be taught how to reform or to dispense with those she has got at home.

Of the publications at the head of this article, we have only to add, that the "Reports of the House of Commons" are full of interesting facts, the Canadian portfolio full of special pleading and declamation, Mr. Clarke's pamphlet full of plain common sense, Jeremy Bentham's full of singularly expressed crotchets, and Lord Brougham's speech full of bitter personal sarcasm, having more to do with English Ministers than Canadian matters.

ART. IX. BRIEF NOTICES.

The English Martyrology, abridged from Foxe. By CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH. 2 vol. London: Seeley and Burnside. 1837.

These volumes belong to the *Christian's Family Library*, and are well adapted to sustain the reputation, and to extend the usefulness of the series. The name of the venerable martyrologist, Fox, is familiar to every Englishman. His ponderous work was read with astonishing avidity at the time of its first publication, and was amongst the most successful weapons employed by Protestant zeal against the machinations of Rome. It produced probably a deeper and more extensive impression on the public mind than any other uninspired publication in our language. It was read from the palace of Elizabeth to the meanest cottage,—was patronized by nobles and prelates, and was regarded as a bulwark of the Reformation. All parties united in its praise, though the puritan bias of its author deprived him of the preferment to which he was so justly entitled. The present abridgment is a seasonable publication. It is executed with taste and judgment, is written in an attractive style, and cannot fail both to instruct and gratify. We regret to perceive that the fair authoress is but imperfectly acquainted with the principles of religious liberty. It was not

unnatural that the sainted Edward should refuse his sister permission to celebrate her religious rites. His education, and the circumstances of his times, fully account for his conduct. But it is much to be regretted, that in the present day his conduct should be justified, and the urgent entreaties of Cranmer and Ridley be represented as a sacrifice of truth 'to the pestilent doctrine of expediency.' Nor is justice done to the Catholics of the day. Bonner and Gardiner are undoubtedly to be ranked among the worst specimens of a bad class; but it must not be forgotten that they received harsh and cruel treatment from Edward's counsellors. They brought to the work of persecution the memory of grievous wrongs, and acted as bad men, under such circumstances, naturally would. In condemning therefore their conduct, during the reign of Mary, we must not forget their treatment under her brother.

The Magazine of Natural History. and Journal of Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Geology, and Meteorology. Vol. I. New Series. Conducted by EDWARD CHARLESWORTH, F.G.S. London: Longman and Co. 1837.

Mr. Charlesworth is entitled to much credit for the manner in which he has sustained the character of the *Magazine of Natural History.* The circumstances under which he assumed the editorship were sufficiently discouraging, but we are glad to perceive from the general tenor of his preface, that he is 'nothing daunted.' It would be a disgrace to the British public generally, and to that section of it in particular which is interested in the researches of Natural History, if such a Journal were permitted to sink. It has done good service to one of the most instructive departments of human inquiry, and is yet fresh and vigorous. Such of our readers as are engaged in the studies embraced within its province, cannot do better than enrol themselves immediately among its subscribers.

The Secret Disciple encouraged to avow his Master. By the REV. J. WATSON. London: Ward. 1838.

This small publication owes its origin to a series of lectures delivered by Mr. Watson, to his late charge at Union Chapel, Islington; and is admirably adapted to mature and perfect the impressions made by his ministry. His retirement from so important a sphere of labor is one of the mysteries of God's providence, but we are encouraged to hope, by the appearance of the present publication, that our Author will be enabled to fill up another and important department of labor, in which he may yet be greatly useful to the church of Christ. His present production is characterized by a mild, earnest, and persuasive style of address, eminently suited to engage the best feelings of the heart. Ministers and heads of families will do well to put it into the hands of those who are the objects of their solicitude and care.

The Christian Warfare Illustrated. By ROBERT VAUGHAN, D. D. London: Tract Society, 1838.

This is a valuable work, which we are glad to meet with in so portable and cheap a form. The Tract Society cannot better fulfil its vocation than by rendering such volumes accessible to all classes of the community.

An Elementary English Grammar, upon an entirely New Principle. By W. H. PINNOCK. Effingham Wilson. 1837.

Mr. Pinnock has exploded many of the absurdities which abound in Murray's Grammar. Most of his exercises are rational. This is what cannot be said of Murray's. The book is divided into chapters and lessons. Some hints also are given to teachers, which cannot fail of being useful as long as teachers require to have words put into their mouths for them. The exercises are certainly the best we have seen.

The Pilgrim's Progress, from this World to that which is to come. By JOHN BUNYAN. With a Memoir of the Author, by J. A. ST. JOHN, Esq. London: Rickerby. 1838.

A very neat edition of one of the most popular and useful works in our language. The Scripture passages referred to in the text are pointed out at the foot of the page, and an extended and carefully prepared Index is prefixed. Mr. St. John's sketch of the life and writings of Bunyan adds greatly to the value of the edition, though it fails to do full justice to the deep spiritual significance of the allegory.

A New Derivative and Etymological Dictionary of such English Words as have their origin in the Greek and Latin Languages. By J. ROWBOTHAM, F.R.A.S. London: Longman. 1838.

This work is intended to explain such scientific and technical terms, as are not always to be found in common dictionaries, or are not fully illustrated. The words are arranged according to the number of syllables; one, two, three, four, or five. The following extracts will serve as a specimen:

'Clí-max, ς.—κλιμαξ (klimax), a gradation or rising by steps. A figure in rhetoric in which a word that ends the first member of a sentence, begins the second member, and so on progressively.

'Radí-cal, α and ς.—*radix*, a root. Original, primitive; fundamental. ς. The source or foundation whence any thing originates; a primitive word; in *politics*, one who seeks fundamental changes in the constitution.' The Greek derivations come first, then the Latin. The explanations may not always be complete; but the book will be useful to those who know nothing of the learned languages.

Art. X. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Preparing for early publication, under the patronage of the London Missionary Society, A History of Madagascar, in connexion with the Protestant Mission; from its Commencement in 1818 to the Present Time. With an Account of the Country, the Religion, Manners, and Customs of the Inhabitants, principally in the interior. By the Missionaries on the Island. Edited by the Rev. Wm. Ellis, Author of 'Polynesian Researches.' In 2 vols. 8vo., with Maps and Plates. Price not to exceed 30s. Subscribers' names received by Fisher, Son, and Co., London.

The Rev. H. F. Cary, so well known as the Translator of Dante and Pindar, is engaged in editing a series of the British Poets. The first volume, containing Pope's Poems and Translations, will shortly be published.

Thoughts on the Past and Present State of Religious Parties in England, including the Substance of a Discourse delivered at Union-street Chapel, Southwark, Jan. 2, 1838, by Professor Vaughan, D.D.

A History of the Fossil Fruits and Seeds of the London Clay. By James Scott Bowerbank, F.G.S. The subject of this work has been the study of Mr. Bowerbank for many years, during which time more than 120,000 specimens have passed through his hands. As many species as can with certainty be determined will be drawn and engraved by Mr. James de Carl Sowerby.

A Geographical and Comparative List of the Birds of Europe and North America. By Charles Lucian Bonaparte, Prince of Musignano.

A new Volume by Mr. Maunder, on the plan of his 'Treasury of Knowledge,' entitled The Biographical Treasury, &c., &c., which is said to contain about Ten Thousand Memoirs of Eminent Persons of all Ages and Countries, brought down to the present time, will appear during the month. Independent of the 'Lives,' there are about 3500 Maxims and Precepts, arranged in a similar manner to those in the preceding Work.

Literature and Art.—According to the Supplement to Bent's Monthly Literary Advertiser for 1837, which contains Alphabetical Lists of the New Books and Engravings published in London during last year, there appears an increase of New Publications, the Number of Books amounting to 1380, (1800 volumes,) exclusive of New Editions, Pamphlets, or Periodicals, being 130 *more* than in 1836. The Number of Engravings is 96, (including 38 Portraits,) 10 only of which are engraved in the Line manner, 71 in Mezzotinto, and 17 in Chalk, Lithography, &c.

Mr. Lister's 'Life of Edward, First Earl of Clarendon,' with Original Correspondence and Authentic Papers, never before published, is very nearly ready.

Dr. Lindley is about to publish a 'Flora Medica, or a Botanical Account of all the most remarkable Plants applied to Medical Practice in Great Britain and other Countries.' The work will embrace the medicinal uses for which the plants are known, careful descriptions of them, an investigation of the evidence upon which officinal substances have been assigned to particular species, and an adjustment of the nomenclature to the most correct botanical standard.

Mr. Bakewell is preparing a new edition of his 'Introduction to Geology,' corrected throughout.

Just Published.—The Pictorial History of England; being a History of the People as well as a History of the Kingdom. Illustrated with many hundred Wood-cuts of Monumental Records, Coins, Civil and Military Costume, &c., &c. Vol. I.

The Rural Life of England. By William Howitt. 2 vols.

The Miseries and Beauties of Ireland. By Jonathan Binns, Assistant Agricultural Commissioner of the late Irish Poor Enquiry. 2 vols.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR MARCH, 1838.

Art. I. *General History of Civilization in Europe, from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the French Revolution.* Translated from the French of M. GUIZOT, Professor of History to La Faculté des Lettres of Paris, and Minister of Public Instruction. Oxford: D. A. Talboys. 1837.

WE cannot but regret as Englishmen, and by such alone perhaps shall we be forgiven, that our lively neighbours on the continent should have forestalled us in furnishing the world with a Christianized Gibbon upon correct principles. The distinguished statesman, whose name adorns the head of this article, has been crowned with the *Doctarum hederæ præmia frontium*, for which he will be congratulated and lauded by the very latest posterity. An historian himself of high reputation, he knew precisely how to appreciate a work like the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire: and equally aware of its defects, he some time ago undertook and completed an edition of it, which without any mean omission of note or text, has developed all the advantages, and neutralized all the poison, of his favourite author. In other words, he displayed the superiority of truth over error, by just bringing them into juxta-position. Under his auspices, the *Gibeonites* of literature (if the pun may be pardoned) are turned into hewers of wood and drawers of water for the service of the sanctuary. No volumes of such extent and erudition, ever proceeded from a more malicious pen, than those from the Recluse of Lausanne, which astonished Christendom half a century ago, and called forth the Iö Pœans of every infidel in Europe: whilst in no instance has the annihilation of impudence and falsehood been more triumphant than in the appendices and illustrations of the Minister of Public Instruction. France, therefore, may well be

proud at having set an example, which England saw too tardily followed, when Professor Milman and Mr. Murray, at length announced their intention of taking the hint, and becoming imitators, where they might have been originals.

M. Guizot, however, still felt something short of being satisfied with his well-earned honours, and with even the glorious labours of presiding over a new system of national education, centered at Paris, but extending from Belgium to the Alps, and from the Rhine to the Pyreneés and the Ocean. He has recently published, amongst other treatises, this series of fourteen Lectures on the General History of Civilization. They are indeed excellent. One may imagine that Philosophy and Genius had entered his closet, and unveiled before him a panorama of the kingdoms of the world. Not that there is a mere nomenclature of men and things unfolded in regular sequence; for much more than this was essential to his purpose. The sources and causes of events; their hidden fountains ramifying through early periods; their descending course along the valley of ages; their sinuosities, overflowings, and expansions, are all represented to the mind. Every fact and idea, in his simple yet powerful pages, seem rendered so beautifully plain, that we see their contents without recollecting the medium of vision. He has contrived to make us forget it in the perfection of its transparency. The illusion is as complete as it is delightful. We stand by his side, or sit at his feet, and hear, and look, and marvel. Like an eloquent sage, he ravishes the soul, through the eye and the ear; through the imagination, the mind, and the heart. His lectures are living pictures, full of scenery and inhabitants. We purpose to analyze them in order, freely offering our remarks as we proceed; and to conclude with a summary of those circumstances, which strike us as applicable to the present day.

The first lecture introduces his subject, with a compliment, as is natural, to his native country; and which is in truth by no means an undeserved one. Many persons know with what intuitive sagacity Napoleon would often observe, that a Revolution in France was a Revolution of Europe. By geographical position, as well as by many associations with the past, La Belle France was for a protracted period the focus of western illumination. Italy, however, outstript her in the arts,—Holland in commerce,—Switzerland in political institutions,—and England in both the last. Yet it is asserted, that no single principle of civilization has ever been started, which in order to become universal, has not first passed through France: and it must be admitted that there is something of sociability and sympathy in the genius of the French,—something in their manners and popularity of mind, which penetrates large masses of men with greater ease and success, than occurs in the temperament of any other

nation. Guizot then shows that civilization forms the most interesting fact of history: although it is so general in its nature that it can scarcely be seized; so complicated, that it can scarcely be unravelled; so hidden, as to be scarcely discernible, in aught besides its grand results. He proves that it consists of two elements, —the progress of society, and the progress of individuals; that these are necessarily connected together, and must, sooner or later, produce one another. The following extract will require no apology:

'If we now examine the history of the world, we shall have the same result. We shall find that every expansion of human intelligence has proved of advantage to society; and that all the great advances in the social condition have turned to the profit of humanity. One or other of these facts may predominate, may shine forth with greater splendour, for a season, and impress upon the movement its own particular character. At times, it may not be till after the lapse of a long interval, after a thousand transformations, a thousand obstacles, that the second shows itself, and comes as it were to complete the civilization which the first had begun; but when we look closely, we easily recognize the link by which they are connected. The movements of Providence are not restricted to narrow bounds; it is not anxious to deduce to-day the consequence of the premises it laid down yesterday. It may defer this for ages, till the fulness of time shall come. Its logic will not be less conclusive for reasoning slowly. Providence moves through time, as the gods of Homer through space; —it makes a step, and ages have rolled away! How long a time, how many circumstances intervened, before the regeneration of the moral powers of man, by Christianity, exercised its great, its legitimate influence upon his social condition! Yet who can doubt or mistake its power?'—pp. 20, 21.

He then glances, with majestic magnificence of language, at the future destinies of our species; and mentioning, that of the two branches of his subject, he can pursue but one, he passes forward to the social state,—to the exterior events of the visible world, as considered apart from the description of civilization in the human mind. We have only to remark further upon this lecture, that concurring as we do in its general outlines, and believing with the eloquent author, that civilization is as yet in its infancy, the period (he must be reminded) is rapidly gliding away, during which his own nation and literature will be able to maintain their position in the van of the intellectual universe. As numbers in the Republic of Letters, Germany has been culminating fast as to all that constitutes erudition and mental power; whilst England and America united, must ultimately mould the mind of our species, from the Arctic regions to the Gulf of Mexico,—of nearly the whole missionary field with its harvests of results untold,—of the maritime coasts of southern and west-

ern Africa,—of the insular continent of Australia,—and of India, from Cape Comorin to the Himmalaya Mountains!

His second lecture treats of European Civilization in particular, its distinguished characteristics, its superiority, and its elements. In looking backwards, that he may compare the past with the present, he is struck with, and attempts to demonstrate the supposed unity of ancient civilization, as contrasted with the variety of that which is modern. We feel satisfied however, that he is here carried away by a distinction without a difference. The distance and proximity of the respective objects have alone misled him; for could we but become intimately acquainted with the details of even the Heroic Ages, we should find man, whether as an individual or social being, exactly the same in substance as in later times; although receiving impressions from external circumstances, and so far externally modified. But the real substantive unity or variety, we are ready to contend, remains unaltered amidst the lapse of generations. Prospects from afar often deceive us into erroneous notions of their beauties and analogies; until closer inspection opens up the reality, perhaps on the ruins of some darling delusion. There have always been, since society began, gradations of wealth, influence, and enjoyment; powers temporal, spiritual, monarchical, aristocratic, and democratic; all too, not unseldom in a state of vehement struggle among themselves, for the mastery over one another. True it is, that in modern days, a greater breadth and extent of the historical field is brought under investigation at once; and this generates and fosters the idea of there being an inherent variety in later annals, as opposed to the homogeneity of ancient ones. The superiority of modern civilization is neither more nor less than the self-evident progress of society, both in arts and arms. When the Roman Empire fell, its institutions, opinions, ideas, and sentiments, were the elements which the ancient world bequeathed to the moderns. Rome, in her origin, presents nothing else than a municipal institution; a characteristic shared by her with the Latins, Etruscans, Samnites, and Sabines, which were all so many confederations of cities. Villages must have been rare, if existing at all. The country was cultivated but not peopled. Proprietors dwelt in cities, while their slaves tilled the ground. When Rome became the queen of nations, we find that she conquered or founded a host of cities; with them she fought or treated; and to them she sent her colonies. Military roads connected with her capitol Antioch or Jerusalem in the east, and the Gallic towns in the west. Her monuments bear upon their fronts municipal features; destined as those monuments were for the use of large populations crowded into a single spot. In this way she bound together a host of little states, waiting for their fetters to burst asunder, before they could manifest their possession of

administrative forces and principles, as qualified them for ate existence. The apparent external cohesion lasted until arbarians broke in upon the empire. Down to that event, ainwork of functionaries, subordinately arranged, knit to- er the people and the imperial court, serving to convey to ety the will of the government, and to bring to the govern- it the obedience and tribute of society.' Yet revolution lay at hand. Internal corruption united with external enemies. e after wave of the vast northern deluge thundered against leven Hills. Their empire, shattered and reeling, dissolved into its original elements. It had been formed of cities, into cities it separated. The preponderance of municipal ations became everywhere again visible. This preponder- was one of those living principles which survived the general uction; and another was the recollection of imperial or abso- power. Both underwent a passage through the iron furnace dalism, as will subsequently be seen: yet between this new m, and the old one, intervened the Church. Its clergy had ted their institutions to the decayed imperial government, in ing its language and pretensions; but they had also acquired derable weight from their acquisition of municipal offices. apparent, from the Theodosian and Justinian Codes, that erous enactments had transferred the management of cities the weak and despised *Curiales*, to the bishops and their dinates; who, having monopolized the slender knowledge of times, succeeded to power, as a matter of irresistible neces-

We have no space to dwell upon the advantages or disad- ges resulting from these changes; and upon which so many nes have been written. The barbarians dealt with matters ey found them: and although to superficial observers it may ar that they behaved very much as a bull would do in a china , we may acknowledge that amidst all their havoc, an enor- debt of gratitude is due to them for transplanting personal pendence, from forests and wildernesses, into more genial s; where clothed, and in its right mind, it could minister to velfare of man, and transform his servitude into freedom. spirit of loyalty, which they also brought with them, laid broad dations for the monarchies and aristocracies of the mediæval modern ages.

the third lecture we discover how curiously the various sys- of civilization lay claim to legitimacy; by which is meant ity of time, as constituting the source of right,—as proof that power claimed is a legitimate one. In other words, prescrip- and not violence, is the great sponsor and nurse of all govern- s whatsoever, according to our author. He portrays the century, and indeed the whole barbaric period in Europe, as haos of all the social elements; the childhood of all the sys-

'tems; a universal jumble, in which even strife itself was neither 'permanent nor systematic.' The state of persons and of institutions at this time is then brought before us. Of the former, there were four classes, namely, patrons without superiors,—vassals holding under them,—freedmen,—and slaves. Yet every part of this society was in motion, like the atoms of Epicurus. Property he allows to have been either allodial or beneficiary; but he laughs at the regular and established order with regard to the latter, laid down with so much precision by many lawyers. He believes that benefices for terms of years, those for life, as well as those which were hereditary, may be found in cotemporaneous existence; and that even the same lands, within a few years, passed through all these different stages. There was nothing more settled in the state of property, than in the state of persons, or of institutions. These last present monarchy, aristocracy, and free deliberative assemblies, as also existing simultaneously together. Fixedness seems in fact to have been an idea unknown: nor were nations themselves in a better condition. Kingdoms, so called, and their boundaries, changed, moved, produced new confederacies, made temporary sensations, and then sank into oblivion. Society, throughout that era, could exhibit nothing but barbarism from two causes:—one material, arising from the continuance of invasion; the other moral, arising from the intellects of man. The operation of the material cause was developed in the achievements of Alaric and the Goths, Genseric and the Vandals, Attila and the Huns, Odoacer and the Heruli, Clovis and the Franks, Theodoric and the Ostrogoths, Alboin and the Lombards, not forgetting the Saracens in the south; and in the north, east, and west, the Sarmatians, Alans, Burgundians, Sueves, Anglo Saxons, Danes, Normans, Slavi, Russians, Avars, and Hungarians, from the fifth to the fourteenth century. The workings of the moral cause were displayed in the egotistic individualism peculiar to the barbarians; and which, from their extreme rudeness, became mere selfishness, brutalism, and unsociability. The principles which raised Europe from such degradation, were the instinct for improvement inherent in the human breast, the fragments of Roman recollections, the influences of the church, and the occasional appearance of great men, like Charlemagne and Alfred. The Visigothic laws are also mentioned, but in terms of praise quite opposed to our own view of them. M. Guizot describes them as a code drawn up by the philosophers of the age,—the clergy! We acknowledge their origin, but agree with Montesquieu that they were puerile, full of error, and contradictory; rich in rhetoric, but poor in sense; frivolous in their contents, though prodigious in their pretensions. We conceive with Von Müller, that they contributed to stamp an impress of superstition on Spain, which ages have not been able

ffiace. It is true that in their judicial proceedings oral testi-
ıy had not as yet been superseded by ordeal, and that the lives
ıll men were held to possess equal value before the law; yet
t inhuman were the punishments inflicted, and intense was the
ıty they maintained. The Minister of Instruction in a Catho-
ountry, may be excused perhaps for lauding the Council of
edo, and its prelatical constitutions: but the judgment of
y enlightened protestant will concur, we think, with the sen-
ıe of the Esprit des loix; Les Evêques eurent une autorité
ıense a la cour des rois Visigoths; les affaires les plus
ortantes etoient decidées dans les conciles. Nous devons
code des Visigoths toutes les maximes, tous les prin-
s, et toutes les vues de l' Inquisition d' aujourdhui; et les
nes n'ont fait que copier contre les juifs des loix faites autre-
par les evêques. Liv. xxviii. cap. 1. Any attempt, however,
rganization could scarcely fail to be of some importance; a
ark which will apply to the compilations made at different
ods, and in their respective countries, of the Burgundian,
ic, Ripuarian, Lombardic, and Germanic Codes, besides those
he Saxons, Frisons, Bavarians, and some others. In the sur-
ng cities also, there remained sparks of civil life and order.
; Charlemagne has always appeared to us as the grand Colos-
with one foot upon ancient, and the other upon mediæval
ory; soon overturned indeed, and his empire broken in pieces,
furnishing in its fall, very ample materials for the Feudal
tem which succeeded him.

This system occupies the fourth lecture; nor has a better ac-
nt been ever given of it in a small compass. M. Guizot, in
formity with the spirit of the age, continually passes from the
estigation of circumstances to that of ideas,—from an exposi-
ı of facts, to the consideration of doctrines. He observes,
t wherever barbarism ceased, feudalism sprang into being. All
ıgs were given in fief, estates, rights, privileges; even the
plice-fees of the clergy: whilst in many cases, feudal forms
vailed without the presence of its principles. It was as though
n and breast-plate were to be universally worn; the coat of
il being a cover for the hierarchies and theocratic dogmas of
: church, as well as for those of royalty, nobility, municipali-
, and popular pretensions. Each of these stalked abroad in
: same livery, and pressed with heavy hands upon an unen-
htened age. The changes produced were prodigious, even in
ysical life. As was before remarked, the influential classes of
iety had hitherto dwelt in cities; but they now turned their
s towards a residence in the country. A baron, selecting
ne solitary spot in that part of his domain most fortified by its
ation, there erected his castle, settled his dependents around
n, received some ghostly father into his establishment, built a
ırch for the village in the first fit of sickness, and made his

chaplain its curate. Here were the beginnings of rural monarchy, manor-houses, fortalices, game-laws, and the landed interest. Far as he could see from the top of his tower, the noble felt himself to be proprietor, and therefore a man of immense personal consequence. The Roman patrician was an aristocrat of a totally different kind; being the member of a corporation living united in the same place; and deriving his importance extrinsically from a connexion with that body alone. In other words, he was no more than one of a constellation: but the feudal lord was a star shining by himself; sometimes of the first magnitude; now and then propitious; oftener baleful; yet at all events a conspicuous object in the social firmament. Without superior, to extort more than a nominal allegiance from him, he exercised an immediate control over a host of inferiors; and large was the harvest of tribute, servitude, or homage, which he never failed to exact from them. Hence arose the haughtiness of caste, with a heart as hard as adamant, and a hand with an itching palm. The only check consisted of domestic pleasures; for, in the ingle-nook, by the hearth-stone, sat his lady-mother—a sybil and chronicler to the family; his wife was as much head over her maids, as he over his vassals; whilst the offspring of their love sported along the floor, and smote the rock of selfishness with affection and smiles. Women and children may be called the visible angels of this world's life, and feudalism afforded few other companions during many a long and dreary winter; except when war, or the chase, or festivals, made the hall resound with revelry. Females, therefore, acquired extensive influence; which, from the tendencies of our nature to extremes, degenerated into the romance of chivalry. Some good, however, was sure to proceed from it, notwithstanding the establishment of primogeniture and inheritance, to which our professor attributes more beneficial effects than we do. But if within the moated walls there thus existed a germ of alleviation; without them, all was hateful. Between each great man and his serfs, regarding the latter as his fellow-creatures, we find neither rights unmarred by tyranny, nor political guarantees reposing upon any other basis than despotism. The friendly or humane sentiments, occasionally prevalent amongst proprietors here and there and the cultivators, are a class of exceptions to the general rule. They grew up in spite of their relation, and by no means through its influence: for from the former, originated that deep invincible abhorrence, entertained through successive generations by country people, toward the entire feudal system; unconnected as it was with moral authority; and being usually little else than the development of individual will, or personal caprice. Even the religious element, associated with it, could render slight relief, at ast during its earlier stages; and during its later ones, every at mpt at regular organization became more and more impossible. There was

no grand central authority to overawe licentiousness, or superintend the administration of justice. The vast mass was nothing less than a congeries of contrarieties, without order, standing armies, efficient police, regular taxes, or fixed tribunals. Force, instead of law, was the soul of the system. The right of resistance, recognized in this strange state of the community, engendered private wars, and a series of similar evils; each opposed to stability, by its very nature. Even its external aspect, surveyed in its entirety, was federative,—theoretically the most simple, and practically the most complex form of government under the sun. Affecting to vest in a thousand overgrown proprietors so much of sovereignty as they could exercise, and allow to the suzerain, or parliament of barons, the least possible portion of it, there was requisite for its successful operation, a maturity of reason, and a halcyon-calm in the circumjacent society, which we look for in vain, when every male was a soldier, every labourer a slave, and every habitation a fortress. We agree, therefore, in the assertion, that feudalism, though occasionally potent in the development of individual character, and for defensive purposes, was essentially weak for all beneficial objects, and antagonistic to the general welfare of society.

We proceed to the two next prelections, devoted to the Christian church, from the fifth to the twelfth century: and it must be borne in mind, that our author purposely and carefully distinguishes between the creed and the institutions of Christianity. Waiving any consideration of the former as a religious system, he concentrates attention on the church as an ecclesiastical society or corporation,—in other words, upon its hierarchy. We will give an extract, with the reader's permission.

'A single glance may be sufficient to convince us, that there existed in the fifth century, an immense difference between the state of the church, and that of the other elements of European civilization. I have pointed out as the primary elements of that civilization, the municipal system, the feudal system, monarchy, and the church. The municipal system in the fifth century was no more than a fragment of the Roman Empire, a shadow without life or definite form. The feudal system was still a chaos. Monarchy existed only in name. All the civil elements of modern society were either in their decline or in their infancy. The church alone possessed youth and vigour; she alone possessed at the same time a definite form, with activity and strength; she alone possessed at once movement and order, energy and system; that is to say, the two greatest means of influence.'

—pp. 130, 131.

Surveying it as an independent society, we have laid before us, in interesting analysis, its internal constitution, its relations with temporal rulers, and its influences upon the people. The condi-

tions of legitimacy Guizot shows to be the same in the government of a religious society, as in all others; namely, that authority should remain in the hands of the most worthy, with due respect for the liberties of the governed. The church, during the period under review, having been a corporation and not a caste, answered, he thinks, to the first of these conditions, through the various modes of nomination and election, whereby any man might mount to her highest dignities; so different from the state of affairs, in an aristocracy, with its exclusive principles of inheritance and primogeniture. But he admits that it failed as to the second condition, by her denial of the rights of reason, and abusive employment of compulsion. This is perhaps as fair a concession as could have been expected from such a quarter. It is most naively observed, that 'nothing tortures history more than 'logic.' He allows that her extension of supremacy over the mind and conscience could not but be unlawful; and that it was encountered by a resistance within her own bosom, amongst her own members, which neither force nor decision could ever overcome. At the same time, this internal struggle prevented total stagnation; and even led to activity, and a certain liberty of thought; whence no inconsiderable portion of her power was derived. As regarded her relations with sovereigns, one of her objects was to convert them to her faith, with a view to the security of their own souls, and her immunities; since unless she did this, there seemed infinite danger of her being shared out, amongst secular and hungry assailants, like the dead body of the Levite's concubine. Carnal as her spirit had become, she took the way of the world, in going about her peculiar work. The barbarians were to be allured to embrace her 'by grand spectacles.' In fact, she became all things to all men, that by all means *her* religion might be nominally extended, and *her* opulence really increased. With the same purpose, she went further, and revived a doctrine far from novel;—that the spiritual power must be independent of the temporal. In her weakness, martyrs and confessors had urged it, though too often in vain; but in her strength, superstition took despotism by the beard, whilst the boldest trembled at her anathemas. Verily she had horns like a lamb, yet spake as a dragon! 'The principle of free inquiry, 'the liberty of individual thought, is exactly the same as that of 'the independence of the spiritual authority in general, with 'respect to temporal power.' This is correct, as an assertion; but we can never shut our eyes to the motives actuating the ecclesiastical hierarchy of those ages. Availing itself of the universal darkness, as well as of every other favourable circumstance, as time evolved it, priestcraft enthroned itself on the necks of prostrate princes, and a subjugated people. It bound kings in chains, and nobles with links of iron. It separated the

governors from the governed. The laity became mere lookers-on in every sense of the word; except that hireling-shepherds scourged their persons, or robbed their purses; and then sold their souls, by cheating them, with apples of Sodom, for the fruits of the Tree of Life. It is pleaded, however, in mitigation, that something like public opinion prevailed, so that the clergy were not altogether without check or control; yet M. Guizot must permit us to observe, that this was nothing more than the brute instinct of fear, which puts the most savage Nimrod on his guard, or moderates the uplifted arm of the blood-thirstiest slave-driver. It is true, that even nominal Christianity shed some benignant radiance upon these ice-bound ages; yet its professing ministers, so far from hailing the Sun of Righteousness, gloried in the density of his obscuration; and celebrated each successive eclipse with cymbals and dances. The movements of the human mind thus became retrogressive. Theology, so termed, which engrossed the little literature or science then prevalent, was composed of ignorance and paganism in combination with tyranny and cruelty; while prelacy and power saluted or resisted civil authority, for their own selfish purposes. But we dare not trust ourselves to launch out among such prolific subjects. Guizot hastens to review the church, under a four-fold survey of its imperial—barbarian—feudal—and theocratic aspect. He touches upon the monastic orders, and the revival of free inquiry in the controversies of Abelard and St. Bernard. In noticing the penitentiary system, he gloats over a discovery, which will relax rigidity itself into a smile;—namely, that ecclesiastical legislation, in the theory of its punishments, was analogous to the dreams and desires of no less a philosopher than Jeremy Bentham!

Having thus disposed of feudalism and the church, another fundamental element of civilization, that of the commons or free corporate cities, occupies the seventh lecture. After the fall of the Roman Empire, towns, from the fifth to the tenth centuries, were in a state of neither servitude nor freedom; but they suffered all the evils of weakness, whilst a certain portion of their importance still remained. The vestiges of their municipalism survived. Messieurs de Savigny and Hullmann, and Madelle. de Lézardierè, have accumulated evidence, that in many cities, the convocation of a local senate, of the curiæ, of public assemblies, and similar remnants of the imperial period, must frequently have occurred. As barbarism and disorder accelerated depopulation, the agricultural life, clad like its predecessors in armour, came upon the scene. Warriors, resident in the country, waxed potent, as we have already observed. They acquired dominion over the soil, cultivated it through their serfs, and disdaining labour themselves, dictated during a certain interval to the declining cities; until these last, ascending in their turn, reversed the order of things,

retaliated upon their feudal oppressors, and brought about a different era. The golden tides of commerce carried new w and aspirations, to the doors and hearts of homely, but h burgesses. They rose, therefore, more or less simultane against their suzerain-robbers, the noise of whose archers w the places of drawing water. Houses of citizens had be dwellings of strength. The ground-floor served as an e room for the family; the first story held the master and his the second his servants and children; with a small look-out these, and an angular square tower flanking the entire habit Portals and windows frowned with the means of defence. A several hundred such domestic castles there ran stout wall deep ditches, with barbicans at the gates, draw-bridges ove rivers, and all the enginry of war along the ramparts. Her the cradle in which wealth rocked freedom. Amidst a tho vicissitudes in the protracted struggle, charters were extort won, or purchased; oppressors were humbled, and mun liberties consummated. Connexions now ensued between c rations and crowned heads. The formation of a great social was the necessary result,—comprising merchants and smal ders, landed or house-proprietors, preferring an urban to a life; and to these were added, as the transitionary interval forward, lawyers, physicians, men of letters, and local m trates. We thus discern the grand difference between Eur and Asiatic civilization. In the latter, the system of triumphed over that of classes; but in the former, throug mercy of Providence, the exact converse has followed. Ca the parent of immobility. Classes produce progress; and very struggles, which are sure to ensue, increase its momen A variety of interests, passions, and excitements, throws o manner of ill-humours in the process of their salubrious effe cence; until harmony and union take the place of discord; the general prosperity comes to be based upon the interests It has been already remarked, that the Roman world presen vast coalition of municipalities; from each of which, as it conquered, the rights of local sovereignty were transferred t central authority at Rome. Thus nothing was left a town b its civic existence. The municipal system became change was no longer a political government, but simply a mode o ministration. During the transitionary period of the Dark the attributes of sovereignty and administration got entan and confounded. Municipalities became sovereigns, or adm trators, as circumstances might require. Local power, how at all events returned to them: they threw off every yoke time; and when, as was often the case, there was no one able to govern them, they governed themselves. Not that h wore one uniform aspect. Its adventitious varieties were

merable. Features of feudalism frequently continued from cities having vassals of their own; and the vices, as well as the virtues of such communities, need no recapitulation. On the whole, their internal organization may be reduced to two simple elements,—an assembly of the inhabitants, and an executive invested with almost arbitrary power.

The eighth lecture furnishes a beautiful sketch of European Civilization, which Guizot divides into three great periods;—first, that of Formation; during which the different elements of society assumed an existence, disengaged themselves from disorder, and showed themselves in their native forms, down to the twelfth century:—secondly, the Period of Experiments; during which these elements entered into combinations, and which lasted until the sixteenth century:—thirdly, the Period of Development; which commenced in the sixteenth century, and is now pursuing its course. Premising, that the crisis of the modern monarchical principle hardly took place before the thirteenth, or the preceding century, he thus addresses his students:

'You have seen the origin of the feudal aristocracy, the church, and the municipalities; you have observed the institutions, which would naturally correspond with these facts; and not only the institutions, but the principles and ideas, which these facts naturally give rise to. Thus with reference to feudalism, you have watched the origin of modern domestic life; you have comprehended in all its energy the feeling of personal independence, and the place which it must have occupied in our civilization. With reference to the church, you have observed the appearance of the purely religious form of society, its relations with civil society, the principle of theocracy, the separation between the spiritual and temporal powers, the first blows of persecution, the first cries of liberty of conscience. The infant municipalities have given you a view of a social union founded on principles quite different from those of feudalism.'—pp. 233, 234.

'From the fifth century, society contained kings, a lay aristocracy, a clergy, citizens, husbandmen, civil and religious authorities; the germs, in short, of every thing necessary to form a nation and a government; and yet there was no government, no nation. In all the period, that has occupied our attention, there was no such thing as a peopl properly so called, or a government in the modern acceptation of the word. We have fallen in with a number of particular forces, special facts, and local institutions; but nothing general, nothing public, nothing political, nothing in short like real nationality.'—p. 235.

This nationality he considers to have commenced with the Crusades; in which all Europe concurred, so as to invest them with a sort of universal characteristic. Then ensued the heroic ages of modern times, comprising movements at once individual and general; national, and yet not under political direction.

Their moral origin lay in the impulse of religious belief; their social one, in a love of adventure. Both underwent considerable modification, before the close of the thirteenth century. Europe had learnt many new lessons by being thrown upon Asia. Men neither believed quite the same dogmas, nor acted from the same motives. An emancipation of the mind, up to a certain point, had taken place, which quickened the progress of society towards the attainment of yet more enlarged and liberal ideas. The Greeks and Moslems astonished the Occidentals with their wealth and luxury. Cairo and Constantinople awakened some taste for splendour and refinement, if not for the sublime and beautiful. Mongol emperors also entered into relations with Christian princes against their common enemies the Turks. M. Abel Rémusat has discovered that, while Flemings, French, and Italians, found their way to the court of the Great Khan, charged with the affairs of diplomatic missions, Tartars of distinction came to Rome, Barcelona, Valentia, Lyons, Paris, London, and even Northampton! A Neapolitan Franciscan was Archbishop of Pekin; who moreover had for his successor a Parisian professor of theology! The horizon of knowledge extended, especially towards the East; and beyond all doubt, many more persons travelled thither, than were able to give an account of their wanderings. Arts, religions, and languages, attracted attention, as connected with regions never dreamt of before; and these were of equal importance, to say the least, with the silks, and gems, and porcelain, which became such incentives to commerce. Nor was this all. The tempest of war and enterprise had blown aside some of the scarlet garments of that Babylon, who was the mother of mysteries and abominations. The vast influence, and possessions also, of feudal chieftains, fell away through their absence from home, and the expenses of their foreign expeditions. Property and power got in some instances more concentrated, in others more diffused; but altogether, were flowing into new channels. The large territorial fiefs, like whales, swallowed up the smaller fry; and as Leviathans, took their pastime accordingly. They were about to become real kingdoms, and develope the monarchical principle. Numerous fresh points, and centres, were thus formed in society; so as to render its subsequent operations capable of being carried out upon a more magnificent scale. Tendencies to centralization absorbed exclusive localisms. Imagination waned before industry. Sovereigns threw aside adventures for political projects; as the people also did, for the sake of trade and manufactures.

And now appears monarchy upon the stage. The ninth lecture is devoted to its consideration. The elements of the social state, from having been more numerous and various, were reduced to two; governments on the one hand, and the people upon the

other. Among the former, the predominant sway of an individual over his fellows, after having pressed them down into the condition of subjects, becomes very general. Such a state of things had existed in Asia from time immemorial; nor were matters different, so far as we know, in either Africa or America. The patriarchal impress had never been erased from those regions. Europe however underwent, as we have seen, a multitude of changes; nevertheless, as Guizot remarks, not only has monarchy penetrated almost every where, but 'it is like a head that may be 'placed upon many different bodies,—a fruit that may grow from 'many different buds.' Force had a large share both in the origin and progress of the institution; yet force, in the history of society, may be compared to the body in the history of man. 'It 'holds an important place, but is not the principle of life. Life 'circulates in it, but does not emanate from it. Such is also the 'case in human society; whatever part force may play, it exer-'cises no supreme control over its destinies: this is the province 'of reason, of the moral influences, which are hidden under the 'accidents of force, and regulate the course of society.' The points of view, whence monarchy may be surveyed, are its unity, permanence, and simplicity, as contrasted with its flexibility and diversity. A meaning comes to be affixed to it, in the public mind, that it is the personification of legitimate sovereignty; of the collective will and wisdom of the people. Hence the motive for their adhesion to it. Common sense however soon demonstrates, that legitimate sovereignty, in its fullest form, cannot safely belong to any individual whatsoever; in fact, that there must be limitations. Every sort of absolute power is therefore radically illegitimate. Yet monarchy seems well suited to certain periods; especially those of anarchy, when mankind are struggling to regulate themselves, and are unable to do so by the free concurrence of individual wills. It then operates as the loadstone of society, strong in a certain direction, and that direction its centre. Equally surprising too are its flexibility and diversity. Guizot considers, that monarchy, in modern Europe, has put on every character, which it has ever exhibited in the history of the world,—whether imperial, barbarian, religious, or feudal. The first summed up the entire state in the power of the emperor: the second had election as its primitive source and essential character, although modified into a sort of tanistry, the chief being chosen from certain families: the third substituted royalty in the place of God, under the conviction that deified heroes were the ancestors of kings, a principle, which when Christianized, presented the prince still as a vicegerent or delegate of the Deity, but for the glory and good of the church upon earth: the fourth was an abstract theory, not seldom reduced to practice, since the suzerain over suzerain, or the lord of lords, possessed

only sounding titles, and little power. A kingdom was the megacosm of a fief: a fief the microcosm of a kingdom: yet the mere name of king, as borne by a feudal leader, seemed less expressive of a fact, than a remembrance. In the twelfth century, however, all began to change, crowns became hereditary, instead of continuing elective. Feudalism waned away into an awful shadow,—a gigantic tradition,—a ghost in steel, like that of Hamlet's father, or its counterpart in the castle of Otranto, sufficiently alarming to work occasional mischief, but vanishing at even the cock-crowing of the dawn of knowledge. Amidst multifarious disorders, mankind invoked royalty to crush aristocracy, or anarchy. The idea of a great magistracy, which should protect the weak, and administer justice even between the strong, grew up in the public mind. In France, it sprouted above ground under Louis le Gros, and the administration of the abbot Suger. The character of redressers of wrongs enabled monarchs to intervene in affairs not strictly their own, and gradually erect a throne out of the tribunal of justice, with order working as their minister. In this manner, many circumstances, small at first in themselves, contributed as before mentioned, to reduce all the social elements to those two,—the government, and the nation, which now characterize European society.

The tenth lecture is on the attempts made by sundry politicians to reconcile jarring passions and opinions, so as to induce them to act in common, and form one society, under one and the same central power. Three classes of such attempts Guizot supposes to have already occurred,—namely, those which had for their object, theocratic, republican, and mixed organizations respectively. All these resulted in lamentable failures. The endeavour, made by the church, broke down from the inherent nature of christianity, repugnant as it is to any contact with worldly power; from the pride and resistance of the feudal nobility; from the state, and more particularly the celibacy of the clergy; and from the internal revolutions of Christendom. 'Gregory the seventh 'wished to render the world subservient to the clergy—the clergy 'to the pope—and to form Europe into one immense and regular 'theocracy.' But the mind of his holiness was the sublime of folly: for in proclaiming his designs to the world, he awakened, or rather greatly quickened, its watchfulness. Surely in vain is the net spread in the sight of any bird. In attempting more than mortal arm could achieve, the mighty sorcery of his machinations got overstrained. Imposture indeed almost always wears out its part; while the mask cracks and peels off, as if by a great law of providence, before men can pluck up courage to hoot at the wearer. Re-action against ecclesiastical despotism shook the finger of scorn at its menacing and mendacious pretensions. Waldenses and Albigenses fanned the embers of expiring reli-

gion. Saint Louis asserted the independence of temporal authority, and published the first pragmatic sanction,—the Magna Carta of the Gallican church. Wickliffe, in our own country, rose as the day-star of the reformation. Sovereigns and people, for the moment, made common cause against the reeling harlot of the apocalypse. An incipient emancipation of the laity may be dated, or at least traced, from the close of the thirteenth century.—Then must be enumerated the efforts at democratic organization, more especially in Italy. Barbarian nobles there enrolled themselves among burgesses. The conquerors and conquered mingled together, within the same walls, to oppose foreign masters, whether Frankish sovereigns, or German emperors. Circumstances of climate and situation favoured them; and many cities shot up into states. The Italian republics, however, neither afforded security for life, nor any beneficial development of liberal institutions. They degenerated into paltry monocracies; *tot reges quot urbes!* Nor did matters for a long time turn out better in the south of France, or the north and east of Spain. Towns swelled into opulent fiefs, and these were to subside into kingdoms; although in Provence, Languedoc, and Acquitaine, they aimed at forming themselves into free republics. Guizot looks upon the Albigensian crusade, as having been a struggle between feudal and municipal France, in which the former quaffed blood, and triumphed! The Swiss confederacy was more fortunate. Austria would fain have crushed it; but Alps and glaciers fought for the Cantons. So also in Flanders, and Westphalia, as well as along the Rhine, rich communities of merchants preserved certain rights and privileges for themselves, but not for others. They smiled as oases of liberty in a wilderness of despotism; subsisting partly through their commercial leagues, and partly from the glimmerings of comprehension which circumjacent potentates manifested, that if such geese were killed, there would be an end to their golden eggs. Yet it was an affair of sufferance upon the whole. Coalitions constantly sprang up, in different parts of Europe, amongst potent and avaricious nobles, against free cities. Chivalry, the idol of conservatism, has in all ages gnashed its teeth against industry, as the source of wealth, and the homely friend of freedom. There can never be any thing more than a truce of God between them! Thus we see, that the republican attempts at general organization proved inefficient, during the mediæval period. But from the fierce, infernal war of aristocracies upon corporations, arose the mixed governments of a states-general—Cortes—Parliament—Storthing—or Diet. In these, we behold nobles, clergy, and a third estate, blending together, and labouring to unite into one sole society, under the same law, and the same authority. These assemblies formed a last resort of princes when in embarrassments, and of the people when under oppression.

Sometimes they were terrible, at others, insignificant. Their performances bore no comparison to their promises. In some of the peninsular kingdoms, their language was like the roaring of lions; their conduct too often like that of the veriest jackals. They mistook insolence for liberty. Yet it was the reverse in England. Her fate, so different from that of the continental states, may be attributed to the absence of any overgrown vassal, able, like a duke of Burgundy, to dictate to the crown; and hence, the individualism of a British noble merged in his coalescence with others. He told for something in combination with them; but for little or nothing alone. The lesser barons also found their way, by a certain chain of events, into another chamber,—that of the commons; where, united with the burgher-classes, they were compelled to assume something more popular in their aspect, than the mere caste of an exclusive order; whilst at the same time, they avoided the rudeness of the Aragonese, and the haughty magniloquence of the Castilians. In Germany, the fusion of classes went forward very slowly. A system, which placed the nomination of an emperor in seven electors, all themselves sovereigns, and three of them ecclesiastics, rendered its external appearance that of a party-coloured harlequin; nor could its internal constitution procure either peace at home, or respect abroad. With regard therefore to most of these enumerated movements towards organization, failure ensued, as the result; for reasons, which may be summed up in the single fact, that society was too local, too special, too narrow, to adapt itself to any general principle of unity, and be the mirror of an Almighty providence.

The eleventh lecture brings before us the period in which, after many efforts, some success at length occurs in the object proposed;—that is to say, we pass from mediæval to modern history. The centralization of nations and governments commences with the sixteenth century: the fifteenth had done nothing more than pave the road for it. Our author finely observes, that—

'It is thus, that man advances in the execution of a plan which he has not conceived, and of which he is not even aware. He is the free and intelligent artificer of a work, which is not his own. He does not perceive or comprehend it, till it manifests itself by external appearances, and real results; and even then he comprehends it very incompletely. It is through his means, however, and by the development of his intelligence and freedom, that it is accomplished. Conceive a great machine, the design of which is centered in a single mind, though its various parts are entrusted to different workmen, separated from, and strangers to each other. No one of them understands the work as a whole, nor the general result, which he concurs in producing: but every one executes with intelligence and freedom, by rational and re-

luntary acts, the particular task assigned to him. It is thus, that by the hand of man, the designs of providence are wrought out in the government of the world. It is thus, that the two great facts which are apparent in the history of civilization, come to co-exist: on the one hand, those portions of it, which may be considered as fated, or which happen without the control of human knowledge or will; on the other hand, the part played in it by the freedom and intelligence of man, and what he contributes to it by means of his own judgment and will.'

—pp. 315, 316.

Guizot, in reviewing the prelude to modern history, proceeds to the examination of the political facts, before entering upon the moral ones. Under the former, all the great countries of Europe are surveyed to exhibit the influence, which the fifteenth century had upon them. Thus France was affected by its grand struggle for national independence against foreign domination. It had borne a feudal character to the accession of the house of Valois, without spirit, patriotism, or nationality. With the Valesian princes its unity began to appear. The coherence of its government however had a later date, under Charles the Seventh, and Louis the Eleventh, when standing armies were formed, and the consolidation of its fiefs tended to their completion. The Compagnies d'Ordonnance, consisting of cavalry, free-archers, and infantry, in assuming permanence, produced most important effects; while to support them as a force against England, the Taille, one of the principal revenues of the crown, was made perpetual. Parliaments also were multiplied, and the administration of justice extended. Diplomacy, moreover, began to supersede force as to foreign affairs; while artifice, rather than violent coercion, regulated domestic policy. Much was achieved, when Louis the Eleventh triumphed over Charles the Bold; for these two princes personified the new and old methods of ruling mankind. Notwithstanding the painful fact, that mere fraud or cunning had become the substitute for force, something seems to have been gained, by the novel habit of appealing to the understanding. Similar phenomena appeared in Spain and Germany, although the inquisition darkened the one, and Maximilian established Austrian preponderance in the other. In England, the war of the Roses subsided into the autocratic tyranny of the Tudors. In Italy, her republics fell under the dukes of Milan, the domination of the Medici, and the royal influence of Naples. Indeed throughout Europe, political centralization, in the shape of regal authority, now proceeded with accelerated strides to overshadow and subjugate the nations. Liberty lay apparently prostrated for ever; yet so far from really being so, was merely passing through her transitionary state of chrysalis. The system thus rapidly dying away, had obtained no satisfactory victories for the general benefit; and another process, evincing greater

powers of organization, was essential to give society security then, and progress afterwards. Now also arose fresh relations of governments with each other. Negotiations grew in importance, and were daily better understood. A balance of interests became the object aimed at, although of course, from the still remaining ignorance amongst the masses, embassies succeeded embassies at the expense of the people, for the profit of monarchs, or their ministers. The moral facts present us with brighter lineaments than the political. Religious opinions were agitated; and the right of private judgment rose like Venus from the waves. In other words, the oceanic chaos of conflicting classes generated intellectual freedom. The residence of the popes at Avignon, and the great ecclesiastical schism awakened not a few reformers of the church, whose schemes and prescriptions however wore altogether an aristocratic character. They were at once sonorous in their professions, and selfish in their nature: the very counterparts of Sancho Panza, when he undertook to lay a certain number of lashes upon his own immaculate shoulders. Councils at Constance, and Basle, played with the outside of a spiritual cancer, as to which honest John Huss, or Jerome of Prague, would have applied more stringent remedies. Not that these worthies did much that could be immediately effectual: but the flames of their martyrdom were harbingers of an approaching illumination. Literature revived. Printing was discovered; and paper made from linen. Antiquity poured her cornucopia of beauty into the lap of learning. The genius of Petrarch and Dante electrified their contemporaries, and their successors, with promethean fire. Enterprize enlarged the boundaries of science in general, and geography in particular. The Cape of Good Hope was doubled, and the western coasts of Africa were explored by the Portuguese. Columbus crossed the Atlantic; and the arts delighted mankind.

But far above all came on the Reformation, which is treated of in the twelfth lecture. Its predominant characteristic was, according to Guizot and Sir James Mackintosh, an insurrection of the human mind against absolute power in spiritual and intellectual affairs. The former judiciously observes, that all historical events have in some sort a determinate career; although their consequences may be prolonged to infinity. Luther emerged into public life in the year 1520, when he burnt the bull of his condemnation at Wittemburg, and thus formally separated himself from the Roman church. The peace of Westphalia in 1648 terminated what may be called the mere historical life of the reformation; looking at it as a simple fact in the annals of the world. From that famous pacification, differences in religion ceased to be leading principles in the arrangements of states. Catholic and protestant powers reciprocally recognized each

other's rights to political existence; notwithstanding occasional outbreaks of bigotry during the remainder of the seventeenth century. The progress of protestantism assumed different phases in different countries. In France, it became the occasion of a new attempt, on the part of the great nobles, to re-possess themselves of their lost supremacy, and obtain an ascendant over the sovereign. This seems to have been the substantive object of the League. After a prosperous interval of repose under Henry the Fourth, such changes were effected in the internal administration by Richelieu, as to elevate the throne and altar upon the necks of the aristocracy, and the popular energies. The religion of the cross, from coming into intimate contact with worldly matters, saw its fine gold dimmed, and its principles shorn of their glory. Under the Spanish branch of the house of Austria, the inquisition suffocated the Peninsula, and led to the emancipation of the Dutch United Provinces. In the north, several new states assumed their places in European polities; namely, Sweden, raised into notice by Gustavus Vasa, and Prussia, formed out of the secularization of the Teutonic order. In our own country, the labour of renovation fell into wretched hands. A lustful tyrant played the wild boar in the rich vineyards of the monasteries; imitated by a set of grasping lords and venal courtiers; who filled their purses, and maintained in its fullest force the alliance between church and state. Meanwhile it was an era of great men, and great events. In Holland there started up a potent republic; in England, constitutional monarchy very nearly completed its triumph. Philosophy and literature blazed conspicuously in the van of universal improvement; and brilliant must ever be the generalizations created by an ardent mind in glancing over this portion of history. M. Guizot, however, puts us on our guard against precipitancy in coming to conclusions; with admirable modesty and wisdom, he observes that—

'No pleasure is more seducing than that of indulging ourselves in determining on the spot, and at first sight, the general character and permanent results of an era, or an event. The human intellect, like the human will, is eager to be in action, impatient of obstacles, and desirous of coming to conclusions. It willingly forgets such facts as impede and constrain its operations; but while it forgets, it cannot destroy them; they still live to convict it of error at some after period. There is only one way of escaping this danger: it is by a resolute and dogged study of facts, till their meaning is exhausted, before attempting to generalize, or coming to conclusions respecting their effects. Facts are for the intellect, what the rules of morals are for the will. The mind must be thoroughly acquainted with facts, and must know their weight; and it is only when she has fulfilled this duty, when she has completely traversed in every direction the ground of investigation and inquiry,—that she is permitted to spread her wings, and take her

flight towards that higher region whence she may survey all things in their general bearings and results. If she endeavour to ascend prematurely, without having first acquired a thorough knowledge of the territory which she desires to contemplate from above, she incurs the most imminent risk of error and downfal. As in a calculation of figures, an error at the outset leads to others, ad infinitum; so in history, if we do not in the first instance take every fact into account—if we allow ourselves to indulge in a spirit of precipitate generalization, it is impossible to tell how far we may be led astray from the truth.'

—pp. 350, 351.

He tells us candidly, that these remarks are made to secure watchfulness on the part of his readers, against his own mistakes; but after again reviewing his conclusions, he thinks, and thinks justly, that it cannot be denied, that wherever the religious revolution of the sixteenth century prevailed, though it doubtless left men subject to all the chances of liberty or thraldom, arising from political institutions, it nevertheless abolished or disarmed the spiritual power, and did much, very much indeed, towards mental emancipation. He finally glances at the weak side of the reformation, (according to the charges of its adversaries,) in its results going beyond its professions: and after due mention of Ignatius Loyola and his followers, he opens up a striking analogy between the vicissitudes of civil and religious society. Both have passed through the democratic, aristocratic, and monarchical stages, into the happier and more enlarged regions of free inquiry; the latter being always foremost in the long and varied career.

Then follows the thirteenth lecture, in our opinion, the ablest of all. Its subject is the British Revolution of the seventeenth century. Few foreigners could have presented so clear and accurate an outline of that series of mighty events. It is almost impossible to abridge it, for every sentence is a page; and every page the concentrated essence of a volume. Having shown that intellectual emancipation and absolute monarchy had triumphed at the same moment over Europe in general, a contest between them became unavoidable:—since the former forced on the decline of the old ecclesiastical authority; while the latter would fain have subverted every vestige of municipal liberty. Our civil wars under the Stuarts, reflected, as in a glass, the mightier struggle for the rights of man, of which the whole habitable world must ultimately be the field, and a millennium the far distant consummation. The earlier commencement of the contest, in England, than on the continent, may be traced to certain free maxims and precedents, of which our country had never altogether lost sight: to numerous local institutions, pregnant with good, such as trial by jury, the custom of bearing arms, and the existence of corporations; and lastly to our parliaments, more than ever important to monarchs with impoverished revenues.

popular desire became irresistible for two things: the completion f the Reformation, but just begun, as our forefathers conceived, n ecclesiastical affairs; and the preservation of that freedom hich was on the point of perishing under the heels of kingly ower. Hence religious and political reformers coalesced against bsolutism, both in church and state; nor, with an obstinate and igoted hypocrite on the throne, could the catastrophe be other- ise than at hand. For the religious party it was a means; for their olitical allies, the expected change was an end: yet the common bject pursued was still liberty. Three principal phases of the Re- olution followed one another; in each of which, the alliance, now lluded to, stood out in strong relief. The first was that of the onarchical reformers, Hyde, Colepepper, Capel, and Falkland— orthy, well-intentioned, short-sighted men, hoping to make ricks without straw; holding a belief in the divine rights of oyalty, under constitutional professions; willing to take one step cross the threshold of iniquity, and then retreat with real or igned alarm, under the incrustation of their antiquated preju- ices. In other terms, they were lowly animals in borrowed skins, -formidable in the judgment of superficial observers; but the rst bray immediately betrayed them. Behind these, were en of sterner stuff, with bolder heads and more honest earts; the section led by Hampden and Hollis, whose iends afterwards connected themselves with Presbyterianism, nd contended for the sovereignty of the House of Com- ons as the representatives of the people. A little more largement of mind would have enabled these to maintain eir ground; but their fault was adherence to religious establish- ents, with the slight change of setting up one sect in the place another. The third party was that of the Independents, with mixed multitude in its rear, and Oliver Cromwell for a leader. heir fate is well-known, and the Restoration equally so, with its gitimate, profligate, venal, and anti-national administrations, under larendon, Buckingham, Danby, and Shaftesbury. Eight-and- venty years of shame passed over the nation; until in 1688, a etter turn in affairs linked Great Britain with the Protestant public of Holland in promoting general civilization. Louis the ourteenth was attempting the extension of his supremacy from e Baltic to the Mediterranean. The Prince of Orange headed e League of Augsburg then formed to oppose his designs. The ena, on which the collision was to be fought out, therefore idened itself; and the conflict was no longer one of parties but f states. It was carried on by wars and negociations thrilling rough the whole framework of christendom. The Stadtholder ossed the channel, from the Hague to London, less to serve the ternal interests of England, than to draw it, as a new force, en- rely into the battle against the Grand Monarque. That otentate had played it off, like a vast park of artillery, against

European freedom, so long as the Stuarts reigned; but by their dethronement, William and Mary gave a new direction to its powers, and effected a breach in the proudest ramparts of despotism.

In this way, then, the struggle of free inquiry and pure monarchy being transferred to the continent, the fourteenth and last lecture takes up the differences and resemblances which have marked the advances of general improvement in England and the continental states; as well as the preponderance of France in Europe,—during the seventeenth century, through the instrumentality of its government, and in the eighteenth, through that of the country itself. The wars of Louis the Fourteenth undoubtedly incorporated with the French monarchy, Franche-Comté, French Flanders, and Alsace; provinces of first-rate importance, however dear the price paid for them in blood and treasure. His diplomacy overawed christendom, whether carried on at the courts of Vienna, Madrid, Lisbon, or Windsor. His internal administration, cruel and oppressive as it proved, sent the will of government to the very extremities of the kingdom; or, in other words, caused 'the action of the central power to penetrate into 'all parts of society, and to concentrate in the heart of that cen-'tral power the means of strength possessed by the society at 'large.' Even his legislation presented a more regular and dignified aspect than had been ever seen before in modern times; as witness the ordinances promulgated on the criminal law, on forms of procedure, on commerce, on the navy, on the forests, and as to the crown lands. Not but that these codes were full of faults; and such, too, as were sure to precipitate the national ruin. Yet the real vice after all of his system, lay in the nature of his own power. Absolutism is neither more nor less than an inversion of the social pyramid. It places upon a point, that which ought to stand upon the widest possible basis. No government can look for permanency, save through the medium of liberal institutions. In France, under Louis the Fourteenth, there existed none of these. Such as had been, were in ruins, and with them had disappeared political habits, and energetic characters. Whatever grandeur might once have attached to the idea of an autocracy went down into the grave with the aged sovereign of Versailles; or passed, under the minority of his great-grandson, into the possession of society at large. The Orleans Regency, devoted to obscene pleasures, allowed scope for that Spirit, which named itself Philosophy, to draw together a magazine of inflammable and explosive materials, whose eruption was to envelope thrones, altars, sacred prejudices, and exclusive privileges, in one common conflagration. During three parts of the eighteenth century, the government at Paris, with small exceptions, had degenerated into a King Log,—a gilded idol,—a monster of putridity and pollu-

tion; enshrined, indeed, in the temple of the state,—but with all its pomp and courtiers the very counterparts of Bel and the Dragon! Meanwhile, large and increasing classes of the people began to read and think; and from the absence of certain obvious advantages, read and thought erroneously. Just in proportion to their mistakes, mounted up their conceit and arrogance. To these, the profligacy of an oligarchy, and the levity of irreligionism, soon added cruelty. The grimaces of the monkey blended with the ferocity of the tiger. Mobs inflamed into mountebank volcanoes. The whole mass of so many millions fermented into corruption, and then reddened into blood. France and her philosophers, like Egypt and its magicians, mocked at the Most High, although groaning under the tenfold scourge of personal punishment and moral darkness. It has led, however, to a nobler state of things, not only for France herself, but ultimately for surrounding nations.

M. Guizot justly notices, that the intellectual movement in France had for a long time the characteristics of pure speculation. Theorists lived in a world of dreams, just as sensualists did in a world of pleasure; and all Frenchmen then belonged to either one or the other. Principles were propounded or developed, as having little or nothing to do with practice. There never probably was a period, when 'the government of facts and external 'realities was so distinct from the government of thought.' Hence indeed originated, as already intimated, that contemptuous haughtiness towards all mankind, which was neither more nor less than the offspring of inexperience and vanity. 'It entertained 'nothing but hatred for the whole social system; it considered 'itself called upon to reform all things; it looked upon itself as 'a sort of creator; institutions, opinions, manners, society, even 'man himself,—all seemed to require to be remodelled; and 'human reason undertook the task.' But we must hasten to a summary notice of those considerations, which are suggested by these lectures, and which appear applicable to the present day.

It strikes us, that there are here very strongly displayed the advantages of such inquiries, as the present, into the annals of mankind. By means of these, a surer foundation is laid for the public mind to work upon, than is likely to occur through the superficial instruction afforded at our schools and colleges. Some smattering of what Livy pictured, or Tacitus witnessed,—or the slightest acquaintance with a few books of Herodotus and Thucydides, in addition to being able to construe the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, may satisfy the requirements of an university professor, or qualify a young member of parliament to quote Greek and Latin in the senate. But towards making persons substantially useful in society, all this is as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. Far otherwise is an accurate acquaintance with what

has been, so as to realize the felicitous description of philosophy teaching us by examples. In every age, history must be an important branch of study; but more especially in one, which promises a royal road to knowledge; which strews the path with flowers; and presents even the lucubrations of a Hume, or a Robertson, in the shape of gilded duodecimos. Too many books are now nothing else than the contents of flagons and decanters, diluted with water, and offered for sale in spoonfuls or wine-glasses. Yet if history is not to be a mere ancient almanack, it must be explored upon enlarged and searching principles. The judgment, as well as the memory, must be exercised. A correct taste, and lofty standard, must be formed, by the delivery of able lectures in our larger towns, and the institution of historical societies, wherever they can be made to support themselves. The ignorance, which even leading statesmen occasionally display, would never be tolerated, were not tenuity respecting this department of knowledge at least very general, or perhaps pretty nearly universal.

Two translations however of the present work by M. Guizot, (for we are given to understand there is another,) seem to indicate an approaching improvement. The publications, in a decidedly handsome form, of the various works by Professor Heeren of Göttingen, at Oxford and in London, afford similar symptoms. Indeed, after every deduction made for the shadows of the picture, as to the state of public information, its brighter hues most clearly predominate. The features of the age are the features of the Baconian philosophy, in the Instauratio Magna,—namely, utility and progress. It therefore behoves a government like ours, entrusted with the welfare of millions, not to drop behind in the social race; lest baser men, grown strong through the possession of more practical wisdom, should trip up their heels, or detrude them altogether from the course. There would then be a fear that systems of abolition might be substituted for processes of reformation. We never expect, or wish the individuals of a cabinet to rise so far above their fellow-countrymen, as though they were children of Anak, or giants of another family than our own: yet we do desire to see then, politically speaking, like Saul the son of Cis, 'higher by the shoulders than any of the people;' and conducting their followers, though without bloodshed or violence, to victory over the Philistines and Amalekites. We care not a rush for the physical stature of a home-secretary; but intellectual pigmies cannot, and ought not to govern the masses. In casting a glance retrospectively through the Roman, feudal, ecclesiastical, and municipal systems, which have just passed across our pages, it appears evident, that a new era demands new energies,—new forms,—and in a certain sense, a new school of rulers, to lead us onward, and upward, in our national career. Not that we are

advocates of change for the sake of innovation. Far from it:-but the remarks of our author, in his discourse on Democracy, exactly describe our sentiments: 'We act a part in human affairs; 'though not so great a one, as our vanity would make us believe. 'God has ascribed to us this, in creating us intellectual and free. 'Such is our mission. It is our interest, our honour, never to re-'sign it. Pascal says, 'If a man extol himself, I humble him; if 'he humble himself, I extol him.' It is our duty, our true 'wisdom, to treat ourselves, as Pascal treats us; to keep our 'hearts both magnanimous and modest, full of the sense of our 'dignity and of our weakness, as remote from inert despondency, 'as from vain pride. We live—we think—surrounded by im-'mense darkness, and our lamp is small: but after all, we have 'it in our own hands; and it is by its light that we walk, under 'the keeping of our Sovereign Master, who gave it us, and who 'guides us.'

As patriots and philanthropists, building our only hopes upon evangelical principles, there is another point which impressed us in perusing these lectures. We allude to the interests of true religion being allowed to take their own unbiassed and glorious course through a separation of the Church and State. So long as this unholy alliance subsists, the aspirations of our forefathers in the seventeenth century, that the Reformation should be completed, will remain unfulfilled. Dissenters have had this lesson by heart for some few generations; but most episcopalians, even among the ranks of the liberals, have got it yet to learn. We adjure them not to delay any longer the fullest investigation of this question,—but to look it fairly in the face,—to measure the vast living temple of the church universal here upon earth, with the golden reed of the sanctuary,—and to allay apprehensions about possible consequences, with the sentence of Him, who declared that, MY KINGDOM IS NOT OF THIS WORLD. We are no bigots to any clique or party, and have no selfish purposes to serve. Warmly attached members of what is called the Church of England have contributed to this journal; and we exclude no man for his religious opinions, provided they be rational, protestant, and orthodox. This is merely mentioned to let our brethren of that communion perceive, that our basis is broad and not narrow;—that our views are comprehensive and not exclusive. We desire the degradation of no sect under the sun; but we demand the equality of all,—and that too for the benefit of all. Until such equality be obtained, jealousy, disunion, and heart-burnings must infallibly continue; so as to paralyze even the arm of Christian truth, whether it be lifted against infidelity, secularity, or Romanism. We repeat it, that all parties must be eventual gainers by the realization of our wishes. Episcopalians would have their episcopacy purged from its prelacy; their church would

have the right and ability restored her of exercising discipline; she would learn to love and to be loved; she would secure a more regenerated pastorate than that which has fostered the growth of non-conformity, and enabled it to divide the land. And what, let us inquire, would Cranmer, and Ridley, and Latimer, and honest Hooper, could they return amongst us, observe upon the existing aspect of affairs? Imagine them paying a visit to St. Mary's at Oxford,—or passing an afternoon in the combination-room at Oriel,—or listening to Professor Pusey:—would they not exclaim, with solemn indignation, *Where are the Protestants?* It must be borne always in mind, that our future prosperity will depend upon the diffusion of genuine, vital, practical godliness throughout the country. But whilst readily acknowledging that its primal source can alone lie in the blessed influences of the Spirit, we cannot forget that the present dispensation is one of means and not of miracles; and that whatever fetters or impedes the harmonious co-operation of Christ's faithful disciples, inflicts a wound upon their common cause, to the advantage of selfishness and sin; of the world, the flesh, and the devil.

Soon, very soon, we believe, that this question, as to the separation between spiritual and temporal powers, will be second to none. The longer it shall be deferred, the more terrible to many will be its settlement, whenever it arrives. Meanwhile, no one can listen to M. Guizot, without feeling that abuses of every kind or sort soever carry within their bosom the seeds of their own dissolution; that all government, whether ecclesiastical or temporal, can only be held in permanence and safety, as a trust for the people; that irresponsibility in any shape is anti-constitutional; that religion is most promoted by perfect freedom of conscience; and that reforms at home are better than aggressions abroad. We may therefore well trust in a beneficent Providence for the result; satisfied that it will ultimately be a splendid one. Scripture declares it: the finger of prophecy points to it: the experience of history demonstrates it. No ear of ours is ever open to the croakings of alarmists, when they reiterate their predictions that virtue is departing from the earth,—that honour and chivalry are gone,—and that the sun of Europe has set for ever. The pleasures of hope never rise upon the pinions of a raven. So far from these gloomy anticipations being sound ones, we are persuaded that their very converse would be more germane to the matter. The real age of chivalry and honour, the genuine grandeur of Europe, has never set, because in truth it has scarcely yet appeared. What has usurped these lofty names turns out to be a fiction and an illusion,—the hallucination of poetry,—or the ignis fatuus of historians. But we are now approaching another and a better era, of which the earliest radiance already streaks the horizon. The sun of Europe is indeed about to ascend,—to

lluminate, but never to decline,—to gild every cloud and outshine very obstacle in its way,—to illuminate and warm every land and ore, until the whole globe revolves in its glory. It will thus ove at once the source and emblem of its own mighty principles; -principles of light, and life, and love,—principles so vehement, pansive, brilliant, and magnificent, that they would be con-med in their own fires, were they not instinct with celestial gour, and burning upon the axles of immortality. There is an a coming, when the throne of freedom shall be reared amidst the ins of all that is base, and the consummation of all that is autiful, in the universe:—when knowledge and experience all have imparted practical wisdom through all classes:—when ligion shall have opened up, before nations as well as indivi-uals, a view through the vistas of time, into those invisible reali-es, by which we are each of us surrounded. This will be the sult of a real Reformation: and every man who promotes it is friend;—every one who opposes it is an enemy to the noblest terests of his species.

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rt. II. *A Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament.* By Edward Robinson, D.D., late Prof. Extr. of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary, Andover, N. A. A new edition, carefully revised and corrected, with some Additions and Various Improvements, by S. T. Bloomfield, D.D., F.S.A., Vicar of Bisbrooke, &c. 8vo. London: Longman & Co. 1837.

The same work, i. e. Dr. Robinson's *original.* Revised and corrected by Alexander Negris, late Secretary General to the Greek Government (1824) at Missolonghi, &c., and the Rev. John Duncan, M.A., Glasgow. 8vo. 1838.

AN eminent German writer, a man of genius and taste as well as a scholar, sixty years ago, blessed God that his day of life had been assigned to what was, in his estimation, the best period that had ever been, for humanity, good order, science, and religion: and he appears not to have indulged in any anticipations of a more desirable state of things in the flow of futurity. That was a period of remarkable torpor, in every respect, political, literary, scientific, and religious. Yet it was the eve of great events. The American War, the struggles in India, and then the French Revolution, soon shook the nations to their inmost souls; and the aroused spirit of human energy did not fail to penetrate every domain of knowledge and improvement. We well remember the time when the Scripture Lexicons of Cocceius and Mintert, of Schöttgen and Stockius, and that of Damm for

Homer and Pindar, filled our ideas of sufficiency; when good editions of Scapula might often be bought for seven shillings, and the best for twenty; and when Wetstein's Greek Testament, Wesseling's Herodotus, and Duker's Thucydides, seemed to our youthful minds the term of superiority never to be surpassed. Had any one then predicted that Scapula's Lexicon would be thrice reprinted in Great Britain, that Classical and Sacred Literature would take that amazing spring which they did between the years 1788 and 1800, and that the gigantic monument of Henry Stephens's Greek learning would be republished in London, and in Holland,—we should have thought him a Utopian dreamer. But these things have now taken place. The scholars of the present day have to felicitate themselves on the easy acquisition of editions of ancient authors far surpassing former ones in editorial ability, in the constitution of the text, and in illustrations of every kind; and the possession of Grammatical books and Lexicons, which carry such provisions to a point of completeness, in knowledge, judgment, and arrangement, that commands our highest admiration.

Biel had done well, in this respect, for the students of the Septuagint; and then Schleusner, much more completely, for both the Septuagint and the New Testament. The advance was great; but higher improvement was soon to follow. The classification of meanings and applications of words remained susceptible of a higher cultivation. Men with transcendent qualifications have put forth their energies in this department, the philosophy of the mind as applied to philology: and they have done it with zeal, enabling them to surmount every difficulty in the arduous toil, and yet with a sobriety of judgment which has guarded them from being seduced into fanciful though fascinating paths. Gesenius and Winer, for the Hebrew Language; and Bretschneider and Wahl, for the New Testament Greek; merit very high commendation. In fact, they, or one of them in each of the departments, are indispensable to the Biblical student. While, in some of these writers, he is pained with occasional sentiments redolent of the Antisupernaturalist school, (yet much fewer than is commonly supposed,) he may acquire, from the very authors, the means of being impregnable to their errors, by the detection and refutation of them upon those solid grounds which they themselves either imply or plainly assert.

No part of the Christian and learned world has shown itself more ready to hear this call, and to carry out the impulse, than the divines of the Theological Seminary at Andover, in Massachusetts: we might more correctly say, none has shown itself equally prompt, laborious, independent, and faithful. The names of Porter, Woods, Murdoch, Stuart, Robinson, Gibbs, Edwards, and others, justly claim a very high place in our esteem and

affection. We have called them *faithful;* for, while they do honourable and grateful justice to the philological merits of the Germans, they yield not their own independence of mind, they fail not in the rigorous examination of every grammatical and interpretative point, and, upon the allegation of the most calm yet powerful reasons, they hold sacred and supreme the honours of Divine Revelation.

One of this valuable class is Dr. Edward Robinson. He has been, for many years, known to us by his labours in the *Biblical Repository* and in other ways. The last summer, we had the pleasure of personal intercourse with him, as he passed through our country on his way into Palestine and Egypt, there to collect all the information that he can, for the great object of Bible-elucidation. He is entitled to our fervent prayers for his preservation and success: for he, and his companion, the Rev. G. B. Cheevers, are not ordinary travellers. Their objects are those of united piety and learning; and especially to make such observations upon climate, topography, relics of antiquity, manners, and the moral condition of the unhappy people, as may confirm or correct the statements of books, may supply additional light to the close study of the Scriptures, and may point out or render more accessible the avenues of Christian compassion and effort.

Dr. Robinson resided some years in Germany, for the express purpose of Biblical and Theological investigations. He was in constant communication with the most distinguished Professors of Halle, Berlin, and other places; with students; and with clergymen of very different views, but especially those who hold the gospel in faith and love 'as the truth in Jesus.' Upon his return to his native country, he set himself to the communication of his riches, and has laboured beyond his strength, so as to bring himself into the danger of becoming 'an offering upon the service 'and sacrifice of our faith.'

This Lexicon is the result of those labours: and it is no slight presumption in its favour that the Biblical scholars of this country have eagerly seized upon it, and republished the two editions upon our table. They are both beautifully printed; the type of the London edition is rather larger than that of the Edinburgh, in the body of each article; but in the latter the type of each leading word, that is, the subject of the article, is larger and consequently more conspicuously striking the eye than that in the former; of both, the paper which is fine and clear, the ink, the marking of divisions and subdivisions in each article, and every other circumstance of form conducing to the comfort of the student, appear to be equal. The Edinburgh edition is precisely the author's own text, corrected with exquisite care by the two distinguished scholars, whose names are mentioned. The publisher, Mr. Clark (to whose zealous, liberal, and disinterested

exertions Biblical knowledge is deeply indebted,) informs us that 'several thousand errors have been detected and corrected, many 'of which were of vital importance:' and that Mr. Duncan has 'inserted many valuable additions, both Critical and Theological,' distinguished by being in brackets.

The chief antecessors of Dr. Robinson are the eminent men whom we have mentioned, Schleusner, Wahl, and Bretschneider; all living authors. To the first of these belongs the praise of having conceived the idea of a Lexicon to the Greek Testament, far more comprehensive and satisfactory than any that had preceded, of having collected a noble mass of materials, and of having taken immense pains to lay them down before his reader in an ample style of exposition and sometimes of discussion. We owe him much, and we should not forget our obligations. After about twenty years, during which the work met with extensive approbation, and passed through four editions, it began to be perceived that this great performance was not perfect. It would have been a miracle if it had been so. No little merit attaches to the having amassed such a treasure of excellent materials, for those who were to come after, and even the very errors in the disposition and application of those materials, are entitled to reverence and the kindest construction; oversights or effects of exhausting weariness in so prodigious a labour;

> 'quas aut incuria fudit,
> Aut humana parum cavit natura. ——'

The complaints made were, that the work was too large and prolix, that it failed in precision as to the laying down of meanings, that in that respect it was sometimes erroneous, that the multiplication of meanings was extravagant, especially in the prepositions and other particles, and above all that there was not a philosophical spirit reigning through the entire process of deriving and classifying the significations. Wahl and Bretschneider, standing upon Schleusner's tower, have been more successful than he in those points which their more advantageous position enabled them to descry more clearly and explore more completely: yet we think it highly probable that impartial judgment, the fruit of longer experience, will bring back to Schleusner's Lexicon a considerable portion of the estimation which it seems to have lost. Apart from all other considerations, the single circumstance of his frequently inserting at due length the passages cited from Philo, Josephus, the Greek and Latin classics, and other authors, instead of merely referring to them by figures which are extremely liable to be erroneous, confers upon his Lexicon a distinction of abiding honour.

It is remarkable that Wahl's *Clavis* and Bretschneider's *Lexicon*

Manuale came out almost quite together, in 1823; and the second edition of each, also at the same time, 1829, in the same city, and by the same publisher. The plan of both is, to a great degree of resemblance the same; deriving meanings from their proper sources, and judiciously disposing them according to a rational descent of affinities. Each has its peculiar advantages, and those so important that a man would not willingly dispense with either; for one of them often supplies what is not to be found in the other. Wahl has an ampler measure of references and illustrations from the Greek classics, and pays much attention to the language as Greek, and in relation to its own grammatical principles: Bretschneider leans more on the connexion with the Old Testament, the Hebrew and the Septuagint, and the light to be obtained from Jewish Antiquities. Both are happy in the deriving and unfolding of significations from the proper primitives; yet in this particular Bretschneider excels: his penetration appears the keener, and his logic the more firm. Wahl's is perhaps the better book for the general scholar; Bretschneider's, for the theological student and the preacher.

In 1825, Dr. Robinson translated Wahl's *Clavis* into English, compressing the two volumes of the original into one. That work found ready acceptance, and was eagerly bought up in the United States and in Great Britain. The indefatigable man applied himself, more than four years ago, to the composition of a *new* Lexicon for the New Testament; and has laboured upon it till its completion, as it now lies before us. But let us hear his own statement.

'In the lapse of eight years, devoted to studies of this nature at home and abroad, the author's own views and principles, in respect to Lexicography and Philology in general, had naturally become farther developed and in some parts modified. In the same interval, too, the progress of science in this department, as in others, had not ceased to be *onward;* new editions of the Lexicons of Wahl and Bretschneider had appeared; Winer had pushed his researches further, and brought the results into a better form; and, above all, the labours and improvements of Passow' [in the fourth edition, and the last before the author's death, of his *Handwörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache,* 2 very large octavo volumes, Leipzig, 1831,—the best general Greek Lexicon ever written,—] 'had been spread before the world. In this state of things, an attempt merely to remodel an imperfect foreign work, seemed hardly advisable. It appeared therefore to the author and his friends decidedly preferable that, calling no man Master on earth, he should go on and prepare, from the New Testament itself and from the auxiliary sources, a new and independent work, adapted to the wants of students in our own country.'—Pref., p. v.

It would be highly interesting to our readers, if we could quote

largely from the Prefaces of both the author and the English editor; for they pour out a flood of most valuable matter: but we cannot so indulge ourselves, and must be contented with one passage more of Dr. Robinson's rich introduction.

'— The science of *Comparative Philology*, which has sprung up within our own days, has already taught us that both the Greek and the Latin are also only members of ONE GREAT FAMILY of languages, which, descending apparently from the mountains of India, have spread themselves over Southern and Western Asia and the whole of Europe; retaining, under every diversity of climate and circumstances, such obvious affinities as give undeniable evidence of a common origin. These *Indo-Europæan* tongues, as they are called, include the Sanscrit, Persian, Greek, Latin, Gothic, German, English, and the other dialects of the Teutonic; and strictly also those of the Slavic and Celtic races. The Semitic languages form a distinct family; though still, in their primary elements, kindred to the former in a greater degree than has usually been supposed. Here too, the first scientific attempt at marking these coincidences as a part of Lexicography, has been made by Gesenius, in his [*Hebrew and*] *Latin Manual* of 1833;' [of which an English translation was carried on by Dr. Robinson concurrently with the present work, and was published a few weeks before it. ED. i. e. *Dr. Bloomfield.*] 'but we apprehend the time to be not far distant, when every Lexicon of the Greek or Latin, or indeed of any of the occidental tongues, will be regarded as incomplete, which shall fail to notice these striking affinities.

'In respect to the Greek, it should also be borne in mind, that there are three great epochs which mark the progress of the language; through all or some of which the different meanings and uses of a word may be traced, with more or less distinctness. These are,—its *youth*, in the heroic or epic poems of Homer and Hesiod, with which may be joined the Ionic prose of Herodotus;—its *prime*, in the palmy days of Attic elegance and purity, as exhibited in the great tragedians, and in the prose of Thucydides, Xenophon, and of Plato;—and its *decline*, after the Macedonian conquest, and still later under the Roman dominion; when the breaking up of the various independent states, the mingling together, in armies, of soldiers enlisted from every quarter, and the founding of colonies and large cities peopled with inhabitants from every part of Greece, and also from foreign lands, could not fail to produce great changes in the language of different communities; which, by natural consequence, would speedily be reflected in the language of books. Thus was formed, *the later Greek idiom*, ἡ κοινὴ διάλεκτος, which everywhere superseded the pure Attic; and of which Aristotle, Polybius, Diodorus, Plutarch, Ælian, and other later writers, are the representatives. Some of the forms peculiar to this later idiom were ascribed to the influence of the Macedonians, and referred to the Macedonic dialect; or sometimes the same forms were referred to an *Alexandrine* dialect, inasmuch as the chief seat of the later Greek culture was in Egypt and its metropolis Alexandria.—The language of

the New Testament is *the* LATER GREEK *language, as spoken by foreigners of the* HEBREW *stock, and applied by them to subjects on which it never had been employed by native Greek writers.* The simple statement of this fact suggests at once what the character of this idiom must be; and might, one would think, have saved volumes of controversy.—' pp. vi., vii., viii.

Dr. Bloomfield is well known and held in high respect for his works, classical and sacred; his *Thucydides*, his herculean *Recensio Synoptica*, his three editions of the *Greek Testament*, in the larger of which the *Notes* are a treasure of practical criticism and interpretation. It can admit of no doubt that he is eminently qualified for the task which he has executed in the republication of Robinson's Lexicon. His Preface goes into various and instructive details. For one citation we must find room.

'When Dr. Robinson speaks of his work being 'formed independ-'ently of all other Lexicons, and the whole as being the result of his 'own investigations,' we must suppose him to merely claim that *qualified* kind of originality, which arises from everywhere exercising his own judgment, after reference when necessary to the original authorities, as to the statements made by his learned and diligent predecessors, and from his frequently adding matter out of his own stores, whether collected from other quarters, or the fruits of his own study and reflection; or, as in most cases, by giving the same materials, when advisable, another form, and moulding them according to his own views; or, finally, by his having somewhat enlarged the plan, and included certain particulars which had not been previously comprehended in any Lexicon. In fact, Dr. Robinson's work, though it be, to a considerable degree, only a very careful and able *rifacimento* of all the most valuable matter to be found in the Lexicons of Schleusner, Wahl, and Bretschneider, yet is enriched by the introduction of several new features, and by the accession of much valuable additional matter, derived either from the best German philologists, for the seven or eight years which have elapsed since the time of Wahl and Bretschneider (especially Olshausen, Schott, Thiel, Winer, Bernardy [?], and Passow,)—together with the results of his own continued study of the Scriptures, under the guidance of strong natural talent, and with the advantage of no inconsiderable acquirements in classical literature. It will also be found that he has every where evinced *his sound judgment*, both by the abler *disposition* of the materials he derived from his predecessors, and especially in more skilfully *classifying* the different significations; wherein consists one of the most arduous of the many labours of the Lexicographer. And here, the Lexicon of Dr. Robinson is in strong contrast with those in general use within a period which some persons even yet remember. . . . . Besides entering more largely into the interpretation of passages of controverted sense, he has aimed at making

the work serve the purpose of a *Concordance;* * and he not only enters into matters of Criticism as to Various Readings, but he even discusses the discrepancies between the Quotations from the Old Testament and the present reading of the Septuagint or the Hebrew original. . . . . Though it cannot be expected that, in a Dictionary, much *doctrinal* or *practical* matter can be introduced, yet it need not be excluded altogether, as is the case in the Lexicons of Schleusner,' [—no; not altogether in his;] 'Wahl, and Bretschneider. If, however, in Dr. Robinson's, there be too limited a portion of the above matter, yet it must be acknowledged that there is every where an air of *seriousness* and a spirit of *piety*, which raise it exceedingly above the works just mentioned. —' *Pref. passim.*

Dr. Bloomfield states at length what he has done for the improvement of his edition. We can only touch upon the particulars. They consist of—revision and correction,—converting some abbreviations into more intelligible forms of notation,—changing some Americanisms and Latinisms into purer English,—substituting clearer terms and phrases for some that are obscure and rugged,—occasional insertions, distinguished by brackets,—and sometimes cancelling what seemed needless or erroneous in etymologies and references. Upon many of these alterations, a difference of opinion might exist: and without such an extended comparison as would be very tedious, and we have not time to make it, we would not venture on approval or reprehension. We are persuaded that Dr. Bloomfield has exercised his learning and judgment with conscious integrity: but it is a very difficult and delicate thing thus to deal with the productions of a living author, especially a work of criticism, in which there is much scope for taste as well as for learning. We also know that Dr. Robinson viewed these alterations with much apprehension, and that many of them, so far as he had become acquainted with them, he decidedly disapproved; and he expressed his fervent wish that his book might be put into the hands of English scholars, just as it had come out of his own. It cannot be doubted, therefore, that, on a comparison of the two editions, he would give his suffrage in favour of Mr. Clark's. But in looking back upon our boyish days, when we had nothing but Schrevelius, Hedericus, and Scapula, we say, happy are the students of the present day; happy is the young man who has these treasures of learned opulence, in either the English or the Scottish presentation of them.

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* In the connexion of this extract, Dr. B. seems to regard this as a feature 'hitherto found in no Lexicon of the New Testament.' Evidently he had forgotten the two volumes of Christian Stockius, which, for both the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament, present a very ample Concordance; only by mere references, and that mode, as Dr. B. intimates, requires too much time to apply to ready use.

Art. III. *Retrospect of Western Trave.* By HARRIET MARTINEAU, Author of Society in America, &c Three Volumes. London Saunders and Ottley, 1838.

WE are not surprised to learn from the short Preface prefixed to these volumes, that Miss Martineau has been solicited to communicate more of her 'personal narrative, and of the 'lighter characteristics of men, and incidents of travel,' than suited the design of her former work. This was to be expected; and we are far from regretting her compliance with the solicitations of friends. There is no country in the world respecting which it is of so much importance that accurate and ample information should be possessed as America. Sprung from ourselves, the Americans have transplanted our qualities to the New World,—have subjected our national character to a new test, and are now exhibiting to our keen observation what we ourselves should become if placed in the circumstances by which they are surrounded. Starting aside from the beaten paths of the Old World, they have struck out for themselves new theories of government and new forms of political institutions. Gathering wisdom from the experience of Europe, they have nobly sought to combine beneficence with stability, to render government the instrument of universal good, to raise the people to their proper elevation, and so to combine the mixed elements of society as to bring out a result in which all should alike rejoice. In the constitution of their government, the rights of each of the contracting parties is sought to be preserved, while a bond of union has been devised sufficiently powerful in the estimation of her most sagacious statesmen, to overbear the interests and to command the fidelity of individual states. The experiment is yet in the course of trial, and though the result does not warrant an absolute judgment, there is much to encourage the hope of a successful issue. Hitherto America has stood proudly among the nations of the earth; and conscious of their advantages, her sons have looked with contempt on the gilded dotage of many European States. They have forced their way against a host of prejudices, and have established their country in the first class of civilized communities. Starting into being but as yesterday they have astonished their contemporaries by the rapidity of their progress, and are now gathering up their resources for yet nobler deeds than their fathers were enabled to achieve.

This phenomenon in the political world has not passed unnoticed by European statesmen. Prodigious efforts were made at first to quench the young spark of liberty on the American soil, and when these failed,—when the arms of her brave citizens drove back the oppressor and enshrined freedom in her holiest

temple, recourse was had to other and more insidious means. The open field of battle was forsaken, only that malice might pour forth her venom, and falsehood her lies, on the people who had proved themselves worthy to be free. No Englishman can look back on the American revolution without regretting the fact that his country was then ruled by men so unworthy to represent her intellect and spirit,—so wanting in the high qualities demanded by their station,—so destitute of that enlarged statesmanship and sagacious foresight with which genius is instinct. But so it was. The obstinacy of the monarch was well supported by the imbecility of his advisers, and the natural consequences followed. Our armies were defeated (and well they might be, for the cause in which they struggled was unholy), our treasures were exhausted, and the national honour was foully tarnished.

But though incompetent to their stations, the leaders of English politics were not unmindful of themselves. The success of the American revolution was the breaking up of the toryism of Europe. It exhibited a spectacle which filled statesmen with dismay, and was therefore to be concealed from the eye of the many by every artifice which a selfish and heartless class could suggest. 'Our craft is in danger' was the cry which resounded through courts and palaces; and all the engines of corruption and power were instantly set in play. The Americans committed, in the judgment of English statesmen, two unpardonable crimes;—they released religion from her degrading vassalage, and made the offices of government subservient to the welfare and happiness of the people. In this policy, they have persisted to the present day, and the hatred borne towards them has remained consequently undiminished. We are far from wishing that the political institutions of America should be transplanted to our own country. They may flourish on the other side of the Atlantic and bear precious fruit, but our soil would prove uncongenial to them. If there be one feature of our national character more conspicuous than another, it is its monarchical predilections. The experiment of a republic was once tried among us under peculiarly favorable circumstances, and by a set of men infinitely above the pigmy statesmen of modern times;—yet it proved an utter failure. The people had no sympathy with it. They looked for the glitter and pageantry of a court, and refused to be satisfied with the equitable rule and solid advantages of a commonwealth. Like children they cried for the toys which had been taken from them, and having first submitted to the military despotism of Cromwell, they afterwards permitted Charles to pollute and curse the land.

But the American revolution, though it terminated in the adoption of a form of government alien from the tastes and predilections of the English people, yet read a solemn warning to the statesmen of the Old World which effectually disturbed their re-

pose. It wrested the rights of the many from the grasp of the few, enlarged the basis of popular representation, and established on an imperishable footing, the responsibility of governors to those for whom they ruled. By this achievement the Mother Country was benefitted almost equally with the Colonies. The popular cause was strengthened in the Old World by its triumphs in the New. There was an identity of interest amid the discrepancy of forms. '*It is not,*' says Sir Henry Vane, one of the purest, and noblest, and most high-minded of men, '*so much the 'form of the administration, as the thing administered, wherein 'the good or evil of government doth consist.*' From this period a large class of writers in our country have laboured sedulously in the work of defamation. Some have uttered calumnies for bread, some from mere love of mischief, and others from the perverting influence of party spirit. Nor has America failed to supply her enemies with plausible grounds for attack Noble as are the principles on which her political edifice is reared, there is a strange want of coherence and honesty in her practice. The domestic slavery cherished in so many of her States is a foul blot to which the finger of tory scorn may point with deadly effect, and her best friends,—her noblest and most virtuous sons cannot efface it. Were we American citizens we should burn with indignation at the dishonour done to the Constitution of our land by so anomalous and demon-like a system. Never will the Republic, with all her energy and vast resources, take her proper station among the nations of the earth till this deep-stained infamy is erased from her escutcheon. But we are forgetting our author and her volumes.

Miss Martineau sailed from Liverpool, Aug. 9, 1834, and landed at New York on the 19th of the following month. Her voyage is pleasantly described, though without any of that stirring power by which a reader is familiarized with the emotions of a voyager on the stormy deep. Her account of the storm, set down by the captain as 'a hurricane in the log book,' is anything but moving. It leaves the deep feelings of the soul unroused, and is too evidently a piece of art. We much suspect that there is wanting in the soul of our author, a capability of entering into the scene so prettily described. Her susceptibility of more pleasing emotions, and her nice powers of observation, are advantageously exhibited in her occupations during the voyage. The following account of some of the revelations made to her attentive gaze is an interesting refutation of the monotony supposed by many to be inseparable from a sea voyage.

'By two o'clock, when the deck began to fill again after luncheon, my head and eyes had had enough of writing, and I joyfully mounted the rail. If I wanted to watch the sea undisturbed, I held a Shak-

speare in my hand. If I carried no book, somebody came to talk. What fleets of Portuguese men-of-war did we see at those hours! I hardly know whether these little mariners of the deep are most beautiful when gliding, rich in their violet hues, along the calm sunny surface of the summer sea, or when they are tossed about, like toys, by rough dark waves. One day, when I was exclaiming on their beauty, a young lady, industriously working at her table-mats, observed that it was very odd that she had crossed this ocean three times, and had never seen a Portuguese man-of-war. I concluded that she had never looked for them, and asked the favour of her to stand by my side for one half hour. She did so, and saw three. I strongly suspect that those who complain of the monotony of the ocean, do not use their eyes as they do on land. It seems to be the custom at sea to sit on deck, looking abroad only when the sun is setting, or the moon rising, or when there is a sail to be speculated upon. Some of the most beautiful sights I caught were when no one else was looking down quite into the deep—the only way to see most of the creatures that live there. One day I was startled, while thus gazing, with an exquisite radiance, like an expanse of brilliant rainbow, far down in the sunny deep under our bows. My exclamation brought one witness to behold, as I did, the distinct form of a dolphin come out of the light. It was a family of dolphins,—the only ones that were seen on the voyage. Many a flying fish darted from the crest of one wave into another. Many a minuet did Mother Carey's chickens trip, with their slender web-feet, on the momentary calm left between two billows. Many a shining visitor came up from the lowest deep, to exchange glances and be gone. I soon found it was in vain to call people to look. These sights are too transient to be caught otherwise than by watching. When a shoal of porpoises came to race with the ship, every one on board was up on the rail to see; and an exhilarating sight it is, when the ship is going before the wind in a rough sea, and the porpoises dart visibly through the midst of a billow, and pitch and rise, and cross each other's path, swiftly and orderly, without ever relaxing their speed, till they are tired of play. It is impossible to help having a favourite among the shoal, and watching him with an interest and admiration which, upon consideration, are really ridiculous.'—Vol. I., pp. 12—14.

Miss Martineau arrived at New York just after the abolition riots had taken place, and a trifling circumstance which occurred on board, must have somewhat damped her expectations of a friendly greeting. Mr. George Thompson was at this time expected in America. The object of his mission was well known, and the infuriated abettors of slavery were prepared to give him a reception worthy of their cause. The Americans attempt to justify their outrageous treatment of Mr. Thompson by alleging the violence and bitterness with which he denounced their national crime. They were all kindness and charity till the fierceness of his rebuke stirred up their darker passions! The following incident will show that before he trod their soil, or reproved their hypocrisy, they were

prepared to imbrue their hands in his blood. They knew the object of his mission, and this was enough to render them his deadly foes. Immediately that the pilot came on board, he was seen by the passengers to be in grave consultation with the captain. But Miss Martineau shall describe what took place.

'"Here he is!" cried a dozen voices at once; and an elegant little affair of a boat was seen approaching. A curious-looking old gentleman swung himself up, and seemed likely to be torn in pieces by the ravenous inquirers for news. He thrust an armful of newspapers among us, and beckoned the captain to the stern, where the two remained in grave consultation for a few minutes, when the captain called one of the lady passengers aside, to ask her a question. What the pilot wanted to know was, whether George Thompson, the Abolition missionary, was on board. He was to have been, but was not. The pilot declared that this was well, as he could not have been landed without the certainty of being destroyed within a week—the Abolition riots in New York having taken place just before. What the captain wanted to learn of the lady passenger was, what my opinions on slavery were, in order to know whether he might safely land me. She told him that I was an abolitionist in principle; but that she believed I went to America to learn and not to teach. So the good captain nodded, and said nothing to me on the subject.'—ib., p. 37.

The chief interest of these volumes is derived from the lively and graphic sketches which are given of the leading men of America. We have met with nothing equal to them in the volumes of previous tourists. Other travellers have pourtrayed the general character of the population, the modes of social life, and the varying degrees of refinement visible in different parts of the Republic. But Miss Martineau was admitted to the homes and fellowship of her public men. The fame of her writings had preceded her; and as it was well known that her pen would be in requisition on her return to England, the officers of government, and the leading members of the senate sought her acquaintance and did her honour. Mr. Livingston's name is well known in England since his embassy to France in 1833, where he was engaged in conducting the difficult negociations between Louis Philippe and General Jackson, which at one time threatened to embroil the two nations in war. Our author met with the aged statesman on board the steam packet on the Hudson, 'his own 'beloved river, whose banks were studded with the country seats 'of a host of his relations.' Mr. Livingston's fame mainly rests on the Louisiana Code, in the preparation of which he laboured with astonishing assiduity and devotedness. The following anecdote furnishes a rare instance of self control and indomitable resolution.

'During the invasion of Louisiana by the British, Mr. Livingston took a prominent part in the defence of the State: and when it was over, undertook, with two coadjutors, the formidable task of simplifying its laws, entangled as they were with Spanish prolixities, and all manner of unnecessary and unintelligible provisions. His system was adopted, and has been in use ever since. In 1820, the system of municipal law was revised at New Orleans, under the superintendence of Mr. Livingston, and his amendments were put in practice in 1823. He was at the same time engaged, without assistance, in preparing his celebrated penal code. When it was all ready for the press, in 1824, he sat up late one night, to ascertain finally the correctness of the fair copy; and, having finished, retired to rest, in a state of calm satisfaction at his great work being completed. He was awakened by a cry of fire. The room where he had been employed was burning, and every scrap of his papers was consumed. Not a note or memorandum was saved.

'He appeared to have been stunned for the hour; but before the day closed he had begun his labours again; and he never relaxed, till, in two years from the time of the fire, he presented his work to the legislature of Louisiana, improved by the reconsideration which he had been compelled to give it. Men of all countries who understand jurisprudence, seem to think, that no praise of this achievement can be excessive.' ib.,p. 71.

At Albany, Miss Martineau met with Van Buren, the successor of General Jackson, and there is an air of mystery about her sketch of the President which stimulates rather than satisfies curiosity.

'There is nothing remarkable,' she says, 'in the appearance of this gentleman, whom I afterwards saw frequently at Washington. He is small in person, with light hair, and blue eyes. I was often asked whether I did not think his manners gentlemanly. There is much friendliness in his manners, for he is a kind-hearted man: he is also rich in information, and lets it come out on subjects in which he cannot contrive to see any danger in speaking. But his manners want the frankness and confidence which are essential to good breeding. He questions closely without giving anything in return. Moreover, he flatters to a degree which so cautious a man should long ago have found out to be disagreeable: and his flattery is not merely praise of the person he is speaking to, but a worse kind still,—a scepticism and ridicule of objects and persons supposed to be distasteful to the one he is conversing with. I fully believe that he is an amiable and indulgent domestic man, and a reasonable political master, a good scholar, and a shrewd man of business: but he has the scepticism which marks the lower orders of politicians. His public career exhibits no one exercise of that faith in men, and preference of principle to petty expediency by which a statesman shows himself to be great.

'The consequence is that, with all his opportunities, no great deed has ever been put to his account, and his shrewdness has been at fault

in some of the most trying crises of his career. The man who so little trusts others, and so intensely regards self as to make it the study of his life not to commit himself, is liable to a more than ordinary danger of judging wrong when compelled, by the pressure of circumstances, to act a decided part. It has already been so with Mr. Van Buren, more than once; and now that he is placed in a position where he must sometimes visibly lead, and cannot always appear to follow, it will be seen whether a due reverence of men and a forgetfulness of self would not have furnished him with more practical wisdom than all his 'sounding on his dim and perilous way.' Mr. Calhoun is, I believe, Mr. Van Buren's evil genius. Mr. Calhoun was understood to be in expectation of succeeding to the presidential chair when Mr. Van Buren was appointed Minister to Great Britain. This appointment of President Jackson's did not receive the necessary sanction from the Senate; and the new minister was recalled on the first possible day, Mr. Calhoun being very active in bringing him back. Mr. Calhoun was not aware that he was recalling one who was to prove a successful rival. Mr. Calhoun has not been President; Mr. Van Buren is so: but the successful rival has a mortal dread of the great Nullifier—a dread so obvious, and causing such a prostration of all principle and all dignity, as to oblige observers to conclude that there is more in the matter than they see; that it will come out some day why the disappointed aspirant is still to be propitiated, when he seems to be deprived of power to do mischief. In 'Society in America,' I have given an account of the Nullification struggle, and of the irritation, the mysterious discontent, which it has left behind.'*

'Perhaps Mr. Van Buren may entertain the opinion which many hold, that that business is not over yet, and that the slavery question is made a pretext by the Nullifiers of the South, for a line of action to which they are impelled by the disappointed personal ambition of one or two, and the wounded pride of the many who cannot endure the contrast between the increase of the Free States of the North and the deterioration of the Slave States of the South However this may be, to propitiate Mr. Calhoun seems to have been Mr. Van Buren's great object for a long time past: an object probably hopeless in itself, and in the pursuit of which he is likely to lose the confidence of the North far faster than he could, at best, disarm the enmity of the South.

'In the spring of 1836, when Mr. Van Buren was still Vice-President, and the Presidential election was drawing near, Mr. Calhoun brought forward in the Senate his Bill, (commonly called the Gag Bill,) to violate the post-office function, by authorizing post-masters to investigate the contents of the mails, and to keep back all papers whatsoever relating to the subject of slavery. The Bill was, by consent, read the first and second times without debate: and the Senate was to be divided on the question whether it should go to a third reading. The votes were equal—18 to 18. 'Where's the Vice-President?'

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* Society in America, vol. i., p. 91.

shouted Mr. Calhoun's mighty voice. The Vice-President was behind a pillar, talking. He was compelled to give the casting-vote,—to commit himself for once; a cruel necessity to a man of his caution. He voted for the third reading, and there was a bitter cry on the instant, —'The Northern States are sold.' The Bill was thrown out on the division on the third reading, and the Vice-President lost by his vote the good-will of the whole body of abolitionists, who had till then supported him as the democratic and supposed anti-slavery candidate. As it was, most of the abolitionists did not vote at all, for want of a good candidate, and Mr. Van Buren's majority was so reduced as to justify a belief that if the people had had another year to consider his conduct in, or if another democratic candidate could have been put forward, he would have been emphatically rejected. Having once committed himself, he has gone further still, in propitiation of Mr. Calhoun. On the day of his presidential installation, he declared that under no circumstances would he give his assent to any bill for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. This declaration does not arise out of a belief that Congress has not power to abolish slavery in the District; for he did, not long before, when hard pressed, declare that he believed Congress to possess that power. He has therefore hazarded the extraordinary declaration that he will not, under any circumstances, assent to what may become the will of the people, constitutionally embodied. This is a bold intimation for a 'non-committal man' to make. It remains to be seen whether Mr. Calhoun, if really dangerous, can be kept quiet by such fawning as this; and whether the will of the people may not be rather stimulated than restrained by this sacrifice of them to the South, so as either to compel the President to retract his declaration before his four years are out, or to prevent his re-election.

'How strange it is to recal one's first impressions of public men in the midst of one's matured opinions of them! How freshly I remember the chat about West Point and Stockbridge acquaintances that I had that afternoon at Albany with the conspicuous man about whom I was then ignorant and indifferent, and whom I have since seen committed to the lowest political principles and practices, while elected as professing some of the highest! It only remains to be said that if Mr. Van Buren feels himself aggrieved by the interpretation which is commonly put upon the facts of his political life, he has no one to blame but himself; for such misinterpretation (if it exist) is owing to his singular reserve; a reserve which all men agree in considering incompatible with the simple honesty, and cheerful admission of responsibility which democratic republicans have a right to require of their rulers.'

—ib., pp. 111—116.

If Mr. Calhoun be supposed to exert a mysterious influence over the measures of Mr. Van Buren, an equal, though more friendly power was universally attributed to Amos Kendall over the administration of General Jackson. Little appears to be known of the habits and private life of this singular man. He rarely appears in public, and when he does so his stay is but momentary. Miss Martineau repaired of course, to Washington

during the sitting of Congress, and was fortunate enough to catch a glance of this spectral politician. She shall tell the tale herself:

'I was fortunate enough once to catch a glimpse of the invisible Amos Kendall, one of the most remarkable men in America. He is supposed to be the moving spring of the whole administration; the thinker, planner, and doer; but it is all in the dark. Documents are issued of an excellence which prevents their being attributed to persons who take the responsibility of them; a correspondence is kept up all over the country for which no one seems to be answerable; work is done, of goblin extent, and with goblin speed, which makes men look about them with a superstitious wonder; and the invisible Amos Kendall has the credit of it all. President Jackson's Letters to his Cabinet are said to be Kendall's: the report on Sunday Mails is attributed to Kendall: the letters sent from Washington to appear in remote country newspapers, whence they are collected and published in the Globe as demonstrations of public opinion, are pronounced to be written by Kendall. Every mysterious paragraph in opposition newspapers relates to Kendall; and it is some relief to the timid that his having now the office of Postmaster-General affords opportunity for open attacks upon this twilight personage; who is proved, by the faults in the Post-Office administration, not to be able to do quite everything well. But he is undoubtedly a great genius. He unites with his 'great talent for silence' a splendid audacity. One proof of this I have given elsewhere, in the account of the bold stroke by which he obtained the sanction of the Senate to his appointment as Postmaster-General.*

'It is clear that he could not do the work he does (incredible enough in amount any way) if he went into society like other men. He did, however, one evening,—I think it was at the Attorney-General's. The moment I went in, intimations reached me from all quarters, amidst nods and winks, 'Kendall is here:' 'That is he.' I saw at once that his plea for seclusion,—bad health,—is no false one. The extreme sallowness of his complexion, and hair of such perfect whiteness as is rarely seen in a man of middle age, testified to disease. His countenance does not help the superstitious to throw off their dread of him. He probably does not desire this superstition to melt away; for there is no calculating how much influence was given to Jackson's administration by the universal belief that there was a concealed eye and hand behind the machinery of government, by which everything could be foreseen, and the hardest deeds done. A member of Congress told me, this night, that he had watched through four sessions for a sight of Kendall, and had never obtained it till now. Kendall was leaning on a chair, with head bent down, and eye glancing up at a member of Congress with whom he was in earnest conversation: and in a few minutes he was gone.

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* 'Society in America,' vol. i., p. 60.

'Neither Mr. Clay or any of his family ever spoke a word to me of Kendall, except in his public capacity; but I heard elsewhere and repeatedly the well-known story of the connexion of the two men, early in Kendall's life. Tidings reached Mr. and Mrs. Clay, one evening, many years ago, at their house in the neighbourhood of Lexington, Kentucky, that a young man, solitary and poor, lay ill of a fever in the noisy hotel in the town. Mrs. Clay went down in the carriage without delay, and brought the sufferer home to her house, where she nursed him with her own hands till he recovered. Mr. Clay was struck with the knowledge and talents of the young man (Kendall), and retained him as tutor to his sons, heaping benefits upon him with characteristic bounty. Thus far is notorious fact. As to the causes of their separation and enmity, I have not heard Kendall's side of the question; and I therefore say nothing; but go on to the other notorious facts, that Amos Kendall quitted Mr. Clay's political party some time after Adams had been, by Mr. Clay's influence, seated in the Presidential chair, and went over to Jackson; since which time, he has never ceased his persecutions of Mr. Clay through the newspapers. It was extensively believed, on Mr. Van Buren's accession, that Kendall would be dismissed from office altogether; and there was much speculation about how the administration would get on without him. But he appears to be still there. Whether he goes or stays, it will probably be soon apparent how much of the conduct of Jackson's government is attributable to Kendall's influence over the mind of the late President; as he is hardly likely to stand in the same relation to the present.

—ib., pp. 257—260.

Some interesting particulars are furnished of the history and party alliances of Mr. Webster and Mr. Clay, which we are compelled to omit, as well as other matters illustrative of the character and views of leading men. We should be glad to transcribe the opinions recorded on some of the topics which deeply engage our own countrymen, but our space forbids our doing more than quote the following. Among the many distinguished visitors who paid their respects to our author at Washington, was Chief-Justice Marshall, a 'tall, majestic, bright-eyed old man! Old by chronology, by the lines on his composed face, and by his services to the republic; but so dignified, so fresh, so present to the time, that no feeling of compassionate consideration for age dared to mix with the contemplation of him.' He was introduced by Judge Story, and his views of the English ecclesiastical system were such as an impartial bystander will be found invariably to adopt.

'The first evening, he asked me much about English politics, and especially whether the people were not fast ripening for the abolition of our religious establishment—an institution which, after a long study of it, he considered so monstrous in principle, and so injurious to true religion in practice, that he could not imagine that it could be upheld for anything but political purposes. There was no prejudice here, as

account of American modes being different; for he observed that the clergy were there, as elsewhere, far from being in the van of society, and lamented the existence of much fanaticism in the United States; but he saw the evils of an establishment the more clearly, not the less, from being aware of the faults in the administration of religion at home. The most animated moment of our conversation was when I told him I was going to visit Mr. Madison, on leaving Washington. He instantly sat upright in his chair, and with beaming eyes began to praise Mr. Madison. Madison received the mention of Marshall's name in just the same manner: yet these men were strongly opposed in politics, and their magnanimous appreciation of each other underwent no slight or brief trial.'—ib., p. 248.

The opinion expressed by the Chief Justice is universal among the Americans, and it would be strange if it were not, for a more anomalous, absurd, and pernicious system, than that of our State Church does not exist on earth. The laborious efforts of our statesmen, both Whig and Tory, to uphold this corrupt and soul-destroying institution, is a perfect marvel on the other side of the Atlantic. The mystery would be unravelled, if the services done to a needy and out-grown aristocracy were understood.

'"I do not understand this Lord John Russel of yours,' said one of the most sagacious of them. 'Is he serious in supposing that he can allow a penny of the revenues, a plait of the lawn-sleeves of that Irish Church to be touched, and keep the whole from coming down, in Ireland first, and in England afterwards?' We fully agreed in the difficulty of supposing Lord John Russell serious. The comparison of various, but I believe pretty extensive American opinions about the Church of England yields rather a curious result. No one dreams of the Establishment being necessary, or being designed for the maintenance of religion: it is seen by Chief-Justice Marshall and a host of others to be an institution turned to political purposes. Mr. Van Buren, among many, considers that the Church has supported the State for many years. Mr. Clay, and a multitude with him, anticipates the speedy fall of the Establishment. The result yielded by all this is a persuasion not very favourable (to use the American phrase) 'to the permanence of our institutions.'—ib., p. 261.

The American senate naturally fixed the eye of our author, and is thus rapidly described:

'When I first entered it, I thought I never saw a finer set of heads than the forty-six before my eyes:—two only being absent, and the Union then consisting of twenty-four States. Mr. Calhoun's countenance first fixed my attention; the splendid eye, the straight forehead, surmounted by a load of stiff, upright, dark hair; the stern brow, the inflexible mouth;—it is one of the most remarkable heads in the country. Next him sat his colleague, Mr. Preston, in singular contrast,—

stout in person, with a round, ruddy, good-humoured face, large blue eyes, and a wig, orange to-day, brown yesterday, and golden to-morrow. Near them sat Colonel Benton, a temporary people's man, remarkable chiefly for his pomposity. He sat swelling amidst his piles of papers and books, looking like a being designed by nature to be a good-humoured barber or inn-keeper, but forced by fate to make himself into a mock-heroic senator. Opposite sat the transcendant Webster, with his square forehead and cavernous eyes; and behind him the homely Clay, with the face and figure of a farmer, but something of the air of a divine, from his hair being combed straight back from his temples. Near them sat Southard and Porter; the former astute and rapid in countenance and gesture; the latter strangely mingling a boyish fun and lightness of manner and glance with the sobriety suitable to the Judge and the Senator. His keen eye takes in everything that passes; his extraordinary mouth, with its overhanging upper lip, has but to unfold into a smile to win laughter from the sourest official or demagogue. Then there was the bright *bon-hommie* of Ewing of Ohio, the most primitive-looking of senators; and the benign, religious gravity of Frelinghuysen; the gentlemanly air of Buchanan; the shrewdness of Poindexter; the somewhat melancholy simplicity of Silsbee,—all these, and many others were striking; and for nothing more than for their total unlikeness to each other. No English person who has not travelled over half the world, can form an idea of such differences among men forming one assembly for the same purposes, and speaking the same language. Some were descended from Dutch farmers, some from French huguenots, some from Scotch puritans, some from English cavaliers, some from Irish chieftains. They were brought together out of law-courts, sugar-fields, merchants' stores, mountain-farms, forests and prairies. The stamp of originality was impressed on every one, and inspired a deep, involuntary respect. I have seen no assembly of chosen men, and no company of the high-born, invested with the antique dignities of an antique realm, half so imposing to the imagination as this collection of stout-souled, full-grown, original men, brought together on the ground of their supposed sufficiency, to work out the will of their diverse constituencies.'—ib., pp. 300—302.

Recent events have interested a large portion of the British community in Mr. Adams, the ex-president, and we must not therefore pass over our author's sketch of him. He has done a noble service to the republic, and to the general cause of human freedom by the fearless stand he lately made in the American Senate for the liberty of speech and the right of petitioning. 'Faithful among the faithless,' he acted worthy of his high fame by sacrificing present popularity to the defence of his country's most sacred rights.

'My chief interest was watching Mr. Adams, of whose speaking, however, I can give no account. The circumstance of this gentleman being now a member of the representative body after having been Pre-

lent, fixes the attention of all Europeans upon him, with as much miration as interest. He is one of the most remarkable men in merica. He is an embodiment of the pure, simple morals which are sumed to prevail in the thriving young republic. His term of office s marked by nothing so much as by the subordination of glory to odness,—of showy objects to moral ones. The eccentricity of thought d action in Mr. Adams, of which his admirers bitterly or sorrowfully mplain, and which renders him an impracticable member of a party, ises from the same honest simplicity which crowns his virtues, min- d with a faulty taste and an imperfect temper. His hastiness of ertion has sometimes placed him in predicaments so undignified as nost to be a set-off against the honours he wins by pertinacious and ld adherence to a principle which he considers sound. His occasion- starts out of the ranks of his party, without notice, and without parent cause, have been in vain attempted to be explained on sup- sitions of interest or vanity : they may be more easily accounted for other ways. Between one day and another, some new idea of jus- e and impartiality may strike his brain, and send him to the House rm with invective against his party, and sympathy with their foes. e rises, and speaks out all his new mind, to the perplexity of the ole assembly, every man of whom bends to hear every syllable he 's,—perplexity which gives way to dismay on the one hand and umph on the other. The triumphant party begins to coax and ho- ur him ; but before the process is well begun, he is off again, finding at he had gone too far ; and the probability is that he finishes by cing himself between two fires. I now describe what I actually tnessed of his conduct in one instance ; conduct which left no more ubt of his integrity than of his eccentricity. He was well described me before I saw him. 'Study Mr. Adams,' was the exhortation, 'ou will find him well worth it. He runs in veins ; if you light on one you will find him marvellously rich ; if not, you may chance meet rubbish. In action, he is very peculiar. He will do ninety- ne things nobly,—excellently ;—but the hundredth will be so bad in te and temper, that it will drive all the rest out of your head, if you n't take care.' His countrymen will 'take care.' Whatever the ats of party may be, however the tone of disappointment against Mr. lams may sometimes rise to something too like hatred, there is un- ubtedly a deep reverence and affection for the man in the nation's art; and any one may safely prophesy that his reputation, half a ntury after his death, will be of a very honourable kind. He fought tout and noble battle in Congress last session in favour of discussion the Slavery question, and in defence of the right of petition upon it, on behalf of women as well as of men. While hunted, held at bay, most torn to pieces by an outrageous majority,—leaving him, I be- ve, in absolute unity,—he preserved a boldness and coolness as nusing as they were admirable. Though he now and then vents his keen with violence when disappointed in a favorite object, he seems ble to bear perfectly well that which it is the great fault of Ameri- ns to shrink from,—singularity and blame. He seems at times

reckless of opinion; and this is the point of his character which his countrymen seem, naturally, least able to comprehend.

'Such is the result of the observations I was able to make on this gentleman when at Washington. I was prevented seeing so much of him as I earnestly desired by his family circumstances. He had just lost a son, and did not appear in society. It is well known in America that Mr. Adams will leave behind him papers of inestimable value. For forty years (I was told) he has kept a diary, full and exact. In this diary he every morning sets down not only the events of the preceding day, but the conversation he has had with foreigners, and on all subjects of interest. This immense accumulation of papers will afford such materials for history as the country has never yet been blessed with. Perhaps no country has ever possessed a public man, of great powers, and involved in all the remarkable events of its most remarkable period, who has had industry enough to leave behind him a similar record of his times. This will probably turn out to be (whether he thinks so or not) the greatest and most useful of his deeds, and his most honourable monument.'—ib., pp. 307—310.

Here we must reluctantly close our extracts, to the omission of several of equal interest, which we had marked for insertion. We need scarcely say that the volumes from which they are taken will richly repay an attentive perusal. There is a freshness and vivacity in our author's descriptions which carry along her readers without weariness, and familiarize them with much of the natural scenery, social life, and political condition of the country. She has evidently consorted with the people, has mingled with their fire-side parties, and seen them in the various modes of private and public life. Her observations are made in a friendly spirit, and her reflections—frequently sagacious—are always characterized by acuteness and good sense. We should be glad to stop here, for we have been much pleased with many parts of her volumes. Justice, however, requires us to say that we frequently dissent from her judgments, and deeply regret the sneering tone in which she occasionally refers to personal religion. It may suit her philosophy to call godliness fanaticism, and zeal for the conversion of men, impertinence and partizanship; but such a pseudo-christianity is utterly incapable of effecting that regeneration of the character and institutions of mankind, at which it professedly aims. It may deplore an existing evil, but it cannot call into existence a new and diviner order of things.

[V. *The Scripture Testimony to the Messiah; an Inquiry with iew to a Satisfactory Determination of the Doctrine taught in Holy Scriptures concerning the person of Christ.* By JOHN E SMITH, D.D. 3 vols. Third edition, improved and enlarged. ıdon: Jackson and Walford.

FORE we can with propriety direct the attention of our 'eaders to this third edition of a work, which, on each of its r appearances, received a distinct notice in this journal, we l perhaps refer to the considerations which have moved us unprecedented, and, as most will agree, unprecedential act. ıot merely the additions and improvements by which the ıt is distinguished above the two preceding editions, h evidencing the most conscientious diligence and care on ırt of its learned author, to render his work, if not worthy of ieme it is intended to illustrate, (as what uninspired publi- can be?) yet of the favour it has met with from so many ers;—it is not merely these, though we shall presently recur m, which have thus influenced us, but we feel it right to ıdvantage of the occasion thus afforded of offering some sin- congratulations both to Dr. Smith and to the Christian . To the latter, that a publication like the present, occu- three considerable volumes, on a topic which, though con- ly of the deepest importance, is not here synthetically ated in those relations which exhibit and enforce its im- ıce, but for the most part investigated as a bare fact, the range of Scripture testimony, whichever way it may r to point, being scrupulously and severely analyzed to as- ı the truth, should in these days of cheap and tempting ure have reached a third edition; to the author, that his and fitness for important service in the church should dur- e preparation of this third edition have been so graciously ed to him. When we remember how severely these have ieen threatened, during the recent revision of his work, it ied matter both of congratulation and devout thankfulness, ly that the venerable author is restored to so large a measure previous health and strength, but that the volumes before us ıt so unquestionable a fulfilment of his desire that each suc- e edition should make some nearer approach to perfection. such conscientious diligence may be exemplary to all er theologians, is perhaps our strongest, as it is certainly eightiest, motive for noticing the newer portions of the

principal additions which have fallen under our eye in the olume, are a citation (pp. 251, 252) from Dr. Hengsten- *Christologie des Alten Testaments* on the announcement, xviii. 18, 19, of the prophet like unto Moses; two others

(p. 449) from J. D. Michaelis and Herr Von Meyer, of Frankfort, on the expression 'Angel of Jehovah;' fourteen pages appended to Book II. chap. viii. sect. iii., on the Book of Enoch; a note (p. 603) on the opinions of Bp. Kaye, relating to the Apologies of Justin Martyr and his dialogue with Typho; and a general supplementary note to the whole volume.

From the passage relating to the Apocryphal Book of Enoch, we extract the following interesting notice:—

'There are some other ancient writings, partly founded on tradition and partly imitative, but unauthentic, spurious, or apocryphal, having a relation to the Old Testament. Of these the most celebrated, and possessing the highest interest, is called *the Book of Enoch the Prophet.* The Epistle of Jude recites a declaration of the divine justice upon the wicked, expressly as made by 'Enoch, the seventh from Adam.' A book is mentioned by Clemens of Alexandria, Origen, and others of the Christian fathers, as the prophecy of Enoch, extant in their times, apparently in a Greek translation from a Hebrew original; but none of them appear to have regarded it as having divine authority, except Tertullian, who considered it as both authentic and genuine. Pretty long portions of it were quoted by George Syncellus, a monk of Constantinople, in a Greek historical work which he wrote towards the close of the eighth century, and which was printed in 1652. From this time it remained unknown; and no doubt the Greek copy, subsisting in very few transcripts, was lost in the wreck of literature during the Middle Ages. After the revival of letters, much interest was felt by learned men on this subject; but the ransacking of libraries was fruitless. The opinion became very prevalent that the book was a forgery after the apostolic age, written by some man who had taken the hint from the Epistle of Jude, and of course worked that passage into his composition. In the seventeenth century, the conjecture was advanced that the work might still subsist in Ethiopia, the modern Abyssinia; and most probably in an Ethiopic translation. The distinguished patron of learning, De Peiresc, spared neither pains nor cost to obtain the desired object. A Capuchin monk imposed upon him an Ethiopic manuscript of no material value; and the fraud remained undiscovered till, many years after, the manuscript was submitted to the great Ethiopic scholar, Job Ludolf. After the lapse of almost two centuries longer, the Scottish traveller, James Bruce, brought out of Abyssinia three manuscripts of the lost long-desired Book of Enoch. One of these he presented to the Bodleian Library, another to the Royal Library at Paris, and the third he reserved for himself. Much more recently, another copy has been discovered by the diligence of the Abbate Maio, among the Ethiopic manuscripts of the Vatican. It was long, however, before any steps were taken for opening this treasure to the scholars of Europe. In the year 1811, the Baron Silvester de Sacy published an account of the Paris manuscript, in a periodical journal, and accompanied it with a Latin translation of a few chapters. Beyond this laudable contribution, nothing effective was done to meet the just expectations of the students of sacred

iterature; and the hope deferred sunk apparently into indifference. ut, at last, this interesting monument of antiquity found an English cholar richly qualified, and as happily disposed, to translate and illus- rate it,—Dr. Richard Laurence, at that time (1821) Regius Professor f Hebrew in the University of Oxford, now Archbishop of Cashel. n his admirable Preliminary Dissertation, he has given a most satis- ctory account of the work, and the circumstances connected with it. lis Grace published a second and improved edition in 1833; and the me year, it was also republished at Jena, in a German translation much aided by Dr. Laurence's English, which is fully acknowledged,) y Dr. Andrew Gottlieb Hoffman, Prof. Theol. at Jena, with his own troduction and Notes, in addition to those translated from the Arch- shop's. It is pleasing to see the respectful approbation of this reign orientalist towards the English dignitary, and his decisive con- rmation of the arguments by which our learned countryman has tab'ished both the date and nearly the place of the original work. hose arguments have proved that it was written (undoubtedly by a ew) in the earlier part of the reign of Herod the Great, consequently out thirty years before the birth of Christ, and most probably in the untry which had been the northern part of the ancient Assyrian mpire.

'Thus, in this extraordinary work, so remarkably brought to our se and enjoyment, we have an undeniable witness to the religious pinions and expectations which were entertained by at least some of ie Jewish nation, before the beginning of Christianity. And the pro- ability is, that the author was descended from those numerous fami- es who had settled in many parts of the Assyrian and Persian terri- ries, and who did not or could not embrace the opportunity, afforded y the edict of Cyrus, of returning to the land of their fathers. Hence he stream of traditionary doctrine was less likely to be corrupted than n Egypt, by a mingled philosophy, or in Palestine, by Pharisaism and adduceism.'—Vol. I., pp. 533—536.

In answer to the question then suggested,—'Does this work supply any addition to our information upon the belief and ex- pectations of the Jews before the Christian era, concerning the Messiah?'—Dr. Smith presents us with a translation of a prin- ipal passage from Dr. Hoffmann's work. The passage, which s a very remarkable one, is too long for our pages, but both it nd the notes upon it, which Dr. Smith has translated, will be urious and interesting to many.

Proceeding to the second volume, which, retaining the distri- ution of matter observed in the preceding edition, commences vith the New Testament evidence, we meet with four additions o the first chapter on the narrative of the miraculous concep- ion. These consist of selections from Olshausen (p. 13), Paulus p. 19), Leighton (p. 23), and a second long and valuable extract rom Olshausen's Commentary on Matt. i. 22, 23, occupying three losely printed pages (30—32), in which the fulfilment of Isa.

vii. 14, involving the principle on which that and other passages of the Old Testament are quoted and applied in the New, is very carefully considered. At the close of the section on Christ's Descending from Heaven (p. 116), we find also in a note a remark from Brucker on the epexegetical use of καὶ.

In the Capitule headed 'Miscellaneous declarations of Christ, 'intimating the existence and action of a Superior Nature in 'himself,' we find (p. 295) an interesting addition to the text, the concluding sentence of which is so characteristic of the author's love of justice, that without pretending to ascribe to Dr. Smith the monopoly of that virtue, it would, had his work been published anonymously, have gone far towards revealing him.

'Upon the Unitarian hypothesis, our Lord, however great and good, the wisest and most virtuous of men, and however richly endowed with the supernatural gift of inspiration, was still a *fellow-servant* with other faithful and inspired persons. He must have had the same wants, trials, and difficulties; and have both needed and intensely desired the same supports which were necessary for them. Yet we find a marked and even astonishing difference in his own conduct, and that which he enjoined upon them. He never claimed indulgence for weakness and oversights; he never put himself upon a par with his disciples, in the circumstance that, though differing in rank, they were servants in common of the one Supreme Lord; he never sought their condolence and moral aid; never did he, penetrated with a sense of the unutterable weight which lay upon him, entreat his friends to 'strive 'together in their prayers to God for him,' that his efforts might be successful, for the benefit of the world; he did not put himself into a similarity of position with them, by joining with them in common supplications, to 'his Father and their Father,' his 'God and their God.' His whole conduct manifested that he stood in a relation to God, essentially different from that which belonged to them: and that conduct appears incapable of being accounted for, if it could have been ever proper for him to say, with the ministering angel, 'I am thy fel-'low-servant,' and of 'thy brethren the prophets.'

'These thoughts have been suggested to me by an esteemed brother in the ministry, the Rev. John Medway, of Melbourn, in Cambridgeshire; and, as it would be unjust for me to appropriate his sentiments without acknowledgment, I think it no more than a plain duty to insert extracts from his own letters, trusting that he will not disapprove of my so doing without having asked his permission; for truth and reasoning are a common property for all men.—vol. ii. pp. 295, 296.

The extracts from Mr. Medway's correspondence will be found in pages 317—319, and are well deserving of attention. On the last of these, however, relating to the solitary character of Christ's devotions, we venture to suggest, for as much as they may be worth, two modifying considerations. First, all the Saviour's devotions were not solitary,—the hymn, for instance, which was

hen he observed the Passover with his disciples, and in-
d his own commemorative supper, supposed by many to be
s cxiii. cxiv., or Psalm cxxxvi. Secondly, if, as seems
than probable, we may infer the character of his other
y vigils from the description given of the agony in Gethse-
where he is as manifestly set forth bearing the burden of
ırse as on the cross itself, we have a sufficiently obvious rea-
r the seclusion which the Saviour practised, without refer-
t to his divinity. The latter reason, at least, is not on the
ple just stated, any otherwise necessary, than as the divinity
Redeemer was essential to the perfection of the Atone-

sing, as we must do, a number of other additions we had
d, (e. g., the citations from Reichard, Nähbe, and Scholz,
i. 402, 403, one from Glöckler, iii. 290, the opinions of
, J. A. H. Tittman, Jaumann, De Wette, and Scholz, on
nstruction of Rom. ix. 5, vol. iii., pp. 305, 306) we arrive,
e Supplementary Notes to Book IV. chap. iv., at a large
ity of additional matter, thrown, we imagine, into the sup-
ntary notes, as being more excursive in its character. Thus
340—342, we have a variety of particulars relating to the
ajah Rammohun Roy, suggested evidently by the quota-
rom the Rev. Deocar Schmidt's letter to that remarkable
ı; in pp. 347, 348, some new matter from the late Dr.
n's 'Ante-Nicene Fathers,' with a brief allusion to his
y character and death; in pp. 342, 343, a representation of
f the modern forms of German Pantheism, from which the
t which follows will probably interest our more studious
rs. Some at least may be glad to have this opportunity of
ing on what sort of *philosophical* basis the divines of Ger-
are from time to time invited to reconstruct their systems
ology.

hn Theophilus Fichte, the person here spoken of, was professor
losophy in the University of Berlin, and died in 1814, at the
52. He attempted to form a new school of metaphysics, in
ip to that of Kant. His system appears to have been a pure
m. His fundamental principle was that consciousness is the
y and indubitable ground of proposition, *I am;* incapable of
because nothing is clearer: I *cannot* disbelieve it. To this which
d *I or myself,* the laws of my nature—[*Can* there be laws with-
awgiver, an intelligent and active personal being?]—*oblige* me to
ıte a *real* and *certain* existence, that which establishes itself, *abso-*
ing. By experience I learn that I have a power of acting: but
ower is limited on all sides by insuperable and incomprehensible
les, which are the *not I;* and this is the whole of objective idea,
, it is the external world, the product of my power to form ideas,
eation made by my own necessary activity. The *I,* thus seeing

itself surrounded by the *not I*, desires and strives after some *arrangement*, by which the objects forming its idea of an external world may be brought into proper relations to itself. This principle of arrangement, applied to moral ideas and relations, is the *moral order* of the universe, that is, it is GOD. Experience teaches that a consistent practical observance of this moral order brings to the conscious *I*, certain feelings or a state, which are agreeable; and this is *happiness*. Hence arises the idea and the practical principle of *moral obligation*: and *religion* is a vital and active belief in the moral order of the universe which further produces a confident expectation of the ultimate success of every good action. According to this philosophy, I have no evidence of the existence of any other being than myself—my own existence is a phenomenon which has occurred without a cause, unless the *I* be self-caused;—the external world is a product of myself, an idea, a phantasm, a nothing;—and it follows that there is no real, intelligent, conscious being which I may call God, since the moral order of the universe is but a group of ideas.

'There is some reason to hope that Fichte renounced, at least, the worst parts of his insane and impious system: for, in some of his later publications, he transposed his *absolute I* into a one absolutely self-existent being, pure life, the rational I, at the summit of the universe, the only real existence. The following remarkable passage is cited from Fichte, but without mentioning the work, by Brentano and Deresser, on Genesis ii. 15:—'Who then educated the first human pair? 'A spirit took charge of them; as an ancient, venerable, primeval 'writing represents, which, taking it altogether, contains the profoundest 'and sublimest wisdom, and discloses results to which all philosophy 'must come at last.'

'Is it not then better and wiser to come to the Bible at first; 'and with our freshest faculties to drink at the well-head of TRUTH?' —vol. iii. pp. 342, 343.

The above instances, taken almost at random, must, we believe, suffice as specimens of the most recent additions to this work. We should not, however, do justice to the design already hinted of pointing out to the attention of younger divines, the exemplary character of that diligence which is so conspicuous in the preparation of this third edition, if we omitted to notice the other improvements by which it is distinguished from the former. Few literary persons will need to be reminded of the amazing amount of energy and labour which, after the comparative slumbers of the last century, has been again aroused and awakened in every department of scientific theology. Though truth will not permit us to claim for our native land any very great share of the honour of promoting this revival, which rests principally with the Germans, it is yet our happiness to see that she at least participates in its results. While America and even France, the latter perhaps principally through the publications of the excellent men who have occupied chairs in the Theological School established

by the Evangelical Society of Geneva, have had infused into their respective ministries and academical institutions, a spirit of study and research both more ardent and more scientific than was formerly cherished, we trust that we are not deceived in anticipating for England the restoration of that fervid thirst for Biblical and Theological learning by which, in bye gone days, the labours of an Usher and a Selden, a Lightfoot and a Gataker, a Walton and a Castell, a Poole and a Beveridge, and to add no more, a Taylor, a Cudworth, and a Howe, were prompted, invigorated, and sustained. Our interest, indeed, is not confined to the scientific branches of theology; nor must our silence here respecting the various important works which have from time to time been since produced by the divines of this country, and which, from the labours of Mill on the New Testament, down to the volumes now before us, and the contemporaneous labours of a Marsh, Middleton, Van Mildert, Burton, Kaye, Burton, Gresswell, Thirlwall, Henderson, Bloomfield, and others, have served as marks by which the course of irrigation may be traced, be understood as indicating any insensibility to their great value or high scientific character. But we cannot forbear to notice the independent and even isolated character of many of these intermediate productions and their authors, (bearing, perhaps, in that very feature an impress of their nationality), or overlook the contrast furnished by an age so marked to the spirit and habits of the present. As this, however, is a subject to which we shall very soon have a favorable opportunity of recurring, we merely add at present, that the immediate publicity which is now given to almost every important contribution to our Biblical and theological stores, forms one among the many facts which furnish us, not only with an explanation of the revival already noticed, but also with our anticipations of yet brighter days. As to every department of sacred learning, whether scientific or practical, it is our earnest and continual prayer that God 'will set watchmen upon the walls of our Jerusalem, who will never hold their peace day nor night.'

Now here the indefatigable industry of our author are conspicuous, that on this widely-revived theological energy he keeps an ever-watchful eye. His pains, in this respect, are untiring. The labours of the early fathers, and their modern editors, critics, and commentators, divines of the old World and of the new, all furnish contributions to his pages. Now from an antique folio, now a modern pamphlet, here from a fugitive 'oratio academica,' or 'commentatio subseciva,' there from a 'Kirchen-Zeitung,' or 'Theologische Zeitschrift;' light is projected in one or another topic of his work. With him it is not enough to have done well. 'Still to *go on* is his whole care;' and the numerous revisions and improvements effected throughout his volumes, in a judicious use of what contemporaneous scholars of this and other nations have written and published since the preceding edition appeared,

afford most honourable testimony that the venerable author, like one of old, is ever forgetting that which is behind, that he may press on to that which is before.

It would be easy to select instances of this description, but our paper must draw to a close. As smaller ones, we may, however, specify the very proper modification of Bishop Marsh's character of Semler (vol. i. p. 597), which appears for the first time in this edition, and a somewhat similar instance which occurs in vol. i. p. 297. But perhaps we shall best convey our meaning on this subject, by enabling our readers to compare a portion of what the author has written upon the celebrated disputed passage, 1 Tim. iii. 16, as it stands in the second and third editions respectively. We may remark, in passing, that the results of this comparison would be much more striking were it in our power to append even the foot-notes to the augmented paragraph; and that, in an extended supplementary note (marked H. pp. 354—362), which is entirely new, there occurs a truly valuable and detailed notice of the labours of Drs. Burton, Henderson, and Scholz, with Professor Stuart's supplementary remarks to those of Dr. Henderson, upon this long-contested passage.

'There is another passage which, if the received text could, by just evidence, be put beyond exception, would be proper here to be introduced. But the enjoyment of *complete* satisfaction as to the true reading, is a happiness not at present possessed by the author of this work. He was long satisfied with the statements and reasonings of Griesbach, Heinrichs, and others: and, though, he has been led by subsequent examination to apprehend that, in this instance, Griesbach's wonted sagacity and impartiality failed him; though he conceives, also, that the verdict of *manuscripts*, and perhaps that of *fathers*, has not yet been collected with the perfection which may, at some favoured time, be hoped for, still he feels that the testimony of *all the most ancient versions*, so far as their respective texts are determined, must prevent a rational acquiescence in the common reading.'—Second edition, vol. iii. pp. 350—352.

'Another and very important passage has been the subject of long and anxious controversy, with respect to the genuine reading of its principal term. 'Great is the mystery of godliness,' God [Θεὸς; other 'reading, ὅ which; other, ὅς who] has been manifested in the flesh,' &c.

'To arrive at a satisfactory determination between the first and the last of these readings (for the second has not such evidence in its favour as to leave any strong doubt), the author of this work has found more embarrassing than he can express. He was long so far impressed with the statements and reasonings of Griesbach, Heinrichs, and others, as to deem the last the safer reading. Now, after long protracted and painful suspense, he is brought to the conclusion, that the *preponderance* of evidence is on the side of the common text; while he is bound to confess, that the reasons in favour of the third reading are so weighty, as to render the whole case very perplexing, and he apprehends, incapable of being determined so as to extirpate all the doubts of a conscientious inquirer. If we regard the authority of

manuscripts alone, in every mode of estimating that branch of the evidence, and upon every system of families, recensions, or classes, he is quite satisfied that the reading, GOD, should be decisively preferred. But, on the other hand, the evidence from the ancient versions, and that from citations or allusions in the fathers, is almost as entirely on the side of *which* or *who*. All those versions, excepting the three which are the most recent, and therefore of the least authority, take this course; and, with respect to the fathers, the major part of them, and the most important as to antiquity and authority, either present to us *which* or *who;* or they have given no intimation how they read the clause, appearing to pass it by entirely, notwithstanding it is obviously of great importance, and the powerful motives under which they must have lain, to produce this reading (if they had it), in their zealous efforts against those who deny the doctrine of the deity of Christ. Learned and ingenious attempts have been made to account for the reading of the Peshito Syriac, and then inferentially for some of the others, but they appear to me unsatisfactory, upon this ground, that the importance and dignity of the clause would have prevented the slurring over the capital word by the mere reference in the pronominal prefix. Feeling, perhaps too acutely, the greatness of the difficulty arising from these considerations, I am most satisfied to regard them as trials of our moral dispositions, impartiality, and sympathy with other minds; and to rest upon the decision of the *highest* rank of critical authorities, the Greek manuscripts.'—Third edition, vol. iii. 321—324.

Upon the special merits of the argumentation, whereby Dr. Smith, in his third edition, reinforces the views which he had before expressed on the principles of inspiration, and the canonical authority of the Song of Solomon, and which will be found in pp. 42, 49—62, of his first volume, we refrain at present from offering any observations, feeling that it would be impossible to do so without extending them to too great a length. Indeed, we know not that we could *fairly* do it, for the question no longer turns upon what is contained in the 'Scripture testimony.' The principal arguments above referred to having been inserted, at the author's request, in the Congregational Magazine, and thus become the occasion of renewed discussion, courtesy at least, if not strict justice, requires that these supplementary pleadings should be closed, before our judgment is expressed. Meanwhile we beg to offer some remarks, which we hope will not be without their use, upon the general aspect of existing controversy, with regard to Inspiration.

The principal questions which are agitated respecting this mysterious but most gracious influence, so far at least as writings are affected by it, may be stated in the following terms:—1st. What writings are instinct with it? 2dly. What is its scope (i. e. object and range); or in what respect and to what extent does it affect such writings? 3dly. What was the mode of its communication and development? On the last of these questions

we beg to refer to what has been already said in this journal, see Vol. VIII. of our 3rd series, in the review of Dr. Woods's Lectures on Inspiration, and especially in the extract there presented from the doctor's valuable work. On the first and second of them we request attention to a few additional remarks.

The first inquiry may be proposed by persons differing, *toto cœlo*, as to their belief in inspiration *as a fact*. The object of him who impugns the fact, will be of course to disprove the inspiration of all and every the writings which are received as canonical. To effect this object he will urge the impossibility and absurdity of inspiration in general; more particularly he will allege the contradictions, inconsistencies, and errors, which he thinks he has discovered in the sacred writings. The argument will be very differently conducted by one who admits and values the fact. His object will be seriously, and without prejudice, to ascertain the truth upon a question of very great importance. By an erroneous judgment on either side, he will feel that the honour and authority of Divine Revelation will be compromised: absolutely, if any writing really inspired be excluded from the canon; comparatively, if inspiration be affirmed of any merely human production. But what field of argument, it may be asked, is open to this conscientious inquirer—to him who, believing in the fact of inspiration, and that inspiration gives a satisfying sanction to every statement or subject included in its range, desires that his mind may be open to GOD's truth, His WHOLE truth, and NOTHING BUT His truth? The arguments to be discussed are both internal and external. Of the latter, Dr. Smith has given a specimen in the considerations he has urged in support of his idea, that the Song of Solomon was not included in the canon which received the tacit sanction of our Lord, and the more explicit suffrage of the apostle Paul: of the former, in the application to that book of his theory respecting the intention and range of inspiration, which is the subject of the second question above stated.

That it is of great importance to a Christian to have just views upon these questions, there is no one who will not affirm. That this is a very general possession among us, we are not so sure. We fear that the views of very many are far from being clear and settled upon these points. On this account we are not sorry that the public mind will be directed to the subject by the letters of Doctors Smith and Bennett. Controversy, as they will conduct it, we consider to be favourable to the cause of truth; since it is when the theological horizon is unsettled, that private Christians can best clear and settle their own particular views; and when important questions are discussed fairly, and in a Christian manner, by men of competent learning, then may the private members of our churches most successfully employ their energies in obedience to the apostolic exhortation, 'Prove all things,—'hold fast that which is good.'

the consequences of such discussions, if any be investigate the soundness of the foundation on which h in revelation is reared, we must remind them that e is the parent of their fear. They dread discovering that lations of their faith are less secure than they have always and wish them to be. But this very fear reveals the character of their (subjective) faith, and is a fatal hin- to its being, what it is designed to be, the *evidence* of seen, an adequate ground of assurance upon spiritual How many thousands are there among those who con- njoy the benefit of an evangelical ministry, and who are tute of what have been significantly called the 'portable' s of Christianity, who, because they have never duly ted the historical evidences of our religion, are, if by they touch or see any infidel book, or hear of any new f infidel sagacity, immediately thrown into the utmost ion and alarm! And why? They have never had the to examine what evidences our religion has to show in its heavenly origin, and their faith is exposed to all the s of their experience. In conclusion, let us remind our hat, while there is not the slightest ground for appre- that Christianity will ever be deprived of the support of on, the date of both the Jewish and Christian religions r to, and of course their existence and Divine authority, t facts, are independent of the settlement of their re- canons of inspired scripture. Nor did all the uncertainty the age succeeding the apostles', we know to have pre- th respect to the genuineness of this or that apostolical prevent either the preservation or dissemination of the faith.

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1. *A Treatise on Geology.* By JOHN PHILLIPS, F.R.S.G S. or of Geology in King's College, London; &c. &c. &c. London: Longman. 1837.

lerations on Modern Theories of Geology, and their Con- or Inconsistency with the Scriptures. By THOMAS GIS-, M.A., Prebendary of Durham. London. 1837.

id Conclusive Physical Demonstrations, both of the Fact and of the Mosaic Deluge, and of its having been the only event kind that has ever occurred upon the Earth. By GEORGE OLME, Esq. London: Ridgway. 1837.

arcely necessary for us to say, that Professor Phillips ven an admirable exhibition of the science of Geology, in it state—so far, at least, as the volume carries us; for it e first of two, we presume, and is devoted chiefly to the rocks, as the second will doubtless be to the unstratified.

His long established eminence is a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy and value of the compendium he has been at the trouble of making, for the public benefit; and, although some parts of it will be found, we expect, too scientific for general readers, all persons desirous of understanding the subject will find themselves amply repaid for its perusal.

Our commendation of Mr. Phillips' work, however, (which constitutes the ninety-seventh volume of the Cabinet Cyclopædia), must not be understood to commit us to the approval of all that is to be found in it. Not that there is any considerable peculiarity in his book. He is one of the geologists of the day, and he follows in the general track. It is with the geology of the day that we are out of humour. Not, assuredly, with the multiplication of diligent and qualified observers, from the north-west passage, to the Himalaya mountains; nor with the patient and repeated observations, by which facts relating to the structure of the earth, are accumulating with unexampled rapidity; but we are displeased with the spirit of geological theorizing, which, as though it would take revenge for the check it received a few years ago, has become, all at once, as we think, rampant in precipitancy and rashness. Thus, for example, is now gravely inculcated in books of *geology*, and by men of the highest name, the doctrine of the primary nebulosity of the planetary bodies, and the production of all liquid and solid matters by condensation, on the gradual cooling down of the gaseous chaos, and its becoming first incandescent, and afterwards temperate. We give a sample of the manner,—the flimsy and unsatisfactory manner—in which such mere speculations as this are now built up to the consistence of a theory. From 'mathematical science and astronomical observations,' we are told—

'It results, 1. That the figure of the earth is an oblate spheroid, such as would be produced by revolution on its axis, provided the constituent matter of the globe were in such a state as to be allowed freely to arrange itself in obedience to the central and tangential forces concerned. 2. It is ascertained as a consequence of the theory of the moon's motions, that the interior parts of the earth are not only more dense than the exterior, but that the inner surfaces of equal density are symmetrical to the same centre and axis as the external elliptical figure.*

'From these observations conjoined, there is no doubt that the matter of the globe, having free relative motion, was arranged under the double influence of central and tangential forces; and consequently, that the substances in the interior must be naturally at least as heavy as those near the surface under the same circumstances.

'Free relative motion to the extent here required, viz. to the central parts, implies a total incoherence or fluidity of the mass of the globe.'

—pp 27, 28.

* See Conybeare in Reports of the British Association, vol. i. p. 408.

But where is the necessity of supposing the interior parts of
e earth are to have had 'free relative motion to the centre?'
id why might not the arrangement of them, in harmony with
he double influences of central and tangential forces,' have been
e act of creative wisdom and power? Is it in any respect pro-
ble, that, if the globe was produced in a solid state, its structure
ould have been out of harmony with the influences to which it
as to be subjected? And yet there is no force in the argument,
less this is not merely probable, but certain. In truth, the
siness of geological theorizing is now taken up by so many
nds, that it acquires the superficial character of ordinary men.
wants the modesty of great minds. The sobriety and caution
Cuvier and Hutton, may well rebuke the inconsiderate haste
d dogmatism of more recent speculators; and the disciples
ould succeed better, if they would cultivate more of the spirit of
eir masters.

One of the most serious mischiefs of the present spirit of geo-
gical dogmatism, is its influence on the regard due to the
spired writings. Among dabblers in this science, there grows
a pert habit of denying the accuracy of scriptural statements,
d of laughing at the belief of them. With them, the inspired
counts of the creation and the flood are truth 'surrounded with
garb of oriental fiction,' and hesitation to admit theories which
validate them is denounced as 'narrow religionism.' Now we
g to say, that we have no doubt of an exact accordance between
e works of God and his word; and that we shall have no mis-
vings, whenever the latter can be *fairly* and *fully* tried by the
rner. But we maintain that this time is not yet come; and
e protest against any attempt to reconcile the sacred oracles
ith *present* geological theories. They are themselves far too
ude and uncertain to constitute a just standard of comparison.

We are sorry that good men have ever made this attempt; and
e may justify this expression of regret by a glance at what has
ready taken place. Alarm was taken by some of the friends of
eligion at the geological theories broached at a former period;
nd eager endeavours were made to reconcile the scriptural state-
ents with *them*. But what is now become of those theories?
eologists themselves have exploded and abandoned them. All
ne pains that were taken to explain the bible by them was, there-
ore, labour in vain; the same work is to be done again, with the
et of geological doctrines at present in fashion. We see *now*
hat the divines of the preceding age ought to have done.
nstead of being frightened at the geological theories, *they ought*
ot to have admitted them. They should have treated them as,
hat they were, the crude deductions of a young and imperfect
cience, and have refused to bring the verities of holy writ into
omparison with them, until they had been thoroughly sifted, and
ully established. And the same thing should be done by the

friends of the bible now. Although Geology as a science, has made rapid advances, and the immense and progressive accumulation of facts is hourly widening and consolidating the basis on which a sound theory may ultimately rest, there is little—we might almost say there is nothing—in present geological theories, deserving the character of established truth. Not one of them pretends to account for *all* the facts. Geologists are not agreed among themselves, as to some of the fundamental principles of the science. The igneous origin of the unstratified rocks is disputed. The necessity of immense periods of time is called in question. Leading and critical facts, such as the occurrence of human remains in a fossil state, are under discussion. First rate geologists are retracting the opinions, which were a few years ago published with the utmost confidence by themselves. The whole science (apart from its facts) is perpetually shifting, like a quicksand. And yet we are called upon to square the bible with it! Our reply is, No, gentlemen. First agree among yourselves, as to the results you have established; and then let the wisdom of another generation, and the observations of new discoverers, put your conclusions to the test. To answer to the successive calls we have had from your school of philosophy, the bible ought to have been a nose of wax, capable of being accommodated to different, if not to opposite forms. But this it is not. We have no doubt but it will accord with the *true system* of nature, but it will accord with no other; and we shall find no agreement, therefore, but rather contradiction and perplexity, if we compare it with one that is erroneous. Inquire further, gentlemen; settle your own differences; find a theory which will harmonize with *all* the phenomena (as doubtless the bible will); establish its truth; and let us hear from you again.

We are in no expectation of receiving a fair challenge, at an early date. First, because the field of observation requiring to be explored, is of vast dimensions. It comprehends the entire surface of the globe; a mere inch of which has as yet been examined, and every literal inch of which may disclose facts subversive of all antecedent theory,—to say nothing of the larger, and perhaps the more important portion of it (the bed of the ocean), which never can be examined at all. And next, because the principles adopted are never likely to lead to the truth. With great semblance of wisdom, but with real folly, geologists have adopted *analogy* as their guide. They will believe to have operated in the past only such causes as are in action at the present. The very mention of supernatural causes excites their disgust. It is beyond the range of experience, they tell us, and they will not entertain the supposition. In this way they never *can* come to an agreement with the bible, by the narrations of which supernatural causes are distinctly presented to us. And with equal confidence we may assert, that, in this way, they never can come to an explana-

tion of facts; of which the existing difficulties of geological science are a pretty clear indication.

But we are detaining our readers too long from the contents of the other works at the head of this article. Mr. Gisborne's is, on the whole, a judicious and ably written pamphlet, composed in a spirit which cannot be too highly admired. We regret, however, that he should have tried his hand at harmonizing the geologists with Moses. As a sample of the tract, we give the following passage, relating to the theory of incandescence; or in plain terms to the notion, that the earth, having been originally so warm as to be all vapour, became, in the process of cooling, a solid, at a white heat.

'Of the preceding statement it is sufficient at present to observe that this incandescence of the globe and the fusion of all its materials, circumstances the result of which apparently would have been a globe of lava or of vitrification, are a pure hypothesis, which it is impossible for Geology to demonstrate, and which has not a shadow of countenance in the Mosaic narrative. But there is an inference deduced from it, to which it is requisite to advert.

'The hypothesis of an eternal succession of causes is thus at once removed. We argue thus:—It is demonstrable from Geology, that there was a period when no organic beings had existence; these organic beings must therefore have had a beginning subsequently to this period; and where is that beginning to be found but in the will and act of an intelligent and all-wise Creator.'*

'I fear that the votary of the absurd and Atheistical tenet of an eternal succession of causes will have little difficulty in disposing of this argument. He will say, that it leaves his strong holds exactly as it found them. He will ask whether, if substances had a beginning, the granite that was to be fused, and the matter of the planet that was to be made incandescent, did not need one equally with any subsequent organized bodies. He will affirm that Dr. Buckland's argument breaks no link in the chain, interrupts no continuity; that to have any validity, it must commence by proving a time when *nothing* existed. He will add, that the burning and unorganic granite, assuming its reality, was merely one of the steps in his endless train of causes and effects; one of the successive alternations, regular or irregular, of inhabited or uninhabited worlds; and that whether it occurred ten thousands or ten millions of years backwards in the succession, is to him a circumstance of perfect indifference.

'The services of Geology to religion are often miscalculated or misplaced by able writers. Those services are of large amount. But in no respect do they consist in geological theories, which the supporter of theory is desirous of associating in the praise: they consist wholly in geological facts. By researches into the strata of the earth, a very large acces-

* Ibid, p. 59.

sion has been made to the number previously known of organized beings. The remains of all those beings are stamped with proofs of the power, the wisdom, and the goodness of the Great Creator. And Dr. Buckland, by his luminous development of these proofs, in a multitude of examples drawn from the various forms of animal life, has not only given to the world a lasting memorial of his industry, knowledge, and discernment, but has rendered permanent aid to the interests of religion, whatever may be the ultimate opinion of men respecting the geological theory which he advocates.

'Occasionally we hear from geologists an intimation, that some concession might be expected from the literal interpreter of Scripture to meet the compensation which Geology offers in the shape of additional testimony to religious truth. Such intimations are inconsiderate. To the benefit of any *justifiable* interpretation, though different from that which has hitherto been received, of the Mosaic record, geologists are entitled without paying for it. Of the original interpretation, if believed to be the truth, not an atom can be relinquished on the principle of barter.'—pp. 21—24.

The volume of Mr. Fairholme is devoted to the subject of the general deluge, and must be spoken of in terms of high commendation. It cannot be read without great interest and instruction, and is destined, we think, to apply a reasonable and powerful check to the rash speculations of which we have complained. Before we enter on the principal matter of the book, however, we must indulge ourselves with an important extract from the introductory chapter, on the subject of diluvial human remains; both that our readers may be in possession of the facts of the case, and that they may see against what kind and amount of evidence the willing incredulity of geologists generally on this subject can maintain itself.

'Passing over various other instances, in which human bones have been found in the immediate neighbourhood of fossils—as at Durfort, by M. Firmas; at Meissen, near Dresden; in numerous caves and fissures in England and Wales, detailed by Dr. Buckland, in his *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*, &c.,—I shall proceed to mention the most conclusive instance that has yet occurred, in the idea that any *one* undoubted instance of *man, as fossil*, is as good as a thousand, for the purpose of establishing this long-contested fact.

'The instance in question occurred at Köstritz, a small town in the beautiful vale of the Elster, in Upper Saxony. A very clear account was given of this deposit, in 1820, by the Baron von Schlotheim, published at Gotha, and translated from the German by Mr. Weaver, in the *Annals of Philosophy* for 1823. Dissatisfied, however, with the objections which had been urged against the expressed opinion of the Baron, *that 'man was unquestionably found in a fossil state in this deposit,'* I myself visited Köstritz, and spent several days there, in the summer of 1834, for the express purpose of a careful examination of

the locality, and the circumstances. I there had the advantage of the fullest and clearest information, from Dr. Schottin, of Köstritz, who had long resided there, and by whom the attention of M. von Schlotheim was called to the fossil deposits in the neighbouring gypsum quarries, from whence, *during the last fifty years*, human and other bones have been, from time to time, extracted. From Prince Reuss also, the proprietor of the quarries, and the possessor of some most interesting specimens, both human and quadruped, I received the kindest attentions, and every facility in prosecuting my inquiries. The tenant of the quarries, also, an intelligent and respectable man, who had personally assisted in some of the most interesting discoveries, pointed out to me, on the spot, the exact localities. Without entering into a full detail of the geological facts exhibited on this interesting spot, it may be sufficient here to state that the whole of this gently undulating country, is of the most smooth and rounded forms on the surface; that the quarries are of gypsum, used as lime (but not at present worked); that they occur on the rising ground, on the left bank of the valley, and so far above the level of the river, as altogether to preclude the idea of the human bones having been *subsequently* mingled with the more ancient fossil bones, by any land-flood, or other local cause, which solution had been suggested as probable by Dr. Buckland, in alluding to the Baron's account of the fossils of Köstritz. The whole of that country is rather deeply overspread with a diluvial covering of sand, gravel, and loam. In this diluvial loam, are pebbles of granite and of various other distant rocks. In viewing the locality of the gypsum quarries, it is quite certain that, before the ground was broken in upon, in search of that limestone, there existed, in that spot, *the same smooth and rounded forms which prevail universally around.* There was, therefore, in this instance, no open cavern, or superficial fissure into which, as it might be thought, bones could have been *subsequently* dragged by wild beasts, or drifted by land-floods. Indeed, the only running stream near, is the Elster, at about three quarters of a mile distant, and fifty or sixty feet lower in level, with a wide intervening valley, the whole of which must have been filled, from side to side, with water, before any land-flood could, by possibility, reach the situation of these quarries. It is clear, then, that the ground, previous to its being broken up in search of gypsum, had been undisturbed, ever since the period when that smooth and *rounded* surface, with its deep diluvial covering, had been imparted to that country; and as the bare rocks, on being stripped of this deep diluvial covering, have a very broken and rugged surface, it is equally evident that the *cause* of the diluvium, (whatever that cause might be,) was also the *agent*, in rounding off the forms of that deposit, and in moulding the upper surface of the country into its present gently undulating, and beautiful appearance.

'After the removal of six or eight feet of this diluvium, the workmen reached the calcareous rock of which they were in search. This is described by M. von Schlotheim as follows: 'At Politz, the upper quarry is extremely instructive, exhibiting wide fissures and caverns, *entirely filled* with the alluvial loam,' (diluvium) 'which covers the

whole country, to a great extent. Considerable masses of stalctite appear in several places; and here, principally, were found those bones of large land quadrupeds, now in my collection. They were met with *at the depth of twenty feet, embedded in the loam of one of the wider cavities.* All the bones are more or less changed, and penetrated with calcareous matter. The condition of the greater part is nearly the same as that of the bones found at Gaylenreuth, Scharzfeld, and the other German bone caves; *and hence it seems probable that they were of an equal age, and referable to the same epoch of the ancient world.* At Köstritz, the entire gypseous mass is intersected and perforated by fissures and cavities, which follow *every direction,* and are connected with each other *by serpentine channels,* of larger or smaller dimensions. *They are filled, throughout,* with the alluvial deposits, even to the greatest depth; and this loamy sediment appears to be deposited *horizontally,* for short distances, yielding, *in clusters,* as it were, and in precisely the same circumstances, a number of bones of land animals, *amongst which are disclosed to view, also, human bones.*' After some further descriptions of other fissures, and their fossil contents, the Baron, (who had an advantage which I had not, in seeing the working of the quarries, and of, himself, discovering the bones which he describes,) proceeds thus to sum up the evidence: '**It is also evident that the human bones could never have been *buried* here, nor have fallen into the fissures in the gypsum, *during battles* in ancient times,**' (the human bones are few, and completely *detached* and *isolated*), '**nor have been thus mutilated and lodged by any other accidental cause in more modern times; inasmuch as they are always found, with the other animal remains, under the same relations; *not constituting connected skeletons,* but collected in various groups, in the deposits of loam, that occupy the fissures and cavities of the gypsum: they appear therefore, to have been strictly *fossil, and to have been swept hither by floods,* with the other animal remains, *at the period of the formation of the alluvial tract itself.*** It has already been remarked by Cuvier that the epoch of a great deluge, by which many animals were destroyed, whose remains are now found *in alluvial*' (diluvial) '***tracts alone,* and not in any strata of an earlier era, nearly coincides with our chronology; and the traditions of such a deluge, preserved among all nations, *now appear confirmed, by the instructive documents at present lying before us.*'

'Strong as my own impressions formerly were on reading this account, they were increased to the fullest conviction of the truth of it, on visiting the spot, and on witnessing, not only the conclusive geological phenomena presented by the general view of the valley of Köstritz, but also on examining fine specimens of the human and other bones, which had been found in the tortuous fissures of the rock. Of those of quadrupeds, M. Von Schlotheim enumerates those of the rhinoceros, the lion or tiger, the hyæna, the horse, the ox, the deer, the hare, and the rabbit; as also the bones of the owl, and other birds. Since the period when he wrote (1820), other bones have been found, and amongst them, those of a small elephant, of which I saw the tusk, in the collection of Dr. Schottin; it was but eight or nine inches long. The

bones of the elk and the *reindeer* have also been since identified; and it is scarcely necessary again to call the attention of the reader, as an extract from Cuvier, already quoted, must have done, to so obvious an anomaly as the mixture of the remains of the latter, with those of the elephant and the rhinoceros, which never could have occurred, but for the confusion arising from some such event as a general deluge; since the structure of the feet and bones of the reindeer, obviously bespeaks the snowy regions for which, alone, it is best adapted; latitudes quite unsuited to such luxuriance of vegetation as the other unwieldy animals must necessarily have required for their sustenance.

'The specimens of the bones of *man*, seem here to be dispersed in the diluvium, exactly in that small proportion which we should naturally have expected. While the bones of quadrupeds have been found here in great abundance, those of the human species do not amount to more than about twenty specimens. Some of these were collected and retained by M. von Schlotheim, after whose death, they were placed, as I was informed, in the Museum at Berlin. Of these, he mentions fragments of the arm and thigh bone of man, as having been found by him at the depth of eighteen feet from the surface of the country, and '*eight feet deeper than two phalanges of the rhinoceros.*' Other single specimens are seen in the private collections of the neighbourhood of Köstritz. A portion of a human cranium, and of a leg bone, have also been procured for the British Museum, and may be seen in the same case, as the more entire specimen found at Guadaloupe, which has now, at length, been placed in a situation suited to its high interest and value. The above two bones are marked with the name of Dr. Schottin. In the possession of Prince Reuss, I saw a fine specimen of the rib of a young person, about fourteen or fifteen years of age, from which I made a drawing the size of nature; as also of two bones, which excite the deepest interest in the mind, and which now belong to Dr. Schottin. They consist of the *tibia* and the *radius* of an infant, or infants of not more than three or four months old, and only from three to four inches in length.'—pp. 40—48.

His 'New and Physical Demonstration' of the occurrence and the period of the general deluge, Mr. Fairholme derives from a comprehensive, and we think, a just and philosophical view, of the existing lands. The facts he adduces are these: All lands are surrounded by water, the continents being only islands of larger dimensions. All of them consist of regions more or less elevated, smoothly rounded, and sloping on all sides towards the sea, with the single exception of those cases in which the slope tends, with equal regularity, towards a lake, or interior sea. In many parts the shores are smoothed off to the exact level of the ocean; and they were originally so in all parts, as they would have been still, had it not been for the action of the sea eating away the land, and producing cliffs. We may suppose the lands, then, restored to what may be called their original condition, or their condition at the moment when the sea first began to beat

upon *these* shores. What can account for the superficial form of the lands thus presented to us? Over the entire globe there are high grounds, in general beautifully rounded, sloping on all sides to water, in either an interior or the exterior sea, and smoothed off exactly to its surface. How came this? That this is not the shape of the strata hid beneath the soil, is notorious. At almost every point the denuded strata would present a most rugged and precipitous surface; and the roundness which prevails has evidently arisen from the removal of portions of the strata in some places, and the filling up of hollows by the debris in others. What has done this? It seems impossible not to answer—the action of water, on the entire surface of these lands.

But the existing lands are not merely rounded and sloped towards the sea; they are scooped out into innumerable valleys, the features of which deserve close observation. They have all, like the lands they intersect, a regular descent towards either a lake or the ocean, to which they extend from the highest mountains, and through the amplest plains. No valley has its course in a straight line, but makes its way by curvatures resembling the course of a river. Every leading valley receives tributaries on either side, and often these again their tributaries, forming a system which may be compared to the veins in the animal body; and every tributary valley opens into its principal just at the proper level for the flow of water, that level varying at every yard, but never being missed or mistaken. What has produced all this? These again are evident traces of the operation of water over the face of entire continents, at one and the same time. The system of valleys constitutes a natural drainage. But a drainage *from what?* From mere terrestial and atmospheric waters? Clearly not; since these amount to nothing more than mere rills, in comparison with the size of the valleys themselves, which they have evidently not formed, but taken advantage of, to make their way to rest. Besides, a very large portion of the valleys are *dry*, never having been used for atmospheric or terrestial drainage at all; and yet these are all like the rest, and have been obviously formed by the same power. Of what waters, then, was the entire system of valleys at any time the drainage? Certainly, of the waters of a general deluge.

Such, in a few words, is the clear and satisfactory proof which our author adduces, from a survey of the earth's surface, of the occurrence of a general deluge over the present lands of the globe. But he takes up, also the further and more difficult question of the period of its occurrence. His process, however, is still simple. He looks first at the rivers. In the valleys of which these availed themselves, some met with points of unequal descent, which occasioned rapids or water-falls. Now, as 'water

wears the stones,' if it could be ascertained how much in a year, a given stream wears away at present, and how much it has worn away since its action began, we might approach to an estimate of the length of time this 'natural saw' has been in motion—that is to say, the length of time since the general deluge; inasmuch as it is obvious, that the drainage of the terrestial and atmospheric waters must have commenced immediately after the disappearance of those of the flood. After noticing various water-falls, in which the rocks, being hard, have been rather polished than abraded by the stream, he adverts to the cataract of Niagara, by which it is well-known large portions of rock have been cut away; and by a number of various and most interesting investigations, brings out the conclusion, that all that has been done there has been the work of from four to five thousand years.

He next examines the sea shores, to ascertain the present waste of the cliffs, in order to judge how long a period the ocean may have taken to destroy the portion intervening between the present and former boundary of the land. And here also he comes to the conclusion, that it cannot be more than from four to five thousand years that the sea has been in action on the shores. It appears, therefore, to be from four to five thousand years ago, that there occurred that general deluge by which the existing lands were moulded. Now this is the very date assigned to the flood by Moses.

That there has been no other deluge of a similar nature or extent, the proof is of the simplest kind. There are no other similar effects, nor any in magnitude approaching to them.

In our opinion, the author makes good his conclusions; and is fairly entitled to call the process by which he brings them out a 'Demonstration,' both 'Physical,' and 'New.' If we are not mistaken, it will make sundry eminent geologists bethink themselves. At all events it will satisfy people of common sense, that there is little ground for talking of the Mosaic deluge as a tranquil flow of waters, producing little change in the surface of the earth; or for ascribing the elevation of existing lands to the lingering process of earthquakes many times repeated.

We have preferred giving the substance of Mr. Fairholme's argument in our own words, both for brevity and simplicity. But we warmly commend our readers to the volume itself, where they will find the whole subject luminously treated, and a variety of subordinate points explained, to which we cannot advert. It is his opinion, with Granville Penn and others, that the existing lands were, before the flood, the bed of the ocean; this idea being founded on the scriptural declaration that God would 'destroy *the earth*,' or the land. But he does not notice the difficulty arising on this point, from the identity of the antediluvian and post-dilu-

vian *geography* of Moses. It has long been a question, what is intended by 'breaking up the fountains of the great deep;' but while it remains uncertain only, whether, in conjunction with a supernatural deluge of water, there was not combined a supernatural agitation of the land, there must be an element of perplexity thrown into all attempts at geological theory. There will probably be found; to the last, more facts than geologists will be able to account for.

Art. VI. *On the Union of the Holy Spirit and the Church in the Conversion of the World.* By the Rev. THOMAS W. JENKYN, 8vo. London: Snow. 1837.

IT is impossible for a devout mind to read the glowing language of prophecy, when it describes the splendour of the latter days, without an emotion of rapture. In the remote antiquity of the Jewish and patriarchal times, prophets and kings were delighted to see the day of Christ, even afar off. But if the distant and dim outline of that majestic vision had such a charm for the eye of faith, with how much greater delight should we gaze on the sublime spectacle of the Messiah's kingdom, as it draws nearer, and becomes more distinctly visible!

The sacred volume contains those divine principles, those elements of truth and life, which, when put into full activity, are adequate to the regeneration of the world. The truths and precepts of the everlasting Gospel have a direct tendency, if carried into action, to produce the results which Christians expect from them: and they are accompanied in their progress by an omnipotent Spirit. This is not a mere matter of belief; but the inference which must be drawn from numerous facts in the history of the church. The footsteps of Deity are no less apparent in the progress of Christianity than they were of old on the soil of Palestine. God has every where left the traces of his presence where his word has been preached, and his name recorded; and that man must be blind of understanding who cannot perceive the proofs of divine agency in the past triumphs of the cross over idolatrous Europe. No superstition has in the present day, a greater hold on the minds of men, than had the ancient mythology in the Augustan age: and that power which, 'by the foolishness of preaching,' could overturn a system of polytheism consecrated by the genius of Homer and Virgil, the established religion of Greece and Rome; and which could effect this with such

weak human agency, against the opposition of the whole Roman empire; gave a sufficient pledge of its ability to perform, even to the letter, every prediction and promise. The final triumph of the Redeemer is certain. 'He must reign till he hath put all 'enemies under his feet.'

Yet, when we contemplate the existing state of the world, we cannot help asking with painful interest, Why it is that, after man has possessed the Gospel for nearly two thousand years, only a part of the earth is under its influence. There is a great apparent contradiction between the opulence of the provision made by heaven for man's felicity, and the poverty of the results,—between the omnipotence of the Agent, and the fatal resistance made to his influences.

At this late period of time almost the whole world lieth in wickedness: for though a considerable portion of the earth is nominally Christian, even Christendom itself is too much under the rule of the Prince of Darkness. Is, then, the introduction of Christianity into the world a failure? Is the great apparatus, which has been put in motion by a divine hand for the redemption of our species, inadequate to its purpose? And is there not that living principle, that creative and quickening energy, in the sacred word which we have always believed? We cannot for a single moment entertain these doubts. But it becomes us to inquire, with all seriousness, why the Gospel has so long been defrauded of its triumphs, and why the glory of the Lord has not yet fully risen upon the earth.

To ascribe the present condition of man to an act of divine sovereignty, is not in accordance with the declarations of Scripture: for though, beyond all doubt, the Supreme Being is sovereign in all his actions, and sends his Gospel to whom he will, yet he has long since issued his commission to his servants to go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. Before this command was given, it might with some truth have been said that God had left the world to itself. But after he had taken off the interdict from heathen nations, it would be slandering the divine consistency to attribute their continued ignorance to his purpose.

The work of converting the world was long since confided to the church, with the cheering promise of all necessary divine assistance; and it is to the defective state of the Christian community that we must trace the present mournful condition of man. Before the period of its final triumph, the church itself must undergo a complete transformation, and a new impulse must be given to its exertions.

The general conviction of the church on the subject of missionary labours, is not one of the least remarkable signs of the present times, and plainly indicates to an observant mind that the

time of the earth's harvest is drawing nigh. And in that marvellous concurrence of circumstances which makes the present time so favourable for the promulgation of Christian truth, we are able to decipher the will of God almost as plainly as in his written word. The Christian nations tower far above all others in the glory of civilization, and possess a political power and rank which command universal respect. The extensive commerce of Britain especially brings her into contact with every nation; by means of her colonies and foreign dependencies, she is introducing the English language and literature into all the four quarters of the globe, rendering it far from improbable that it may become eventually the universal language; her navy sweeps the ocean without control, and her arms are every where invincible both by sea and land.

And for what purpose has God permitted a supremacy so marked to those who are the depositories of his oracles, but to afford them the opportunity of carrying into effect his designs of mercy? For this present position of Christendom is most favourable: the church needs only to be baptized anew with the Spirit of grace and love, and the work will be consummated.

In order to render our missionary efforts completely successful, they must be prosecuted with apostolic ardour, and the whole church must be instant in prayer for the Holy Spirit. But the divine influences must not be expected, as we apprehend too many Christians expect them, to descend at once on the heathen, but on the Christian world. The old churches of Christ will first feel the renovating influence. The wintry state of Christendom will disappear, the snows and ice will be thawed, and the barren waste put on verdure and beauty. This was the order of the Pentecostal effusion. The Spirit was first poured on believers, and by them the blessing was imparted to the nations around.

In vain shall we look for the conversion of the world before the church itself is thus renovated by the Spirit of heaven. But when this celestial influence is all-pervading, and extends to every several division of the Christian body, it will engage in its enterprise of benevolence with new ardour, and a rapid succession of triumphs will attend its march.

It is therefore highly important that a right impression concerning this subject be made on all Christians. He who shall arouse the dormant energies of the church of Christ, will deserve well of the world at large. He is a benefactor of man of the highest rank. And we rejoice that Mr. Jenkyn has attempted to bring the church to a knowledge of its duty; and that a work on a subject of such importance has been produced by a masterly mind, well trained to reflection, and disciplined in various learning. For profound thought, and full investigation of

its subject, the treatise before us is worthy of a less superficial age, and would not disgrace the masters of theological literature.

Indeed, a principal fault of the introductory portion of the volume is too great reconditeness. We have no objection to see a topic examined in all its bearings till it is exhausted; but it frequently happens that, by the employment of abstruse reasoning, a writer perplexes and mystifies his readers. Mr. Jenkyn is not altogether free from this fault. His own mind, which is evidently attached to metaphysical subtleties, and deeply tinctured with a learning like that of the Puritans and Reformers, seizes on truth with a strong grasp; but the effect of his method of treatment is, that the former part of his book will have more charms for the thoughtful few than for the multitude. Some persons, to whom the whole work might have been useful, will be deterred from proceeding by the difficulty of the first pages. Though by no means destitute of ornament, though imaginative and beautiful in no ordinary degree, it requires too much labour and thought for common readers. This is certainly wrong: for books intended to be extensively useful should be adapted to the average understanding of mankind. Even great thoughts appear most graceful in simple drapery; and their beauty always strikes more forcibly than when they are overloaded with the stiff and cumbrous dress of scholastic learning.

This, however, is a fault of the work only at its commencement The great body of the treatise is eloquent and impressive, and calculated to produce a deep and powerful effect on a thoughtful mind. It is divided into two parts: the first of which treats on divine influences; the second, on the union of the Holy Spirit and the church in their administration. The extracts which follow, will, we hope, be useful to our readers, and recommend the entire work to the ministers and influential members of our churches.

'The New Testament teaches the church to expect particular seasons in which the influences of the Holy Spirit will manifest themselves in the production of eminent holiness and piety.

'The entire Scriptures, and all the inductions of observation and experience in religion, confirm the doctrine that there are seasons when the spirits of good and holy men realize, more than at others, the existence, the character, and the agency of this Supreme Comforter. At these seasons, whether they be times of devotional meditation and study, of pressing and intense religious exercises, of difficult and laborious duty, or whether they be times of bitter and overwhelming persecution, Christians perceive more clearly than usual the loveliness of moral beauty, see more of the glory of holiness and truth, feel warmer and stronger attachment to the character of the Saviour, feel more sensibly their real dependence on the Holy Spirit, and become more fully absorbed in the designs which HE is accomplishing. At

such seasons the holy soul is in direct communion of disposition and interest with the parent Spirit; it is brought into a more proximate connexion, a closer intimacy, and a nearer view than ever of his all-pervading agency and influences.

* * * *

'The spirits of good men often realize such union of heart with the blessed God as to feel and to become one character and one spirit with him. In their most painful anguish, He can make himself so present with them, as to fill their hearts with calm and peaceful rapture, or to delight them with joyful and transporting emotions, till they rejoice in tribulation, and triumph over death and the grave.

'As the Christian church was engrafted in the old olive of the Jewish church, all the splendid promises which sparkle in the general predictions concerning the holy stock, belong now to all the branches.

* * * *

'If these promises abide valid, and if these Scriptures cannot be broken, it is not enthusiasm to expect such seasons; it is no frenzy to long for them, and to share in them is no fanaticism. In these delightful seasons conversions will become general, and the church will always expect them to take place. In the present day the church, as a church, does not EXPECT men to be converted. When conversions actually occur, they occur confessedly as exceptions to the general rule. The general rule of the expectation of the church is non-conversion. When an instance of conversion transpires, it is made a matter of astonishment, it is reported as something strange, and talked of as a wonderful and unlooked for event. Were the church in her right frame and tone, her wonder would have been excited at any instances of non-conversion, and the fact, that any failed of the grace of God, would thrill her with emotions of astonishment and sadness. What would we think of the officers of a hospital who trumpeted forth the wonderful event that one patient had been cured! In such Institutions the 'incurables' are the exception, but, in the history of the church, they are the rule. The wonder expressed by Christians at instances of conversion, astonishes and paralyzes the world. The wicked hear this and are glad; for they say, 'these believers do not expect the gospel to be the power of God unto salvation, they do not calculate on those bitten by the fiery serpents to be healed by Christ crucified; the Gospel is something, that they do not expect us to believe, and that we should come to love the 'altogether lovely,' is to them an unlooked for event.' For the church that expects great things God will do great things. He has said much and done much to raise in his church great expectations, and he never said unto the seed of Jacob, 'Seek ye me in vain.' Let us then awaken to the day-light of the Son of Man. Expectations commensurate with the length and breadth of the promises of God cannot be visionary or fanatical; and to them that wait believingly, and expectantly, he that tarrieth will surely come: 'at the end it shall speak, and not lie; though it tarry, wait for it, BECAUSE it will surely come, and will not tarry.''

—pp. 142—145.

On the preaching which is likely to effect revivals, we have the following striking passage:

'The manner of such preaching consists in a plain, simple, forcible, and direct exhibition of 'the word.' The pure and the entire word is exhibited to the mind. The peculiarity of the manner is in its adroitness to the heart and imperiousness to the conscience. Its language is 'thou art the man,' and the hearer feels that the minister means *him*. Its tone is, '*Now* is the accepted time;' and it demands and enforces an immediate surrender. Laodicean preachers compose sermons that, like a prism, make their congregation feel delighted and charmed with the diversified hues and charms of their imagery. Revival ministers make their sermons, like a lens, to concentrate the rays of truth, and exhibit them with an unflinching hand in near connexion with the sinner, till they burn and inflame his heart.

'Now read the sermon preached by Peter on the day of Pentecost. It is a specimen of revival preaching, and a model for reviving sermons; and these are the sermons which the church requires. There is a clear presentation of Scriptural truths to the mind without any declamation and official oratory. All is argument, clear, plain, simple, cogent, Scriptural, fit for the occasion, direct to the hearers, inflexibly hard, but forged in the furnace of a burning heart. The most puzzling and awful doctrines of divinity are presented in their own simplicity, bold outline, and rugged grandeur. Why cannot we preach the divine predestination and the guilt of sinful agency as Peter preached them? He preached them both; he qualified neither; nor did he make one neutralize the other. Had he attempted this, he would have amused his hearers instead of convincing and converting them. The sinner's conscience is relieved from itself when the preacher stops to harmonize. In these straightforward statements Peter felt that his hearers had reason and conscience and feeling, and could perceive the light of evidence. His sermon is full of argumentative evidence of his leading topic. He *reasoned* with them from Scripture and fact. He aimed at *convincing* them. He never thought what kind of preacher they would esteem him. He wanted to convert and to save them. He felt that they were sinners above other men, but he supposed that, depraved as they were, they were reasonable creatures; could feel the force of argument and proof,—could be influenced by a clear exhibition of truth,—could feel their guilt, if he *proved* to them that they had murdered the Lord of glory,—could repent of the enormous atrocity charged on them,—could yield homage to the claims of the Son of God, and yield it THEN, while he was addressing to them arguments adapted to accomplish what he desired. Why cannot we preach in this way? Is there not a lurking dread lest some good people should adjudge us not clearly orthodox? *Proh pudor!* who are these inquisitors of orthodoxy? Was Peter orthodox under the influence of the Holy Spirit? Was Jesus Christ orthodox on the Mount? And what is this reputation for orthodoxy worth? Is it worth the departure from the Scriptural models of preaching? We cannot be convincing if we preach with the supposition that our

hearers have not the use of their rational powers. We cannot be persuasive if we imagine that it is not in their power to yield to evidence. We cannot be pathetic if we believe that it is impossible for them to feel the weight and the force of truth. We cannot convert a sinner from the error of his way if we think that he is not possessed of conscience capable of feeling guilt. Revival preaching is that which undersaps all the works and towers around conscience, lays a train to fire it, and demands an immediate and unconditional surrender of it to Jesus Christ and his Spirit.'—pp. 198—200.

The whole chapter 'On the Analogy between Modern Revi-'vals and the Revival which took place on the Day of Pente-'cost,' and the sections 'On being filled with the Spirit,' on 'Eminent Holiness Essential to Usefulness,' and 'On Travailing 'in Birth for the souls of Men,' are deserving of deep and serious attention.

It will be clearly seen that we not merely approve of, but greatly admire the general sentiments of this treatise; and it is with much reluctance that we express our non-acquiescence with Mr. Jenkyn's opinion concerning the mode of the Spirit's operation. The subject itself is awful, mysterious, and inscrutable. An inquiry into the manner in which the Holy Spirit works on the human mind, however unprofitable, is always fascinating to human curiosity. It would have been better had the author been contented to leave it where it was left by our Lord: 'the wind 'bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof: 'but canst not tell whence it cometh nor whither it goeth. So is 'every one that is born of the Spirit.'

The opinion of Mr. Jenkyn's to which we allude is, that the Holy Spirit is resident in the church by a latent presence in the Word, as magnetism is resident in the loadstone. We give the statement in his own words:

'The constant and permanent presence of the Holy Spirit is in the Word of truth. It is in the Christian, and in the church, only as the word, the fixed shrine of the Holy Spirit, is possessed and held by them. Where the Word is not, there the presence and the influences of the Holy Spirit are not. Where the Word is introduced, there his presence and influences are introduced. Where the Word is rejected or lost, there His presence and influences are lost. Whoever pretends to the influences and presence of the Holy Spirit without the Word, or against the Word, or above the Word, is an impostor. In the Word, the Holy Spirit is ever present without fluctuation, diminution, or uncertainty; present as sure and abiding as magnetism in the loadstone, or light in the presence of the sun.

* * * *

'The reader will please to bear in mind we treat now of only the presence, or the seat of the presence and influences of the Holy Spirit,

id not of their developments and manifestations. Magnetism is ways present in the loadstone, but its development will take place ily in certain combinations. Whoever will place the magnet in these mbinations, and not otherwise, can always calculate on the influence eing present and active. With the same certainty may the Chris- an church calculate on the presence and influence of the Holy Spirit eing developed wherever the Word is, in the given combinations, mixed with faith in them that hear it.' '—pp. 85, 86.

We have no doubt of the Holy Spirit's presence in the word; ut we cannot help feeling an almost instinctive repugnance to iis particular illustration of the doctrine. In our opinion, it owers and degrades the august Author of all good by making im only a part of the machinery of the world, and it takes away om the church all that is most sublime and exhilarating in the heory of divine influences. Neither will the illustration itself ear to be strictly examined. For if the Holy Spirit dwelt in the ord as uniformly and permanently as magnetism in the load- tone, then the word must necessarily produce a uniform effect nder all circumstances, and will attract every heart to which it applied. But this is certainly not the case. It is true that he church may calculate on the presence and influence of the Holy Spirit being developed wherever the word is, in the given ombinations, 'mixed with faith in them that hear it.' But the rror in reasoning here is, that the author, to be consistent with is theory, must suppose faith to be in the heart previous to the peration of the Holy Spirit, which is contrary to Scripture: for aith is the gift of God, the work of the Spirit himself, and the livine work is begun in the heart antecedent to the cordial recep- ion of the Gospel.

The author further illustrates his opinion in a way sufficiently emarkable. In speaking of the Saviour's promise to send his Spirit on his disciples, Mr. Jenkyn says:

'To understand this clearly, let us suppose any illustrious teacher of truth to make a similar promise; and, to explain great things by little, we may take the following case:

'In the whole history of mind we do not know of any mere human spirit that has exercised so powerful and so extensive an influence upon the spirits of men, as the spirit or soul of ARISTOTLE. Imagine him to promise his disciples that, some centuries after his death his spirit, as the spirit of philosophy, to influence and to guide men to philosophical truth, should affect their minds in a very abundant mea- sure, and should diffuse itself with all the enlarged plentifulness of a shower. In this case we would not understand by spirit, the essence which constituted the subsistence, and individual personality of ARIS- TOTLE. His spirit as an individual person, would by the time in question be in eternity; but all that constitutes the agency by which

the spirit of ARISTOTLE could act upon other minds and influence them were, not in eternity, but in his books, or rather in the truths which he delivered, whether contained in books or not. All his feelings and dispositions, all his perceptions and sentiments were in his works. His spirit, therefore, as to its power to influence mind, was as much and as truly in his works, as it had been in his body. While it was in the body it could influence other spirits only by the truths and the feelings which it developed; and this it does with equal fulness, power, and efficacy in his works. In both cases his spirit was *read*, for reading is not seeing syllables, but receiving the communications of another mind.

'In the course of centuries the spirit of ARISTOTLE was poured forth to a very great extent, and with very great power. It was not his essence that manifested itself, but all the attributes of that essence by which he could affect and influence the minds of others. The consequence was a great and extensive revival of the Aristotelian philosophy. The spirit of ARISTOTLE was diffused and shed abroad by the translations of his works and the promulgation of his doctrines.

'In one illustrious instance, an instance which forms the imperishable glory of the Gospel, this analogy completely fails. In the revival of philosophy which took place, the spirit of ARISTOTLE did not exercise any spontaneous desire or personal will.'—pp. 95, 96.

Unquestionably 'the mind of the Spirit' is contained in the book of his inspiration. But this is completely distinct from that spontaneous influence which we believe the Holy Spirit to exert in the application of evangelical truth to the human heart, and which, it is evident, Mr. Jenkyn also believes; therefore the analogy *does* completely fail. For, besides the reluctance which the pious mind feels to admit a comparison between the Holy Spirit and Aristotle, if the Spirit be present in his word only as Aristotle is in his writings, there is no supernatural influence whatever in the church; if the Spirit be present in any way different from that in which Aristotle is present in his writings, the analogy does not hold good, and is quite useless.

We are not surprised that there is some confusion in the author's ideas on this subject. We have observed several instances of this: as (p. 101), 'It is a conceited philosophy, and a diseased 'theology that lead any men to conclude that the activity and oper-'ation of means tend to make the agency of God less real or less 'manifest and glorious. He is, uninterruptedly, in intimate con-'tact with all second causes, supplying, maintaining, and renew-'ing their efficiency;' (and in p. 102), 'In the influence which 'the magnet throws on the needle there is an efficiency to pro-'duce effect; and, in the phenomena, God does not act imme-'diately, either on the needle influenced, or on the magnet in-'fluencing; yet all is his work, his arrangement, his contrivance, 'and his agency in a series of means.' These two statements

are certainly irreconcilable: for we cannot conceive how God 'does not act immediately' on the magnet, if he be 'uninterruptedly in intimate contact with all second causes, supplying, maintaining, and *renewing* their efficiency.'

We are happy, however, to perceive that these speculations of the author do not affect the practical parts of his work; and they would be of little injurious consequence, were it not that, occurring in the early part of the treatise, they may have a tendency to prejudice the mind of the reader against that which follows. It is with exceeding regret that we have dwelt so long on what is to us the most painful part of criticism. The reason which we give will, we hope, be a sufficient apology to the author: it is no other than the great excellence of the work itself. In a treatise at once so eloquent and so profound, we are sorry to find any imperfections, any thing which may have a tendency to weaken its impressions on the minds of its readers, and to limit its happy influence on the Christian world.

It will not argue much for the discernment of the religious part of the community if this work be suffered to remain without a cordial welcome. Should it not communicate a strong and enduring impulse to Christian efforts, the fault will be in the church itself. The topic on which it treats is of surpassing importance, involving the highest interests of our race; and the appeal to the Christian church is made with a fervid energy worthy of one who is himself filled with the Spirit.

Art. VII. *Journals and Letters of the Rev. Henry Martyn, B. D., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Chaplain to the Honourable East India Company.* Edited by the Rev. S. Wilberforce, M.A., Rector of Brightstone. Two Volumes. 8vo. Seeley and Burnside. London. 1837.

If man is the noblest of God's creatures on earth; and if the religious man is the noblest of men; then must biography, which is the history of man's life, and especially, religious biography, be the most important of all history.

Upon the fact that it is so, has the greater part of the scheme of revealed truth been constructed. The Bible consists almost wholly of biographical memoirs. Not that its representations have been confined to religious men. It has recorded the history of man in all his states. Nor had it need to wait until these states should have become actually developed, before its pages could be written. For a large portion of the Scriptures respecting man, may be

denominated prophecy; which is, however, but another name for history:—only, it is history, written *before*, not *after* events; and can be written therefore, by none but God.

As the Bible records the whole of man; it touches but does not dwell on, for obvious reasons, his innocence in Paradise. The shortness of his life there, supplied no materials for an extended history. He is more largely represented in the subsequent parts of his career. His transgression—his guilt—his misery—his utter ruin—his recovery through the Redeemer, together with the perfection to be enjoyed in a future state of being—all these aspects of him are described, in the Scriptures, to the life. Thus is man infallibly unfolded in a condition of extreme degradation; and in those various other states of progressive, partial, and ultimately perfect renewal. The whole of man is not outward. Indeed little can be seen of him, by other creatures, compared with what he really is. His heart contains the weight of his being, and constitutes the proper dignity of man. It is there, in his heart, that God has set the world; be he a star of whatever magnitude; and thence arises the difficulty of finding out in him the works of God, from the beginning to the end of them. So that there is only One who can write perfect biography;—He who knows the heart. Without some degree of the knowledge of this, the history of man cannot at all be written—it cannot be written perfectly without perfect knowledge.

Yet, as more importance is attached by us to the history of many ancient actions than arose immediately out of the actions themselves, or than could have arisen, had they remained unrelated; so, now, the lives that are most useful, although not themselves capable of occurring more than once, may yet, by being impressed upon the pages of history, and thence copied partially or wholly upon the living tablets of human being, produce not a few nearly approaching resemblances; and multiply valuable results to the world, according to the distance of time at which they are contemplated from those persons of whom they are the reflection. As the Bible unfolds principles rather than forms of action; it does not discourage, but inculcates rather, the duties of reading, and living, and writing the lives of holy men. It does this by giving specimens of animating biography, and by developing the principles upon which the praised qualities were acquired by those now dead, and on which they may again be equally acquired by such as are still living.

That biography, composed by unassisted man, which is nearest to the Divine, must be such as either flows from correspondence face to face and by letter; or (which approaches more nearly still to the inspired) that which is produced by a conscientious person alone in the presence of his God, declaring as mu as he knows

er can by farther scrutiny acquire of the genuine workings of his heart, and of the living manifestation of them.

One charm in things written in these circumstances, is, the very great probability that they are true. The perusal of them, therefore, produces delight, by the exhibition of that truth, for the contemplating and admiring of which man was made. That *that* which is so composed, is probably not deceptive, might appear from many considerations.

A person does not generally address himself to the examination of his own heart, if he has not formed an earnest purpose, so far as in him lies, to amend it. If, however, he has thus purposed; he knows that one main requisite for that search which he is making, is to be faithful to himself. He would have nothing to gain—every thing to lose—by blinding himself to the real condition of his inward being. Whatever he records, therefore, about himself, in the moments of his retirement, is guarded by self-love from excessive error on the one hand, and from excessive error on the other by the fear of the All-present and All-knowing God. That a man should wilfully deceive himself in a matter in which the everlasting welfare of his soul is concerned, is perfectly inconsistent with that kind of self-examination and self-record of which we speak. Those who habitually deceive themselves, flee to the utmost remove from any serious endeavour to read their hearts by the light of the candle of the Lord.

No man will be permitted widely to err, in conducting such an investigation of himself, on the part of the Great God. He is the searcher of hearts. This is His prerogative. And when His creatures, not affecting either His knowledge of the heart, or His authority over it, wish, in imitation of inspired and holy men, to know so much of themselves, as will enable them to avoid error and to attain truth; there is no reason to suppose that the All-searching God will not graciously defend them from falling into any material erroneousness of view.

Add to this, that he who is at all acquainted with himself, will know this: that without Divine help, he cannot successfully examine the springs of action, and the tendencies of his own soul. He will, therefore, ask and receive. Whatever he will ask of God, God will give to him. Prayer, for an increased amount of self-knowledge, will not be presented by such a man in vain. Although the result of this communication from above, combined as it must be with the imperfect operations of a person's own mind, will be imperfectly manifested, both as to the conduct examined, and as to the discovery and representation of it; yet with both these will there be connected high degrees of practical and useful truth.

These observations ought perhaps to be put in a much less positive form, as we are aware that there may be affectation,

insincerity, unconscious reference (and sometimes *not* unconscious) to the public eye and public opinion, even in penning private memoranda; it is marvellous, indeed, and melancholy, that it should be so! Our observations, therefore, are rather to be received as limited in their application, to eminently conscientious and holy men; such a man was Henry Martyn, and such as we have described is the character of the journals and letters contained in the two volumes now before us.

With the exception of a short introduction, including a shorter but interesting sketch of the former biographer of Henry Martyn:—the whole work consists of a journal, comprehending, from the beginning to the close of it, notices of the last ten years of his own life—by far its most impressive—crowded—laborious, and devoted parts,—and of confidential letters to friends, or to associate missionaries.

Of a work whose character is of necessity desultory except as it embodies the continuous experience of one individual, becoming more and more desirable for the earth, as he obviously prepares to leave it; it is impossible to do more than give a sketch of the design and the execution. As to the latter indeed it may be enough to say that the editor has shown a rigid and worthy caution, lest aught save what was supplied by the subject of the memoirs, should be mingled with them. He might have done well perhaps, to blot out *a few* lines, to be found here and there in the journals, whereby he would have left nothing to be regretted, as to the substance or the appearance of these elegant and deeply interesting volumes. We shall touch more particularly hereafter upon those points to which we allude.

As to the design and character of the work, this may be set forth in the Editor's own words:

'The following volume consists of further, and often more continuous selections, from the journals and letters of Mr. Martyn, than have yet been published. In compressing into one volume the biographical notice of this eminent servant of God, it was necessary to omit a great variety of interesting materials. So full indeed were his journals and letters, that it was not possible to insert nearly all which threw light upon his character and conduct. When, however, the deep interest of the Christian world, in the history of Henry Martyn, had been evidenced by the rapid sale of ten editions of his life, it seemed scarcely right to suppress for ever all those stores of instruction which remained unemployed. Then it was that the preparation of a volume of the character of that now presented to the reader, was first conceived: one which should not in any way interfere with the plan of the admirable work which relates his life; but should contain some of those portions of his letters and journals which necessity had before excluded; and which throw new interest around those already published, by exhibiting

them in their natural connexion. One most interesting set of letters, which were deemed unfit for publication during the life-time of her to whom they were addressed, have been set free by her death, and were by her will bequeathed for this purpose, if it should be judged expedient so to use them. It was accordingly, the intention of the narrator of Mr. Martyn's life to have published such a volume; its preparation was prevented by that sudden summons which called him into his Master's presence.'—Vol. I., p. 1.

In order to render easy the reading of the present work in connexion with the original memoir, there is a continual reference to the pages of that memoir, in those places in which here, the different parts of it are to be inserted.

It would have been well, if works, so much in harmony, as to subject, spirit, and design, as the present volumes and the former record of Martyn's life, could have been blended into one. No person, however, we think who has obtained so much acquaintance with Henry Martyn, as is to be derived from Sargent's 'Life' of him, will fail to avail himself of the immense additional information here exhibited. (The work indeed appears to have swelled beyond the anticipations of the Editor, who, having written the introduction on his beginning to compile, seems to have contemplated not two volumes, but one.) And even those who have not read the biography of Martyn's friend, himself now immortal, can scarcely fail to receive from perusing the volumes before us, a complete and vivid impression of the character of him who is their theme.

It was probably very far from the thought or intention of the writer of these journals and letters, that they should ever be brought into the light of the public eye. The object for which, so far as relates to his diary, he wrote, is stated by himself to have arisen out of circumstances which he thus impressively and beautifully describes:

'Was most deeply affected with reading the account of the apostacy of Lewis and Broomhall, in the transactions of the Missionary Society. When I first came to the account of the awful death of the former, I cannot describe the sense I had of the reality of religion,—that there is a God who testifies His hatred of sin: 'my flesh trembled for fear of his judgments.' Afterwards, coming to the account of Broomhall's sudden turn to Deism, I could not help even bursting into tears of anxiety and terror at my own extreme danger; because I have often thought, that if I ever should make shipwreck, it would be on the rocks of sensuality or infidelity. The hollowness of Broomhall's arguments was so apparent, that I could only attribute his fall to the neglect of inquiring after the rational foundation of his faith.

'At night, on reviewing the business of the day, the subjects I had been reading fixed my sole attention. I asked myself the grounds of my faith, and why my experience was not, according to Broomhall's

conceit, all a delusion. Previous to all revelation, he had convinced himself that the soul was mortal, in this way. The soul exists, and is therefore extended, therefore material, therefore dissoluble. But by this mode of reasoning, he would prove that God was mortal. Hence, by proving too much, he proves nothing. But independently of this, there are links wanting in every part of the chain . . . . . .

'I have been running on at random in metaphysics,—but to return: I am convincedt hat Christian experience, in general, is not a delusion. Whether mine is or not, will be seen at the last day. My object is making this journal, is to accustom myself to self-examination, to give my experience a visible form, so as to leave an impression on the memory, and so to improve my soul in holiness; for the review of such a lasting testimony, will serve the double end of conviction and consolation. I pretend not to record all that I remember, and that not on account of its minuteness, for nothing is strictly so, but because in some cases it would be improper to commit it to paper. I desire to collect the *habit* of my mind, to discover my besetting sins, the occasion of calling them forth, and the considerations by which I have at any time been stirred up to duty. May God in His mercy save me from the delusions of my deceitful heart, and pardon the indifference with which I speak, and think of sin, and of this record, which may be of everlasting importance to my soul.'—ib., pp. 50—52.

The name and character of him who wrote these paragraphs, are too well known to the religious public, from the length of time that they have been before them, for it to be supposed that any new features of character will be developed by these additions from his diary and correspondence. They cannot fail, however, to show how far the holy resolutions above breathed by him have been carried out into effect; and to deepen any impression already existing, of the tenderness and depth of his piety—the ardour of his devotedness to the glory of Christ—the courage with which he encountered all varieties of opposition, and the perseverance with which he overcame them; notwithstanding a frame wherein probably the seeds of disease had been sown, if they had not taken root, even before he was fully set apart to the work of a Christian missionary.

To that beginning of the decay of his constitution may be attributed the great degree of melancholy, which, in the earlier parts especially of these volumes, pervade his religious experience. This appears from the fact, that just when his frame had become strengthened with food, a season with most persons, certainly, not of the highest degree of spiritual or intellectual vigour, he mentions himself as having had on such occasions, often the most delightful communion with God; and the largest amount, that seems to have been known to him, of religious joys. It is to be regretted on this account, for his own sake at least, if not for that of others who may read these lines of his experience,

that he attended too much in his earlier religious history to the nature of his sensations; to the exercises of the inferior parts of his being, whereby he lost frequently, no doubt, much of that peace which he might otherwise have enjoyed, from such an exercise of generous and habitual confidence towards God, as is founded upon reason rather than dependent upon sensation; and as leaves out of account the immediate effect, upon the animal spirits, of certain really spiritual exercises; committing the distribution of degrees, kind, and amount of religious happiness to be enjoyed by him, entirely to God. The atmosphere which man breathes as mortal, is too liable to changes, and too powerful in its ever-changing influence upon the human body, to admit of man's natural spirits constituting a standard by which to judge of the elevation or depression of his soul, with reference to its fitness for that calm and cloudless region—eternity. This tendency to depend too much upon his feelings instead of simply believing and loving, in the midst of every variety of religious light and shade, might arise also partly from that unhealthy and morbid state of his nervous system; which is almost invariably consequent upon the possession of a constitution of body weak as his.

Closely connected with this delicacy of frame, is *that* enthusiasm of temperament that led him to hold upon some subjects opinions, which although not dangerous to his religious faith, might yet be considered as extravagantly fanciful for him who had achieved what implied so very high a degree of sound and well-cultivated reason. We allude more particularly to his notions respecting the nature of the Hebrew language, his idea that all philosophy might be found in the Bible, and that the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, themselves, contained something profound and mystical. This propensity was, doubtless, not in a small degree fostered and elicited by his engagements in the East; by his attention to such languages as the Persian and the Arabic, as well as the Hebrew; and, by his associating much, of necessity, with the imaginative inhabitants of eastern climes.

That, however, his enthusiasm rather supplied impulse in his important undertakings, than led him to results which are to be at all deprecated, whilst also we cannot but fear that it hastened the burning out of his life;—it is at the same time both delightful and melancholy to admit.

Although it is far from our wish to mingle our expressions of pleasure, and of thankfulness to Mr. Wilberforce for the service that he has rendered to piety and literature, in the publication of these letters and journals, with any approach to the language of censure; yet our love of impartiality compels us to say, that we cannot but feel sorry that there should be allusions in the journal, even of the slightest kind, disparaging to the labourers, belonging

to other religious denominations in the great field of the world. Surely there is room for operation without collision by them who profess to be all one. It is true that not more than a very few times, are such expressions denoted to have been uttered by Martyn;—but even from him, much as he must be loved by all who love his Master, for his zeal, affection, and ability in that cause in which he expended his best powers and laid down his life;—even from him, although now rendered by death of sacred memory and covered with glory immortal; it sounds not well in the immediate neighbourhood of such a man as Carey, and at no great distance from Morrison and Milne, the translators of the whole Bible into the unwieldy language of nearly half the yet unsaved world; to speak generally of the Dissenters, as if they were all but perfectly inadequate through defective scholar-ship to spread abroad the truth of God among the heathen.

In the desire expressed by Martyn that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge would pour forth from their halls and colleges, multitudes of devoted and learned men, to renew, by blessed labours the days of Pentecost, through their prayers connected with the publishing by them of the glorious gospel of Christ in all the languages of the earth, we join heartily. Whilst, on the other hand, we see no necessity to concede, that *that* Divine Spirit who could so effectually teach the apostles to speak with new tongues, should so withhold his gifts of language from religious men of all communions, as to permit them, from their having, as is supposed, too few secular advantages, to labour in vain and to spend their strength for naught.

We should not have mentioned these things, but that the zeal of some readers of these volumes might be abated in their forwarding the combined endeavours making to convert the world; from their receiving the conviction, that, trust in an ordinary degree is not to be put in the agents sent forth from the respective Missionary Societies, unless these agents happen to have been educated in one of the universities of England.

Martyn himself bears testimony, that those, of whom he speaks, as inadequate translators of the Scriptures, produced by their preached discourses upon many, at least, of those who heard them, apparently deep impressions, whilst unfolding to them in their own tongues the wonderful works of God. The Missionaries thus performed deeds like those caused by the immediate teaching of the Holy Spirit, through the apostles of the Lord and Saviour. If, then, they could learn to *speak*, why not also to *write* so as to save men? The time, however, of the author of these journals, was too much occupied with the glorious work of his Master, to admit of his spending more attention upon the things just referred to than a few casual observations in the short and unfrequent seasons of his leisure, and in the confident intercourse of friend-

ship. This makes it the more regretted by us, that anything of the kind deplored, should remain in the memoirs of one—whose object was so noble, the conversion of the world to God—whose piety was so eminent—whose talents and attainments were of the first order—and, who, to establish the general dominion of divine love, had so entirely and successfully consecrated his days.

We think it impossible for any persons to read these his writings without receiving the conviction that Henry Martyn attained, in a very high degree, to the character of a good minister of Jesus Christ. We have used the term, minister, not missionary, only because we believe that the duties of the minister of Jesus Christ, and those of a good missionary to the heathen, are essentially the same. The business of both alike is to converse with God, in habitual, earnest, fervent, mighty prayer, in order to the filling up of those petitions, whereby God has said, 'that he will be inquired of, 'that he may do these great things of salvation for men' Upon the missionary in a distant country, and upon the minister in his own, is it equally incumbent to converse with men, by strengthening, comforting, and instructing them; especially, by conveying into their minds, in the manner wherein they can best receive it, the knowledge of the true sayings of God.

This high dignity was Henry Martin's holy lot. From one of the chief places of the literature of his country; and from having occupied, in that place, a station of superlative eminence, he descended, if, indeed, this can properly be called descending, to sit at the feet of the Son of God; that he might receive the words of Revelation at his mouth; and through his help, as if directly from Him, instruct and warn in their own languages the heathen world. Willing to retire far from the enjoyment of that admiration which his country would have willingly rendered him, into a place where he had the consciousness of having become forgotten and unknown; he submitted, by the grace of God, to place himself by the side of the ignorant and feeble-minded heathen; whose pride and self-conceit, proportioned to their ignorance and feeble-mindedness, demanded from him the continual sacrifice of being counted as a fool, that he might be, himself, and that he might make them, really and for ever wise.

It would not have been possible to him to endure trials like those incident to such occupation and to the labour, in a hot clime, of speaking to persons, for the most part, utterly indifferent to all religious things, without the cultivation of much fellowship with God. Instead, therefore, of his finding pleasure in that society wherein the men of the world seek to obtain freedom from obtrusive reflections concerning eternity; Martyn experienced as much of that society as his conviction of duty obliged him to, to be not a little painful, and enjoyed his chief repose in

those hours and engagements in which he was either pouring forth the exercises of his understanding upon the translation of the Scriptures, and in the general unfolding of Divine truth; or, wherein he was pouring out the exercises of his heart into the ear of his Father in heaven.

That he had not that habitual joy which might naturally have been expected to flow from so devoted a career, has been alluded to. Constitutionally he was melancholy. The nature of his pursuits was in him, as it is in all men, depressing to the body. The thorn in the flesh, is still connected with abundance of heavenly revelations. The objects around him, were all, upon his principles of calculation, adapted to produce gloomy impressions —hardened, immortal, human creatures, amusing themselves, by multitudes, into hell—the small apparent amount of benefit resulting from his labours—occasional relaxation from severe pursuits, seeming to him to be levity, or, in his apprehension tending to it; whilst conscientiously forbidden by reflection and piety to be any thing but grave—loneliness founded upon disappointed human love, perfect in him, but partially returned only by her whom nothing less than Divine grace would have enabled him to surrender, with such calm submission to the will of God—these things, added to the depression arising from his labours beneath a sun to whose direct rays he had not been from his birth accustomed, are abundantly sufficient to account for the frequent exhaustion of his natural spirits; his consequently desponding views of his state of mind before God; and the utter absence from him, sometimes, of all spiritual joy.

It is delightful, however, to perceive in him so prominently struck out, at an age so early, those undoubted features of the child of God—rendered bolder, doubtless, in him by the peculiar nature of his pursuits, and by the characteristic ardour of his spirit—love of the Holy Scriptures, and love of prayer. These were the exercises to which he never failed to have recourse, when he perceived, in himself, or thought that he perceived, the spirit of the world with its enchantments, stealing over the faculties of his soul.

The effects which these memorials, of love to God and man, as exhibited in the last years on earth of Henry Martyn, are calculated to produce upon all who peruse them, are great and good. None, we presume, will rise from such perusal without having derived improvement both to the understanding and to the heart. Even those details of his experience in which he may be thought to have erroneously condemned himself, are adapted to show forth the extent of genuine conscientiousness, and to inspire the mind with a salutary awe of God. Perhaps, if one religious sentiment rather than another were spoken of as likely to

arise generally from the reading of these memoirs, it would be the sentiment of veneration for the Holy One. With creatures, fellowship increases familiarity; but he who converses most with the Divine Being, is overpowered most with the terrible Majesty of Him who is not worshipped by the angels in heaven without a veil.

In closing our observations, we cannot but express our wish that the perusal of this work may have the effect upon many of the inhabitants of those abodes of learning, in one of which Henry Martyn became so distinguished, of arousing them to inquire whether there is not something in that true glory after which he aspired that is worthy of *them*. Whether they, who cannot surpass him in literary fame, because he attained to the highest, would not do well to follow him in the subsequent parts of his career, with sincere and well-directed, if not with equal steps; that like him, they may attain to honours far above those garlands, withering even whilst contended for, that adorn for an hour the brow of the successful literary competitor. Whether it would not be worth while for them to secure those more substantial applauses that attend the self-denying, assiduous translator of the word of God into the languages of the earth; applauses which conscience gives, which are given by all the good even now, and which the Redeemer of the world will shortly pronounce in the hearing of the ransomed universe. Whether *the end accomplished* through the wisdom and grace of Christ, by the labours of such of his servants as Martyn was, is not an object of unspeakable grandeur, and worthy of the most arduous and unceasing strife: from his sermons, his prayers, but above all from his versions of the Scriptures in the languages of the heathen, a number of souls are converted, forgiven, made holy; one generation of converts to the truth, from his lips, more especially, from his pen, succeeds another generation, and each derives spiritual light from the one that has gone immediately before; so that *that* constellation of sanctified intelligence, *beginning* in the one star, Henry Martyn, multiplies and thickens its clusters of worlds until the dawning of the day of the general resurrection and ascension of man. We say, our desire is fervent, that from the universities of England, there may emanate innumerable such worlds of holy and intelligent light.

It is almost superfluous to add, that we recommend earnestly these volumes, as containing a faithful, self-drawn representation of an eminently holy and gifted man of God.

Art. VIII. 1. *A Brief Account of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland, and of the Questions concerning Patronage and Secession.* By the late Rev. Sir HARRY MONCRIEF WELLWOOD, Bart., D.D. Revised and edited by Sir JAMES WELLWOOD, Bart., one of the Senators of the College of Justice.

2. *The Edinburgh Christian Instructor.* Vol. XIX.

3. *The Presbyterian Review.* No. III. *Origin of the Secession.*

4. *The Presbyterian Review.* No. XXXI. *Proceedings of the General Assembly.*

THERE is no question which has excited a deeper or more general interest in modern times, than that which respects the divine warrant, and the political expediency of Ecclesiastical Establishments. It is now very commonly and emphatically characterized as 'the question of questions.' Nor is this attaching to the subject an importance at all greater than a due consideration of its nature and results proves it to possess. It is a question, on the ultimate settlement of which depend consequences of eternal, and therefore of overwhelming, interest. In making this statement, our readers will easily see that we have no reference to the effect which would be produced on the comparatively paltry and perishing concerns of a state-paid clergy—the only view in which, as it respects too many of them, the subject acquires high importance, and leads to the piteous and howling exclamation, 'The church is in danger!' It is indeed true, that the right settlement of the 'question,' would make a *radical* change as to 'the vested rights,' the arrogant pretensions, and the pecuniary emoluments of all these sacred functionaries—from the mighty primate of all England, whose exalted dignity as an undoubted successor of some one of the fishermen of Galilee, cannot be supported on less than £15,000 a-year—down to the modest presbyters of Edinburgh, who, with 'a severe struggle,' as Dr. Chalmers expressed it, have to maintain their high though humbler rank, on less than £600!

But matters like these we forbear at present more particularly to notice, because, however interesting to the persons immediately concerned, they can, in such a connexion, excite only the scorn and ridicule of all right-thinking men. Our purpose is to call attention to the serious and momentous fact, that the question of Civil Establishments of Christianity, whether regarded in a religious or a political point of view, is fitted to awaken all the anxieties, and to call forth all the exertions, of the Christian man and the genuine patrot. In the one view, it involves whatever respects the spirituality, the prosperity, the spread, and the glory of the Church of Christ: in the other, whatever is essential to the peace, the safety, the true honour, and the varied interests of the united empire of Great Britain and Ireland. The *incubus* of an

Ecclesiastical Establishment has gone far to prostrate the native energies of religious truth; it has prevented the extension and influence of the gospel at home, and too often precluded the introduction of it into our foreign colonies; while, from being, in its very constitution and design, exclusively *national*, the world at large is permitted to remain one wide waste of dreary desolation, its multifarious and immortal inhabitants, continuing to form part of the dominions of Satan, instead of 'becoming the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ.'

That which has so often and so grievously defaced the beauty, and paralyzed the efforts of the Church of God, has ever been found to deteriorate, if not destroy, the best among the institutions of men. While it has been at once the boast and the support of every nefarious and tyrannical ministry, it has also been the bane and the torment of every liberal and patriotic government in our land. A lurking veneration, perhaps, for its great antiquity and its imaginary soundness, on the part of some of the latter, and a dread, on the part of their opponents, of losing great patronage for themselves, and the ample 'wages of unrighteousness' for their friends, have but too often fettered all the movements of the legislature, and not only prevented minor reforms, but obstructed the business of the nation. The people have, however, in all cases, been the principal sufferers; and those patriots, who have laboured to plant the tree of liberty, have found all their efforts in vain: its roots could not strike, its branches could not expand, its flowers could not blow, its fruits could not ripen, when subjected to the blasting influence of the Upas tree of an Ecclesiastical Establishment. Wherever it flourishes in all its vigour, religion withers, and liberty dies.

Such then, is the importance of the question now at issue between Churchmen and Dissenters. No question, perhaps, has, in our day, been discussed with greater variety and force of talent. And the advances made in the knowledge of the subject accordingly—except among those blinded by pecuniary interest, antiquated prejudices, or political power, have been rapid and overwhelming beyond all precedent.

Yet the history of its progress has been altogether anomalous, and, indeed, such as to exhibit quite a phenomenon in what is called 'the march of intellect.' By many, of late years in England, and by still more, proportionally, in Scotland, the powerful arguments adduced in support of 'the voluntary system,' have been hailed, reiterated, and extolled, as if with the admiration and delight which ardent and intelligent minds often experience, when supposing themselves to have made new discoveries respecting matters which they regard as big with interest to themselves or their fellow men. It seemed as if some had forgotten, and others had never known, that in as far as argument merely was con-

cerned, the question had been settled centuries ago, and that there had, in particular, been brought to bear on it all the lofty perceptions, the varied learning, and the gigantic power generated in the mighty mind of the author of 'Paradise Lost,' who, together with Sir Henry Vane, and other illustrious contemporaries, took their stand on the holiest grounds which mortals can occupy in the defence of the rights of man, and the sacredness of religion.

The English Dissenters, it is true, still showed themselves, in *theory*, to be of the same mind on the subject with the illustrious champions we have just named. Not an ordination of a minister took place in any of our churches without good proof being given of this. How, indeed, could they describe the nature of a Christian Church, without, less or more, making it their business to show, that civil Establishments of Christianity are unscriptural, impolitic, unjust, and therefore injurious? But there the matter ended. It led to no practical results. Satisfied with vindicating themselves, it never occurred to them to direct their artillery against the bulwarks of the Church as established by law, with a view to their actual overthrow. They would, at the time referred to, have regarded this as a vain and imprudent, because an impracticable, if not a dangerous attempt. It may just be remarked here, in passing, that our brethren in Scotland still allege that, even in the altered circumstances of the case and of the times, we do not, in the warfare now carrying on, occupy the right position. They represent us as levelling our shafts against minor grievances (which considered apart, they, indeed, allow to be great), while we make no unanimous and powerful on-set against 'the master grievance of all.' They maintain that the keen and powerful efforts made for the repeal of the old laws respecting the registration of births and baptisms; for an alteration of the ancient mode of celebrating marriages, and burying the dead; nay, and for the removal of church-rates too, are only to be regarded as an attempt to lop off the corrupt branches, which may be expected, in some other way, to shoot forth anew with greater vigour and luxuriance, instead of boldly laying the axe to the root of the tree, that it may root and branch be destroyed at once, and for ever.*

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* The authority of the BRITISH CRITIC, would seem the worst imaginable to which an appeal could on this subject be made: and yet the following observations of that highly conservative journal, are quite in accordance with the views of the Scottish voluntaries:—'Redress the grievances of the Dissenters! ALAS, 'THE ESTABLISHMENT ITSELF IS THE GRIEVANCE! This, then, is a case in which, 'from the very nature of the difficulty, half measures must be unsuccessful and 'unsatisfactory. We only lose our time, and waste our exertions until we come 'to the broad statement, that in as far as the Dissenters are concerned, there 'is no alternative between a total abandonment, or an integral preservation. 'No modifications or concessions can reconcile two principles which are con-

Among our northern brethren, accordingly, matters are totally different. The history of this great and exciting question with them has been altogether peculiar. By them, much more than by us, it has been treated as if quite a new question. And with most of them it really partook in some degree of this character. The largest bodies of Dissenters in Scotland did not, on leaving the Church, profess to see, nor did they at that time really see, any thing wrong in its being established by law. Even, although, more than forty years ago, they *judicially*, as they speak, repudiated the doctrine of their ancient creed and of their immediate predecessors respecting the magistrate's power in the Church, and every thing like compulsory measures in religion, still the question of Establishments, in its practical bearings, was, till within these very few years, hardly ever brought under discussion. The truth is, that just because it would not be considered as a practical question, by many it was not considered at all. Till the year 1830, Dissenters, and especially in Scotland, could hardly be said to have any voice in the country. The Reform Bill gave them their natural rights as men, and raised them to their proper rank as citizens. Silence might seem to be wisdom, when speaking out was known to be vain. But discussion, leading to exertion, was seriously called for, when it was at length found, that by the mighty alteration in their political *status*, discussion need no longer terminate in empty speculation, nor exertion be employed without the prospect of success. It was under such an impression that the dormant zeal of the Scottish Dissenters in regard to religious establishments, was roused, and all at once burst forth in a blaze, which, while it almost astonished themselves, well nigh confounded their enemies. The trumpet no longer gave an uncertain sound, but clearly and loudly called to the field. The call was eagerly responded to. The battle thickened. Numerous champions having soon entered the lists, with the characteristic boldness and courage of their nation; or as some less friendly to them than ourselves would say, with the fierceness and fearlessness of John Knox and his coadjutors, fought, and are fighting, like men determined to conquer, or to die. Nor can there be any doubt as to the alternative which awaits them, if the motto on their standard continue to be, 'BY THE WORD OF TRUTH, BY THE POWER OF GOD, BY THE ARMOUR OF RIGHTEOUSNESS ON THE RIGHT HAND AND ON THE LEFT.'

It is to the aspect of this mighty contest as it appears in Scotland, that we mean now more particularly to direct the attention of our readers. To speak plainly, our purpose is to show, that even

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'tradictory in their very essence. An ecclesiastical establishment must be 'dominant, or it is nothing; it must possess exclusive privileges, or it is 'nothing.'

the most moderate, and comparatively the most excellent of 'RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS, WHEN TRIED BY THE TEST OF 'EXPERIMENT ARE FOUND WANTING.

It might seem natural in the first instance, that we should attempt to prove this point by reviewing the constitution and the working of our own Episcopalian Establishment. But this, though in another form, we have virtually done already in various articles.* Were we next to go to Ireland for further proof of our position, it might seem to be taking an unfair advantage of what would be called an extreme case. Candid churchmen give up the Irish Church at once: and to compare it with the voluntary system, would, therefore, even in their opinion, be beating the air. 'The established Church of Ireland,' says Archdeacon Glover, 'is an anomaly to which the whole Christian world 'supplies no parallel; unions of eight or ten, or even more 'parishes consolidated to make up one rich living, that living 'without either church, or manse, or protestant congregation, its 'incumbent enjoying, through a tithe agent, its large emoluments, 'wrung from a population who never behold the face of their 'minister, or hear from his lips one word of exhortation. In 'Ireland we are not content to force upon her an establishment 'which is the hereditary aversion of six-sevenths of her inhabitants, 'but we persevere in presenting this establishment to her view 'under the most forbidding and repulsive form.'† In selecting the Church of Scotland, then, to test the value, or the worthlessness, of the principle of Establishments, we give to those who are friendly to that principle an advantage of no ordinary kind. The Established Church of Geneva, indeed, it may be thought, would, in this view, and in several others, answer the purpose much better. It was originally, though comparatively on a small scale, one of the best Established Churches the world ever saw. But what did its establishment lead to? and what is it now? The effect of the favour of the magistracy, and of a pecuniary endowment, has been to involve the Genevese Churches in the darkness of spiritual ignorance—to surround them with the coldness and desolation of moral death—to fill the pulpits of Calvin and Beza, and others of similar views and a similar spirit, with men who preach another gospel, and who lead those who hear them to seek nothing more of Christianity than the name. But we fix on Scotland as the place for trial, both because the Presbyterian Church there was originally fashioned after the model of the Church of Geneva, and because, independently of the deeper interest we naturally take in the one country than the other, we

* Eclectic Review, New Series, vol. i. pp. 201—229; and vol. iii. pp. 1—20.

† Letter to the Dean of Norwich, p. 5.

shall find it easier to appeal to an accumulation of evidence to substantiate our allegations, and to satisfy the most sceptical of the truth of those averments from which our main conclusion is to be deduced.

In Scotland, the work of Reformation was carried on with greater vigour, and apparently conducted to a happier issue, and at any rate to a greater extent, than perhaps in any other country in Europe. Yet it took its rise from beginnings not only very small, but almost imperceptible. It owed every thing, under God, to the talents, the piety, and the exertions of a single individual. 'It was,' says an anonymous Scottish writer, 'a poor man who 'achieved the mighty work in our native land. We hail the father 'of Scottish independence, the magnanimous Knox; at once the 'champion of truth and of liberty; stern, indeed, in his aspect, and 'fierce in his opposition, but stern only towards those whose 'iniquities he reproved, and fierce only when summoned by the 'mandate of heaven to arouse his courage and to 'wax valiant in 'fight.' To his unwearied exertions, we owe our emancipation 'from an enslaving superstition, our successful system of education, 'the intelligence of our people, the discipline of our ecclesiastical 'polity, and whatever remains of genuine piety in the remoter 'provinces and sequestered vales of the country to which we 'belong.' On all hands, Knox is allowed to have been the founder of the Church of Scotland. It is well known that he had the principal share in drawing up its original Confession of Faith, and what is called the First Book of Discipline, and was, besides, one of the six ministers present at the First General Assembly in the year 1560. It was only about two years prior to this, that he left the city of Geneva, where he had, for some time, been a fellow-labourer with the illustrious Reformer, John Calvin; and, on returning to his native country, he soon showed, that both in theological doctrine and in ecclesiastical polity, he was a devoted disciple of that great man. As was to have been expected, therefore, and as we have before intimated, what Hooker calls 'the plat-'form of Geneva,' served as a pattern for the Established Church of Scotland.

However inconsistent with that part of their present creed, which is contained in the twenty-third Chapter of the Westminster Confession of Faith, all her ministers and elders are obliged to subscribe to the doctrine, that 'the LORD JESUS CHRIST, the only 'king and head of his Church, has appointed therein a form of 'government and discipline distinct from, and not subordinate to, 'civil government.' This is a point which ultra-churchmen in Scotland are sometimes found labouring to maintain with great pertinacity. Although ever ready to boast of their connexion with the state, they yet insist that, with the exception of what relates to the compulsory payment of their salaries, they are totally

independent of its power. Thus, Dr. Chalmers, when defending the principle of an establishment (July 18th, 1833), declared from a pulpit in this metropolis, as if assuming, at that time, the style of bold defiance, 'there is not one thing which the state can do to 'our *independent* and indestructible church, but strip her of her 'temporalities.'

According to all this, then, the Established Church of Scotland professes to have, what every Christian Church should have, an intrinsic and independent right to make all needful regulations for her own government, without being subject to the control of the state at any time, in any circumstances, or in any manner whatever. This, it seems, is held by herself to be a vital part of her constitution. Well: let her be tried by this test, in the first place; and we shall see whether the experiment made during more than two centuries, has not proved to be a continued violation of this alleged cardinal principle in that constitution. Facts innumerable might be brought forward to render this indubitable. But we shall select only three; the first as being striking, the second as being very curious, and the third as being most lamentable in itself, and unspeakably injurious in its consequences.

It is a striking fact, that the General Assembly, which is the supreme ecclesiastical court in Scotland, and, of course, *lays claim* to an independent jurisdiction in all ecclesiastical matters, is yet so completely under the control of the king that 'he has power to 'call,' or dissolve their meetings at pleasure. If he chooses to convene them, he has only to appeal to their Confession of Faith for his authority.* If it is his wish to dissolve their meeting at any time, or for any reason, he will be borne out by various precedents. King WILLIAM III. alone, we are told, by one of the historians of the period, 'adjourned the meeting of the General 'Assembly, five or six times in his reign, and was readily obeyed.' Queen ANNE too (for it seems a woman is suffered, personally or by proxy, to speak in the Assembly of the Scottish Church), on one occasion at least, exercised her royal prerogative in a similar style. A dispute had arisen as to whether the survivor should be considered as the sole head of the Church, or her majesty be regarded as conjoined with him in the honour. To prevent all such indecent and unnecessary discussion, we are told that his Grace, as the Assembly would call him; but as the uncourtly historian calls him, 'the haughty Earl of Seafield, her commis-'sioner, dissolved their meeting, when they had done little more 'than form some directions for planting of ministers in the north. 'Many protestations, indeed, from all parts of the house were made 'against this dissolution of their meeting, and for the *intrinsic*

* Chapter xxiii.

power of the Church. But Mr. Meldrum, the moderator, was so 'overwhelmed with abuse by the commissioner, and with confusion, 'that he concluded with prayer, and the Assembly was dissolved 'accordingly.'*

Since that time, no such exercise of the royal authority has again been attempted. And why? Just because, during the whole of that period, now considerably upwards of a century, the majority of the rulers of the Church have taken special care to prevent any thing of the kind, by not only fulfilling but anticipating the wishes of the power which guarantees the payment of their wages, and thus, by becoming, as one expresses it, the 'servile tools of the State.' We need only appeal, in proof of this, to the spirit and conduct which every General Assembly has exhibited, during the entire space that has elapsed since they were so unceremoniously dismissed, in the name of the Queen, by the Earl of Seafield. Witness their fulsome addresses to every monarch, to every commissioner, and under every ministry, whether Whig or Tory; witness the profound silence they have observed, or else the decided part they have taken against the people, in all cases where measures were agitated throughout the country, which a popular government (if supposed not to be in high favour with the court) wished to carry, or which a conservative and unpopular government wanted to quash; witness their conduct in reference to the Slave-Trade, the Catholic Emancipation Bill, the Test and Corporation Acts, the Irish Education Scheme, and Corn Laws. Nay, and witness the shameful manner in which they have submitted to the dictation of the ministry, even in matters respecting the official and most sacred duties of Christian pastors, with which, in speculation, it has always been maintained that Government had nothing whatever to do.

The last count in the indictment now rehearsed, brings us to the *second* special instance to be noticed in proof of the position under consideration. It was brought forward in the General Assembly in the year 1820, by the far-famed Dr. Andrew Thomson. The case was this: on the accession of George IV. there was issued from the head-quarters of all our Established Churches, whether Prelatic, Presbyterian, or Popish, an *order* as to the terms thenceforward to be employed in the public prayers to be offered up in Scotland for the royal family. It may be necessary, in explanation, to state for the information of some of our readers, that all the prayers of Scottish ministers are, in appearance at least, extemporaneous, and that the Scottish people regard with a sort of horror all prescribed forms of prayer, as being what they

* Brown's History, vol. ii. p. 399.

think a relic of popery, and an undoubted department of that 'Black Prelacy,' as their Fathers called it, the attempted exercise of whose ritual in St. Giles's cathedral, caused the celebrated Jenny Geddes, with lofty indignation to hurl her stool at the head of the then Dean of Edinburgh.

Nevertheless a mandate, at the period above-mentioned, was dispatched to that Presbyterian city, of which the following is an exact copy: '*At the Court at Carlton House, 12th of February* '1820. Present—the King's Most Excellent Majesty; Archbishop 'of Canterbury' (giving orders as to the worship of the Church of Scotland); 'Lord Chancellor, Lord Privy Seal; Duke of Welling-'ton; &c., &c., &c., &c.;' (all sound and pious Protestants, no doubt, but not a Presbyterian among them, though issuing this authoritative decree as to Presbyterian worship), 'In pursuance of 'an Act, &c., for praying for the Royal Family, in that part of 'Great Britain called Scotland, it is *ordered* by His Majesty in 'Council, that henceforth every minister and preacher shall, in his 'respective church, congregation, or assembly, pray, in express 'words, for 'His Most Sacred Majesty King George, and all 'the Royal Family,' of which all persons concerned are hereby 'required to take notice, and to govern themselves accordingly.'

Such an order had often been given, and readily obeyed before. But Dr. Thompson, who thought it too much at such a time as this, brought the whole affair under discussion in the Assembly, and, in his own powerfully eloquent manner, urged the motion, 'That it be declared by the General Assembly, that no civil 'authority can constitutionally prescribe either forms or heads of 'prayer to the ministers and preachers of this Church,' &c. But the Assembly, as if to show how determined they were to crouch, like so many sycophants, to the existing 'civil authority,' when making an obvious and undoubted infringement on a first principle in their constitution, decided by a great majority, that the intrepid Doctor was wrong, and that the king, his *Most Sacred Majesty*, and his pre-eminently wise and religious councillors, were right!

In the course of the debate sentiments were expressed by speakers on both sides, not unworthy of a conclave of cardinals, when defending the paramount authority of the Head of *their* Church—and well deserving attention as showing the actual working of a Protestant State-Church, claiming in its judicial capacity perfect independence on the civil power.

And thus it is always, that in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the theoretical professions of complete independence on the part of the Church, are made void, or put to silence and to shame, by the paramount power of the State. A great number of learned lawyers and Conservative landlords, who appear in the character of lay-elders, by their special pleading,

by their carnal reasonings and unchristian eloquence; but above all, by their elevated rank, and political influence, command, as a matter of course, the support of the *moderates*, as they are called, who have hitherto formed the majority of the Scottish clergy, and thus prevented the adoption of the best measures which have, at any time, been proposed by the best men, in this motley and politico-ecclesiastical Assembly. How it is that enlightened and pious persons can justify themselves in submitting to place the spiritual concerns of vast multitudes under the management of such so-called spiritual rulers, we confess we are totally unable to comprehend. But that the composition of this professedly spiritual and independent judicatory is of the complexion alleged, is perfectly notorious. When an acute voluntary, in Edinburgh, was once reproached by a churchman, with the common taunt, that he and his party were in league with infidels, 'O!' said he, to his antagonist, 'Step into the General Assembly, which is 'sitting just now, and you will find plenty of infidels there.'

But supposing infidelity, or any charge approaching to it, out of the question, when it is considered that an Ecclesiastical Assembly —avowedly in connexion with the State—is made up of clergymen dependent on Government for their support and advancement, and of laymen, many of whom are state-officials, and others directly or indirectly connected with the legislature, or the executive, it is easy to see how they will become either the wretched dupes or the subservient tools of the monarch and ministry of the day. Allegations of this kind accordingly, the keenest and ablest advocates for the peculiar independence, and unrivalled superiority of the Established Church of Scotland, have found themselves utterly unable to repel. Sir Henry Moncreiff was an advocate of this sort; and in his 'Brief Account' of her 'Constitution,' makes what must be allowed to be very candid, but certainly very strange admissions, respecting this. The following deserve particular notice.

'*If there were* no party or political influence to operate in the Ecclesiastical Courts, though they would often err, they would always find the means of correcting their own mistakes, or of guarding themselves or their successors against the repetition of them. Neither the condition of our nature, nor the truth of history, will permit us to imagine that such a state of things has ever been completely realized. There is, probably, no period in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland, or, indeed, of any other country, in which party or *political* considerations, have not had some degree of influence. On the other hand, though their effects have been more visible in some countries and in some periods than in others, it may certainly be affirmed without exaggeration, that as many examples can be quoted from the history of the Ecclesiastical Courts of Scotland, of a disinterested and independent zeal for the advancement of religion, and for the general inte-

rests and safety of the Church (*our* Zion?) and of the community, as can be produced from any other numerous and permanent association of mankind. But it must not be dissembled, that those courts *have been at all times* more or less exposed to an influence of a different kind, operating in various forms at different periods, and *producing effects more or less hostile to the general design of a religious establishment.*'—pp. 11, 12.

But these wretched effects, the Rev. Baronet should have recollected could have been produced in the Church, only in consequence of her *establishment.* Neither he, nor even those other writers in defence of the Church distinguished by much more vituperative style, have ever ventured to charge any such evils upon the religious associations of Dissenters. While, however, they are evils of a kind most dishonouring to the King of kings, and most ruinous to the souls of men, they have been the natural and necessary accompaniments of all Churches established by law—the Church of Scotland, allowing her to be the best of them all, not excepted. Though said to be abhorrent to her constitution, it is admitted by the same paramount authority, that they have, all along, been found inseparable from her existence.

'When the Presbyterian government was established, from its very commencement there were individuals, both among the clergy and the laity, who laboured to embarrass or paralyze the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Courts, from views of personal aggrandizement, or from political intrigue, under the secret or avowed influence of the Crown. After the convulsions occasioned by so great a change in the condition of the country, as the Reformation produced, had completely subsided, the contention still subsisted between those who conscientiously supported the liberties of the Church, and what they considered as its fundamental laws, and those who laboured to subject both the clergy and the Church, not to the laws of the country, but to an abject subserviency to the designs of the court, or to the will of the sovereign.'—'The Ecclesiastical Courts have ever since subsisted according to the forms of the constitution, which has already been explained. While every parochial minister has his share in the administration, both of the supreme and of the inferior courts, it is obvious that many of the subjects which fall under their jurisdiction have such an intimate connexion with the civil government that it may be naturally supposed to be, at all times, an object to those who preside in his Majesty's council, to bring the influence of the Crown to bear on the decisions of the Church.' pp. 12—18.

Nor could any thing more disgraceful be affirmed of any Church, unless it could with truth be maintained, what, however, no man of sane mind would venture even to hint, that the views and wishes of royalty, and its advisers, must ever be in accordance with the wisdom and truth of God. That the very reverse is

almost uniformly, and must almost necessarily be the fact, who does not know that understands any thing of the Bible, and has read any thing of the history of kings and courts, and earthly governments in any period, or in any country whatever? But still, 'true it is and of verity,' that 'the influence of the Crown' has frequently been brought to bear most shamefully, most wickedly, and, as it respects the best and eternal interests of many, most destructively on the decisions of the Church of Scotland.

'Archibald, Earl of Isla, afterwards Duke of Argyle, came to have the chief management of the Scotch affairs, and *under him* Dr. Patrick Cumin, one of the ministers of the city, and Professor of Church History in the University of Edinburgh, was the chief ostensible leader in the Church. His capacity for the management of public business gave him sufficient advantages in his *political* character; though his influence, in a great measure, depended on *the administration which supported him*. After this, there were several examples of settlements appointed by the Assembly, to which great opposition was made; and there occurred some cases between 1765 and 1774, which occasioned more obstinate and protracted litigation, than is to be found on record before that time, since 1732, or indeed, since the revolution, in 1688. But, by this time, the Duke of Argyle, who had, for so many years, directed the influence of government in the management of the Church had died; and Dr. Cumin, whose political influence had been intimately connected with his, had no longer the same sway as a leader of the Church. Dr. Robertson, one of the ablest and most eloquent men whom his country has ever produced, whose personal character entitled him in the highest degree to the respect and confidence of his friends, and whose ability as a historian will reach the latest posterity; became, from 1763, the avowed leader of the party who had the designation of *the moderate party* in the Church.* He had as much of the influence of government to assist him as had ever been given to the management of the Church.'—pp. 73, 79, 80.

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* Churchmen often speak of the sects and parties into which they, Dissenters, are broken down, although, they know well, that most of these parties differ only about matters of minor importance, and that while holding like the great essential doctrines of the Gospel, they only take different ways, 'earnestly to contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints.' But under the two great parties acknowledged to exist in the Church of Scotland, who can tell what an endless variety of opinions and practices will be found to prevail? Hear how the one party speaks of the other: 'Of the comparative merits of the two parties which divide our Church, we think now as we have ever thought. The great principles of *moderation* we affect not to lay down; but the tendency of these, as seen in their actual working is, to relax discipline, to make the Church the servile tool of the State, and to enable the Ecclesiastical Courts to trample on the rights and privileges of the Christian people.' — *Presbyterian Review, No.* XIV. p. 235.

And he did not fail vigorously and constantly to employ that influence for the purpose in view. From his time, and downward, the General Assembly may be regarded as something like a political corporation much more than a religious institution. In it reference is far more frequently and emphatically made to the statutes framed in St. Stephens than to 'the lively oracles' that were spoken and written by 'holy men of old as they were moved by the Holy 'Ghost;' and, altogether, it resembles a court of law much more than what has been called a court of Christ.

There is still a third *special* instance not to be overlooked, proving alike the undoubted reality, and the dangerous and deplorable consequences, of the absolute dependence of the Church of Scotland on the State. It respects the intrusion of ministers on congregations by *patronage*. Here, again, the most orthodox clergymen maintain, that this grievous evil forms no part of the original constitution of their Church. So far they are right, that it claimed unquestionably a *higher* origin, and was utterly disclaimed by the best of their fathers.

It is common to speak in terms of high commendation of the Fathers of the Scottish Church; and, indeed, in many things these champions of Christianity acted well and nobly, laying their posterity under a debt of gratitude, the amount of which it will not be easy to calculate. For this we, too, honour their memories, and most cordially award to them our highest meed of praise. But for their conduct in the matter under consideration, 'we praise them not.' It deserves, indeed, unmeasured reprobation. What was it but for a morsel of meat—or at any rate for court favour, and their paltry *teinds* (so *tithes* are called in Scotland)—to sell the birth-right of all the children of God in the land! Dr. Cook states explicitly, that the one was the price paid for the other. In his pamphlet on what is called the *Veto Act*, he says, 'When about to be connected with the State, the Church consented, *for the sake of the endowment*, to give up the principle concerning the right of the people to choose their own pastors.' Dr. Duncan, again, a man of no mean note on the orthodox side of the Church, when writing in opposition to Dr. Cook, yet most readily admits the disgraceful facts in question. 'I am quite aware,' he says, 'that the price which the Church paid for her civil 'endowments, was the acknowledgment of the civil right of 'patrons to present to benefices. This is a historical fact.'

The conditions between 'the high contracting parties,' the Established Church, and the civil government of the present day, are still precisely the same. Lord Moncreiff plainly told the General Assembly at its last meeting but one that 'for the Church 'of Scotland, as by law established, to go into Parliament (to petition 'for a repeal of the *Act of Patronage*) would be to make an assertion 'of such complete *independence on the secular power*, as that she

'will not consent to hold the appointment to her livings by Act of 'Parliament.' Dr. Cook, on the same occasion, brought out the truth yet more broadly, 'urging, that if they went to parliament on 'the Patronage question, the whole civil rights and privileges of 'the Church would come under the consideration of the legislature; 'and if the question was once mooted, not a few gentlemen would 'begin to feel that it was not convenient to put their stipends and 'manses in jeopardy.' On these, and other grounds, accordingly the General Assembly, after a long debate, came to the conclusion, by a sweeping majority, that matters should remain as they are, and that the right of lay patronage, sold, as we have seen, for teinds to endow the clergy, as it was the ancient law of the land, should now, in nearly the middle of the nineteenth century, be solemnly recognized as being also the law of the Church!

And here, by the way, we have a most striking illustration of the effect of *endowments* secured by law to the clergy, *when brought to the test of experiment.* There is ample and very lamentable proof in the preceding details respecting even the best periods of the history of the Scottish Church, to show how clinging to an erroneous principle, especially, when connected with an ill-judged regard to self-interest, could warp the minds and mislead the conduct even of those 'of whom the world was 'not worthy.' What is to be thought of the working of a Church generally, whose ministers, to secure its establishment and their own stipends, allowed her members to be robbed, or rather bargained that they should be robbed, of a high privilege for which no other could be a compensation? What, after this, when tried, as they always must be in continuance, in a similar way, will they not be ready to do, in order to avoid the risk of losing the favour and the emoluments secured by their employers, who, while they pay them their wages, expect, of course, all acceptable service in return? What is especially to be looked from those—and they form a very numerous class—who, availing themselves of the existing law of patronage, have sought to be 'put into the priests' 'office that they might eat a piece of bread?' Will there be any thing too glaring and nefarious for them to do, in order to please their masters, however irritating or oppressive it may be to the people? And were the new endowments, now so clamorously petitioned for, to be granted, what, judging from the past, might be expected to follow? But to this point we shall more particularly direct the attention of our readers hereafter.

In the mean time, having proved to the satisfaction, we trust, of our readers that the pretension of the Church of Scotland to any thing like that *independence* which should characterize every Church of Christ, is altogether visionary, and that like other established churches, she is completely under the control of the civil power, it only remains that we notice a few of the more

prominent evils which have uniformly been found, to be the natural and inevitable results of her unscriptural and unhappy connexion with the State. And this, that we may not be suspected of extravagant misrepresentations, we shall attempt to do chiefly by adopting for the purpose the language of her own most zealous advocates. *They*, however, it must be observed, in admitting or reprobating her corruptions, are careful always to trace them to patronage alone, as the fertile source from which they so copiously flow. They forget, that without an Establishment, neither patronage itself, nor any of the glaring evils of which it is the immediate cause, could possibly exist in any Christian Church. While, therefore, we find them ascribing these evils to patronage singly and exclusively, we think we are fully warranted in requesting our readers to substitute for that justly obnoxious term, *the power of the Establishment*, but for which, neither it, nor the other evils about to be mentioned, had ever, to the same extent at least, been known among men.

It was certainly to the power guaranteed by a civil Establishment, that, in the *first* place, the heritage of God in Scotland was so outrageously oppressed by the violent intrusion of ministers on so many congregations by whom they had been loudly, indignantly, and unanimously denounced, as totally unfit to take the pastoral charge of their souls.

'From this root (patronage) was produced a rich crop of apples of discord. There was not a Presbytery, nor a Synod, nor an Assembly, but was convulsed with incessant collision arising from that '*law*,' (the '*law of the land*,' be it it observed, for the guidance of the Establishment), and its records blotted with complaints and dissent. Cases of disputed settlements troubled and vexed the Church; they came up like frogs over the breadth of Egypt, and well nigh made the name of the Church offensive to the nation. Every case was settled on some *special* ground, and strange to say, upon the *general* principle, that the people ought to be disappointed (!!!). Those who were the leaders of the leading party in Church courts, saw plainly the danger of compelling the dissenting Presbyterians to execute the decrees of the Assembly, and did not wish to exasperate feelings which were rankling from a variety of causes, by insisting on such obedience in cases of unpopular settlements or intrusions into benefices. They, therefore, had recourse to an unrecognized and unconstitutional expedient for inducting unpopular presentees, by appointing committees of such ministers as sanctioned their decrees, to perform that inauguration or act of ordination which is the peculiar prerogative of the Presbytery.' —*Presbyterian Review*, No. III. p. 322.

But, in various instances, subsequently, they had recourse to measures more violent still, we cannot perhaps say, more 'unconstitutional,' since it is always supposed to be constitutional for

civil government to enforce obedience to its own laws. We fer to the fact, that when the people, in certain instances, belled, and refused to allow the Presbyteries quietly to intrude nacceptable presentees, the Government sent parties of dragoons ith their swords and firelocks: and while, on such occasions, the fficiating ministers might be heard, perhaps, in sermon or in rayer, to say, 'the weapons of *our* warfare are not carnal but nighty through God;' the well-armed dragoons were ready ernly to declare, 'But with *our* weapons we are always ready to defend the Church, and the Crown, and we are now here to protect the Presbytery, though it should be at the expense of the blood of the people!' Well might Lord Moncrieff peak with rapture, as he did, in the General Assembly, of 'the *constitution* of the Church of Scotland—our *glorious* Presbyterian Church of Scotland—the most glorious edifice that was ever *raised by the* WISDOM OF MAN—the *Establishment* under which we have enjoyed so many blessings!'

A *second* evil, and one of a most pernicious and destructive nd, which has never been found separable from any civil establishment of religion, is the prevalence in it of unsound doctrine. he Creed of the Church of Scotland, as sanctioned by various cts of Parliament, has, like that of the Church of England, in ost particulars, the far higher and only valid sanction of the acles of God. But, in the one case, as in the other, the doctines taught in the Creed have often been shamefully contracted by the discourses that have been delivered in the pulpit or sued from the press. When the Rev. William Cunningham, ow one of the ministers of the Establishment in Edinburgh, was nder examination, by a Committee of the House of Commons, on ie subject of patronage, he referred to the corruptions which it as alleged by him to have introduced; and when asked to explain hat these *corruptions* were he replied, 'In the first place, I would apply the term to the existing mode of appointing Christian ministers, with its consequences, as leading to simony and other evils. I would apply it likewise to the fact, that *there are still a considerable number of ministers in the Church, who do not, in point of fact, preach the doctrines of the standards of the Church;* and, in the third place, to the fact that there is a great laxity of discipline in admitting members to communion,—all, I believe, traceable ultimately to the operation of the law of patronage.'*

Now, here, let it be remarked, is a man of whom we have heard s being notoriously the false accuser of the Dissenters, yet bliged to admit that the Church which he is so anxious, not only o uphold, but to have still further extended and endowed, if

* Report of the Committee, p. 286.

it does not really encourage, yet practically allows its ministers to obtain their places in it by *simony*, and when they are in, to preach what may be 'damnable heresies,' and to seal the doom of sinners, by admitting them to seeming privileges, only in their circumstances, to prove a tremendous and eternal curse. All this, he says, is 'traceable to patronage,' and as patronage is 'traceable' only to a civil establishment of the Church, it follows that such an Establishment, even on the showing of one of its own advocates, ought to be denounced as ruinous to the souls of men.

Those who wish to see the extraordinary admissions of Dr. Chalmers on this subject, expressed in his own peculiar style of eloquence, will do well to turn to the lucubrations of John Search, where a very striking classification of them is to be found. The following is a fair specimen: 'There is a leading policy which presides over this department of public affairs; and we repeat it, 'it is a policy *mainly derived from the representations and the* '*authority of* CHURCHMEN.' The main force of their patron-'age may be directed to one kind of theology, and that *the* '*very theology that unpeoples the Establishment*, their honours and 'rewards in the great bulk of them, lavished on one set of ecclesi-'astics, and these *the very ecclesiastics*, who alienate the population '*from the Church*.' 'It is fearful to think that, in the systematic 'opposition which has been raised upon this subject against the '*vox populi*, government may have been combating the growth 'of virtue in our land, and *withering up all those graces of religion*, 'which would *else* have blessed and beautified our population.' 'That system of doctrine which is stigmatized as Methodism, and 'against which Government are led to array the whole force of 'their overwhelming patronage; and on the approaches of which 'ECCLESIASTICS are often seen to combine, as they would against 'the inroads of some pestilential visitor; and which *when it does* '*appear* within the well-smoothed garden of the Establishment, is 'viewed as a loathsome weed that should be cast out and left 'to luxuriate in its rankness among the wilds and the commons of 'sectarianism.'*

We shall add only another testimony here—but it is a very remarkable one certainly—given by Dr. Burns, of Paisley, in the midst of many of his brethren, over whom he presided, when assembled in synod about seven years ago. He thus concluded

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* 'WHAT? AND WHO SAYS IT?'—pp. 33—35. We do not wonder at the stir this pamphlet has made. The ravings of the 'Record,' 'Christian Observer,' and other church periodicals, must be highly amusing to John Search if he trouble himself to look at them. The controversy is, yet, but in its infancy, and shall not soon cease. Churchmen must not expect to be relieved from the dilemma in which their rabid abuse of Mr. Binney has placed them.

sermon on that occasion: '*Who* are the worst foes of our establishment? The men who can eat her bread, while they do not her work:—the men who can preach SOCINIAN, PELAGIAN, or ANTINOMIAN *heresies*;—the men who can prostitute '*the chair of truth*' to the gratification of a base and brutal spirit of personal revenge; the men who can abuse the holy discipline of the Church, to the purposes of fell malignity;—the men whose zeal never kindles save only when the 'rights of the Church,' as they term them, are in danger;—the men who disgrace their calling by the grossness of temperance, and by the scandals of profligacy! And yet among *these* may be sometimes seen the loudest and boldest of our defenders. From *such* defenders of the Church, 'good Lord deliver us.' AMEN.'*

A *third* evil prevalent in the Church of Scotland in consequence of its civil establishment, is, that scriptural discipline, without which no church can exist in vigour and prosperity, is almost totally unknown. It is not merely, as admitted in two of the preceding quotations, that it is greatly relaxed, or shamefully prostituted; it has become nearly a non-entity. According to the Presbyterian polity, the exercise of discipline in parishes is to be exclusively committed to the minister and a number of lay elders. But in many parishes there are no elders. In others, it is well known, that the elders are selected by the minister, chiefly on account of their *worldly* respectability; and they will often themselves be found chargeable with the very things which would exclude from communion in any rightly constituted Christian church. Besides, in an establishment, church-fellowship is viewed very much in the light of a civil privilege, from which none can be excluded, without some serious immorality being fully substantiated by *legal* proof. *Sessions*, as they are called, seldom think of such a thing: and it is a fact, that Presbyterians have sometimes been deterred from the exercise of discipline in the case of very grievous defaulters among themselves by the intolerable expense which the necessary legal process would incur.

We shall only mention further, as a *fourth* result of the practical working of the Scottish Establishment, that it has led to a fearful prevalence either of religious formality, or of open ungodliness, both among the ministers and members of the Church. That there are many honourable exceptions is most readily allowed. But that our assertion is too well founded, no candid man, who knows any thing of the case, will for one moment deny. Our readers may judge for themselves of the state of religion and morals in a Church of which such things as the following could be affirmed by two of her distinguished ministers; one of whom

* Sermon, p. 57.

lived more than half a century ago, while the other has but recently entered into his rest. Speaking of the ruling party of the Church in his day, Dr. Witherspoon says, 'they had greatly 'relaxed discipline in point of morals; had by a course of deci- 'sions, planted the country with useless ministers; and, though 'the whole office of ordination proceeds upon the supposition of 'a call from the people, gravely admitted them without any call at 'all. This when done as a part of the public worship of God, as it 'always is, must be considered by every impartial person, not only 'as a piece of gross absurdity, and mocking of the people, but a 'piece of flagrant impiety and mocking of God. The *political* 'measures which have been carrying on for these thirty years past 'in the Church of Scotland, appear to me to be *ruinous to the* '*interests of religion.*'*

The description given of the state of matters, at a more recent period, by the late Dr. Hamilton, is still more graphic and frightful. Like others of his brethren, tracing the evils of the Establishment to patronage as their proximate cause, he says, 'it has been 'the nurse of ignorance and immorality, of dissipation and 'poverty, of impiety and crime, and more than equal to all the 'curses which have been inflicted on North Britain, since the 'Reformation. The most implacable enemy to vital godliness could 'hardly have desired any more disastrous and fatal fruits, than 'those which have been abundantly reaped from this preposterous 'and antiscriptural system.' 'The dry and heartless ministrations 'of these men, starved and disgusted the serious and intelligent 'portion of the people, who were obliged either to abandon the 'Established Church, or submit to a tame and frigid exhibition of 'the all-important truths of religion. Those who have advocated 'the cause of patronage from the hope that it would gradually 'undermine the influence of living evangelical holiness, and sink 'our country in vice and profligacy, may exult in the success of 'their favourite scheme. By its restless activity and multiplied 'ramifications, it has done more than all other causes united to 'defeat the purposes of the Reformation, to set the consciences of 'men loose from the restraints of religion, and fill our country 'with turbulence and discontent.'†

Such, then, is the boasted constitution, and such are the actual workings of the Church of Scotland. Who that examines with care the portrait that has now been drawn; the darkest colouring of which has been furnished and applied by masters of her own— but must admit the conclusion to be inevitable, that, if, as is so commonly alleged, this is the best civil Establishment of religion

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* *Witherspoon's Works*, vol. vi. p. 254.
† *Hamilton's Life and Remains.*

in the world, then, surely, the very common proverbial phrase emphatically expresses the truth in the case—'bad *is* the best.' Churchmen often refer with triumph to the opinion held by the late Dr. M'Crie, as an authority in support of the *principle* of an Establishment. But this celebrated historian and profound divine expressed a sentiment much more worthy of himself; when at a public meeting a little before his lamented decease, he said, that 'to extend the Church of Scotland, in her present state, 'would only be to extend her corruptions.'

Nevertheless, the most zealous, and we might almost say, the most furious efforts are now being made to extort from the public treasury large sums, in order to extend the operations of this corrupted and corrupting Establishment. And, if the experience of the past can be at all regarded as any guide for our future prospects, what would the effect be, but, in too many instances, to pay idle and inefficient ministers for keeping the people in ignorance, and encouraging them in error? With one endowed minister in every parish in Scotland (and there are more in some), fully the half of these parishes have been represented by the clergy themselves as in a state of almost heathen darkness and destitution. This gave rise to the following remarks, in a document recently issued by the United Secession Synod, 'that the plan proposed by the Church 'Extensionists of supplying Christian instruction and ordinances to 'those most destitute of them, by laying an additional tax on the 'country, which must necessarily be wrung from it by compulsion, 'is at variance with the genius and design of Christianity itself. 'Nor can it be doubted that the attempt, if made, must prove a 'signal failure. Their scheme has already been brought to the 'test of experiment; and they themselves being judges, the 'results have been most deplorable. And yet, with amazing sim-'plicity, or else with intolerable presumption, they appeal to its 'utter inefficacy as their most powerful argument to have the 'experiment repeated on an enlarged scale! All this is demon-'strated by the single fact of the alleged gross darkness to be dis-'persed, and 'the mass of heathenism to be excavated' in the 'midst of an endowed Church, from which, on their hypothesis, 'the light and favour of truth should have issued, so as to have 'prevented, if not the very existence, yet the rapid and appalling 'increase of these enormous evils.'

The Church-building *mania*, as it has been called, which a very few years back originated, all of a sudden, with Dr. Chalmers, and has since been advocated with such reckless boldness by himself and his little party of blind and bigoted devotees, excites only the ridicule, the pity, or the indignation of enlightened and liberal men of all classes in Scotland. But instead of being discountenanced by her Majesty's Ministers, it is currently reported, that they have, as a concession to the wild clamour and audacious im-

portunity of the men just referred to, pledged themselves to propose to Parliament, that an additional endowment from a particular source (but unquestionably public property) and to a considerable extent, shall be granted to the old Chapels of Ease, and to the numerous new Churches that have been, or are in the course of being erected in various districts of the sister-kingdom.

We have been informed, on undoubted authority, that no proposal ever excited greater alarm throughout the length and breadth of Scotland. The moment it began to be believed, the country was roused from one end to the other. Meetings were called, and, though in the depth of winter, numerously attended, by the Central Board of Dissenters, the United Secession Synod, the Synod of Relief, and other religious bodies, who have all, with perfect unanimity, protested against the measure,—some of them, as the *Sun* newspaper expresses it, 'in the strongest terms which the 'language can command.' They have proved beyond a doubt, that the adoption of the measure in question, would be impolitic and unjust, in the extreme—and that nothing but an explicit disavowal of it on the part of Government will allay the present ferment, or prevent the future agitation of this particular bearing of a question, which has excited a deeper interest, and is likely to lead to more serious results, than, perhaps, any other since the Revolution. They have even plainly and boldly told ministers, that 'the Dissenters of Great Britain by their support of the 'House of Brunswick,—by their energetic assistance rendered at 'every trying crisis of our country's history,—and by their acknow-'ledged benefits done to public morals, deserve better at the hands 'of any Government than to receive what they deem insult for gra-'titude, and oppression for justice; but that should such, in this 'instance, be their treatment, they humbly hope that the spirit of 'the Puritans and Covenanters will sustain them; and that failing 'all constitutional efforts to maintain their rights, the God whom 'they serve will eventually take up, and assert their cause.'*

For a time, the report referred to, appeared so extravagant and unlikely as hardly to gain credit. There is, however, too much reason now to believe that it is founded in truth, and unless the loud and general outcry against it, produce the proper effect, an attempt will certainly be made, which, while it must be attended with most disastrous consequences in Scotland, may probably seal the doom of the present administration.

We have seen various letters respecting this affair from Members of Parliament to a gentleman, who has from the first taken a prominent and active part in it. And that there is real cause for alarm, will be evident from the following extracts: one says, 'I

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* *Resolutions* of the Synod of Relief.

'see in the Government a disposition to yield to the Church their de-
'mands about endowments: and unless the Dissenters are up and
'doing, they will find the Kirk *triumphant* and the Voluntaries treated
'with contempt. The disposition of the ministers is to be as well as
'they can be with the Kirk, who have literally bullied them, as the
'Dissenters will find ere long.' A second expresses himself thus em-
phatically. 'I fear the Whigs are about to be insane enough to
'grant certain endowments, to the Church of Scotland, thereby un-
'questionably disgusting their truest and best friends, the Dis-
'senters, and establishing a set of men, who will immediately
'turn round and bite them, and will be, in fact, a band of canvas-
'sers for their Tory opponents. I have, however, some hopes
'that the sum will in amount be small, and that it will be con-
'fined to Highland districts. If they should propose to endow
'churches in large towns, where the want of churches has been so
'satisfactorily proved not to exist, I can only say, that it is an
'act of political suicide unrivalled in the history of any nation.' The
following is still more ominous, as coming from one who has bet-
ter opportunities of knowing the intention of ministers in the case.
'The Dissenters are the best friends of the present Government:
'nor can I conceal from myself how bitterly the ministers of the
'established Church have opposed them by every possible means,
'making even the pulpit subsidiary to political purposes, and
'prostituting the sacred character of the minister of peace, to sow
'discord and political feuds. It is not, therefore, on the score
'of past services that they can expect ought of favourable consider-
'ation at the hands of the present Government. I believe Lord
'Melbourne to be the most straight-forward man on earth. His
'motto is, '*Fiat justitia, ruat cœlum.*' He believes conscientiously
'that the bishops' teinds are the property of the Church, held
'in trust by the Crown to meet its wants—in short, similarly
'situated, as regards the Church at large, to inexhausted teinds
'in a locality, and like the latter liable to be revalued for the
'service of the Church.'

We mean to take an early opportunity of bringing this interesting subject more fully before our readers. And we pledge ourselves to prove, by unquestionable evidence, that a more wild and impolitic, a more outrageous and dangerous project never entered the mind of man. In the mean time, we shall only say, that the subject is fraught with interest not to the men of Scotland only—but both in a religious and political point of view, to all through the United Kingdom. And it is, indeed, high time, as hinted in one of the documents above referred to, that we 'in
'this division of the empire were roused to a sense of the enor-
'mity of taxing all the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland,
'in order to gratify the ridiculous humour, the pre-eminently
'foolish *mania*, and the rapacious avarice of a few so-called Church

'extensionists in Scotland.' The Scottish Voluntaries have nobly aided us in our struggles, and are now entitled in return to our best support. English Dissenters must rouse themselves as one man on their behalf. The battle is our own, though fought on Scottish ground, and the spirit of our fathers must awaken us to action. If Lord Melbourn's administration should so stultify itself as to yield to the demand of its enemies, we shall despise its meanness and feel contempt for its professions. It cannot gain the Tories, do what it will—succumb, coax, and flatter as it may. They will never forgive the authors of the Reform Bill, or lend to the *professed* advocates of popular rights their political support. But Dissenters will be constrained, in such case, to turn from her Majesty's Ministers with indignant scorn, and to leave them to the fate which will speedily overtake them, and which they will so richly have merited. The measure of their weakness and folly will then be completed, and no earthly power will be able to stay their overthrow.

Art. IX. *The Self-Interpreting Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, according to the Authorized Version; with an Introduction, Marginal References and Illustrations; a Summary of the several Books; a Paraphrase on the most important points; an Analysis of each Chapter, Explanatory Notes, and Evangelical Reflections.* By the late Rev. JOHN BROWN. To this Edition are annexed, besides numerous illustrative Maps and Engravings, a Memoir of the Author, by the late Rev. JOHN BROWN PATERSON; together with above Five Thousand Three Hundred Critical and Explanatory Notes, and concluding Remarks on each Book of Scripture, by the Rev. J. B. PATERSON, and his brother, the Rev. A. S. PATERSON. Glasgow: A. Fullarton & Co. 1837.

LONG as this title-page is, we have chosen to exhibit it entire; because the comprehensive account it gives of the peculiar excellences of the work to which it is prefixed will save us many cumbrous repetitions in the following notice. It will at once be perceived that this is a much improved edition of a work which has long been deservedly popular. With the merits of Brown's Self-Interpreting Bible many of our readers are well acquainted. They are so justly described by Mr. Paterson in the following extract from his Memoir of the Author, that we shall make no apology for inserting the paragraph.

'In 1778 he gave to the world the great work on which his reputation is chiefly founded,—'The Self-Interpreting Bible.' The object of this work is to condense within a manageable compass all the infor-

mation which an ordinary reader may find necessary for attaining an intelligent and practical knowledge of the Sacred Oracles. The apparatus which he has collected for this purpose consists,—first, of an Introduction containing a discourse on the Divine authority of the Scriptures; rules for acquiring an experimental acquaintance with their contents; a general view of the typical system on which, as he understood the Bible, great part of it is constructed, and a very complete summary and rationale of the history contained in it, or connected with it;—secondly, of illustrations accompanying the text, containing an exact notice of the general aim of each separate book, and the contents of each individual chapter; a vast collection of illustrative and parallel passages, in respect both of sense and expression; a paraphrase of the most obscure or important parts, and a continued series of evangelical and devotional reflections;—and thirdly, of illustrations subjoined, containing a great variety of tables, such as of the appellations given in the Bible to Christ and his church, of Scripture metaphors and synonyms, of prophecies and promises, proper names and offices of men, times, weights, measures, &c. The general execution of the work in its various departments is not less creditable than the conception of its plan. Considering the circumstances of the writer, and the general state of Biblical literature at the period it was composed, even its critical merit may be pronounced remarkable; while its devotional worth has been acknowledged and ratified by the extraordinary popularity which, since its publication, it has enjoyed with the religious public, and the growing demand for it, which the present edition is intended to supply.'

The present edition is, in every respect, greatly superior to any other which we have seen. The type and paper are excellent; the maps and engravings admirably executed. The parallel passages contained in the original work have been carefully revised, and compared with the text of Scripture, the inappropriate rejected, and the really useful retained. The marginal notes and illustrations, and the concluding remarks on the different books of Scripture, greatly increase the value of this edition. Those, especially, by the Rev. John Brown Paterson, are of a high order of merit; untinctured by pedantry, though evidently drawn from a wide circle of Biblical research, and conveying really serviceable information within the compass of a few lines. We cannot resist the temptation of saying a few words respecting this admirable man, and recommending to the attention of our readers the two volumes of his Memoirs and Remains recently published in Scotland. Mr. Paterson, of Falkirk, was indeed no common man. His fine ability had been matured by the discipline of severe and comprehensive study; while the natural graces of his most amiable temper were heightened to a kind of ethereal loveliness by the influence of religion. At the University he was considered the first man of his day, from the native vigour of his intellect, as well as the extent and variety of

his acquirements; a reputation which he nobly sustained by his Prize-Essay, on the Intellectual Superiority of the Athenians. For though not wholly free from marks of juvenility, the essay displayed such powers of thinking and such beauty of composition as to augur for its author a brilliant career of intellectual and literary distinction. But the augury was verified only in part. Shortly after he had dedicated his great powers and varied stores of learning to the service of the sanctuary, he died. If such as he seem to be peculiarly needed in this world, we are to remember that they are therefore so much the riper for immortality; and if it be no improbable supposition that the angels are not the only inhabitants of heaven 'who excel in strength, who 'do his commandments hearkening unto the voice of his word,' that immortality may be occupied in celestial ministries immeasurably more important than the noblest services of earth.

The Memoir of Brown of Haddington, which Mr. Paterson contributed to this edition, is one of the most beautiful specimens of a short religious biography that we have ever seen. We could not have supposed it possible for a life so poor in incident to be written in so interesting a manner. It seems to us to be absolutely free from all the faults which usually appear in religious memoirs; and to combine nearly all the excellences which this species of composition admits.

In conclusion, we beg to recommend very strongly to our readers this new edition of the Self-Interpreting Bible.

Art. X. BRIEF NOTICES.

The Miseries and Beauties of Ireland. By Jonathan Binns, Assistant Agricultural Commissioner on the late Irish Poor Inquiry. Two volumes. London: Longman & Co. 1837.

Mr. Binns need not have urged any apology for the publication of these volumes, to which we would gladly devote several pages of our Journal if the press of other matter did not forbid. His office, as Assistant Commissioner in the inquiry recently instituted into the condition of the Agricultural population of Ireland, necessarily brought him into acquaintance with a large mass of facts, which he has here recorded in an inartificial and straight-forward style. Ireland has long been the weakness and disgrace of the British empire. She is now reaping the bitter fruits of centuries of misgovernment, and must yet endure much before her resources are adequately called forth. We are glad that she has at length succeeded in fixing the attention of the empire. This is an important step towards her regeneration, and will be followed up, we trust, by a series of measures wisely adapted to her wants and capabilities. Mr. Binns's volumes, without making any pretensions to political philosophy, will be found to furnish the data out of which such philosophy must grow. He is no theorist, but a man

of practical skill, who has looked with a compassionate eye on the squalid poverty, social disorganization, and infuriated partizanship of this impoverished, yet beautiful portion of our empire. His statements bear the impress of an honest and a candid mind, while the evidence he adduces enables his readers to test their accuracy. We strongly recommend his work to the early perusal of all who are interested in the improvement and happiness of Ireland.

The Fear of the Lord, the Guardian of Youth; including a Series of Counsels and Warnings to Twelve Distinct Classes of the Young. By JOHN MORISON, D.D. London: Ward and Co. 1838.

The substance of this little volume was 'originally delivered by the 'Author to the juvenile branches of his own flock,' and its appearance in its present more permanent form, will gratify and benefit an extensive class. It is divided into three chapters, the first two of which treat of the nature, evidences, and advantages of the early fear of God; while the last enforces it with much affectionate earnestness on the attention of the young. Deep pastoral solicitude, evinced in appropriate counsels, and warm-hearted entreaties are breathed in every page.

Anabasis of Cyrus. Book I., Chapters 1—6. With a Literal and Interlinear Translation of the First Chapter, and a Lexicon to the whole, in which the Words are divided into several parts, and their Derivations are collected under their respective roots. By J. T. V. HARDY, Assistant Master in University College School. London: Taylor and Walton. 1838.

This book has evidently been prepared with great care and judgment. It is rather a new thing to see so much accurate scholarship in a Lexicon for school-boys. To those who do not approve of interlinear translations the work will be as useful as to those who do. It may be used independently of the interlinear part. The words in the Lexicon are arranged under the roots, whence the roots are ascertainable on sound principles; the crude forms of the nouns and adjectives are given, and the inflections of verbs which occur are rigidly analyzed. It is to be hoped that works like the present will have the effect of introducing a more rational system of verbal analysis than is prevalent in schools generally.

Investigation; or Travels in the Boudoir. By CAROLINE A. HALSTED. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1837.

The chief design of this elegant little volume 'is to prove to young 'persons of active imaginations, that happiness and knowledge depend 'not, as such are too frequently disposed to imagine, on a foreign tour; 'but that much valuable information may be obtained in their own 'country,—amusement in their own homes,—nay, pleasant variety and 'real entertainment, *even in those very apartments* where, for want 'of occupation, many an intelligent mind may have idly lounged for 'hours, listlessly wishing for some novelty—earnestly desiring some-'thing to do.' This design is very happily executed through the

medium of a dialogue between a mother and daughter,—the former intelligent and pious, the latter inquisitive and teachable. As Dissenters, we cannot be expected to concur in the praise awarded to the state church, but we should do injustice to our feelings if on this account we scrupled to recommend so instructive and entertaining a book.

Rudiments of Modern Geography; for the Use of Schools. By ALEXANDER REID, A.M., Rector of the Circus-place School, Edinburgh. Oliver & Boyd, and Simpkin & Marshall.

A useful little manual *of the kind*. But the kind does not appear to us the most useful. This little volume is intended for the *younger* classes in the Circus-place School, and as an Introduction to Ewing's Geography, the Edinburgh Academy Outlines, &c. It never appeared to us that the geography of Barbary, Afghanistan, Guatimala, or Chinese Tartary, was a very useful study for the *younger* classes of the Circus-place, or any other school in Great Britain. A volume of the same size as Mr. Reid's, and compiled with as much care, might, in our opinion, be more *usefully* filled with other matter—for example, a fuller introduction explaining familiarly the terms of Geography and Geognosy—such as horizon, climate, land, sea, soil, mountain, hill, heath, steppe, marsh, desert, ocean, tide, river, brook; these and other terms being illustrated by curious facts. After this preliminary information, we might have a full account of the grand outlines and divisions of the earth; with their leading features. It appears to us that Europe would then afford quite scope enough for the *younger* classes. Indeed, we know that it does. It is a mistake to suppose that children are more interested in bold generalities than in small detail. What can be dryer than an *epitome* of history or geography? Detail is what interests children. As soon then as they have a correct idea of the earth as a whole, as soon as they can conceive it in its totality, let them be fully taught the geography of their own country, and next that of the rest of Europe. This would perhaps be quite as much as the *younger* classes could manage. To persons whose pursuits lie in that direction, we would recommend a useful little volume published at Coblenz, 1836, entitled, *Vorschule du Geographie, von Karl Brandenbusch.*

Sacred Philosophy of the Seasons; Illustrating the Perfections of God in the Phenomena of the Year. By the Rev. HENRY DUNCAN, D.D. Autumn. Edinburgh: 1837.

Winter; or the Causes, Appearances, and Effects of the Great Seasonal Repose of Nature. By ROBERT MUDIE. London: Ward and Co.

These volumes close the series to which they respectively belong, and are equally entitled with their predecessors to the favour of the public. Each of them displays an extensive knowledge of natural phenomena, and a happy faculty of rendering such knowledge subservient to the enlargement of the intellect, and the healthful government and wise direction of the affections of the young. The circulation of such volumes among the rising generation cannot fail to exert a most happy influence on the formation of their character.

A Manual of the Book of Psalms; or the Subject-contents of all the Psalms. By MARTIN LUTHER. Now first Translated into English. By the Rev. HENRY COLE. London: Seeley and Burnside. 1837.

Of this work, now first presented to the English reader, we need only remark that it is worthy of its author. We are so accustomed to regard Luther as a public champion wrestling with powers and principalities, that but few of our readers probably are prepared for the more intimate associations of a spiritual order, which the present work will open up to them. To see the master-spirit of his day in the simple attitude of fervent piety; communing with himself and with his God, is one of the most interesting spectacles on which mortals can gaze. Such a scene is exhibited in the volume before us, and we invite our readers to inspect it for themselves. We hope Mr. Cole will execute his purpose of giving to the English reader other works of Luther yet untranslated.

Arithmetic. Illustrated by wood-cuts; by which system the Principles of Calculation may be acquired as an amusement. Invented and Arranged by ARTHUR PARSER. Longman. 1837.

Nothing in this book can be new to any good teacher. For pupils it is not intended. The phraseology of the title-page seems to encourage the erroneous notion that all instruction ought to be made *amusing*. This is one of the worst education-fallacies of the day. If life were all play, education which is to prepare for it should be made so too.

A Guide to the Pronunciation of the French Language; with a Progressive Course of Reading. By C. P. BUQUET, French Master in the Edinburgh Academy. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1837.

This volume contains a great deal of matter; but we do not like the plan. The course of reading is said to be progressive; but the first sentence is too difficult for mere beginners.

The History of the Bastile, and of its Principal Captives. By R. A. DAVENPORT. London: Tegg and Son. 1838.

This volume, forming the Sixty-fourth of the Family Library, displays an extensive range of reading, and an honest concern to exhibit facts in their true light. Mr. Davenport originally designed to link the history of the Bastile with that of France, but he soon found it necessary to abandon his purpose, and to confine himself to his primary theme. He informs us, and his volume supports the statement, that he 'has consulted every document that was accessible, and has conscientiously tried to be strictly just, and to combine information with amusement.' We shall be surprised if his work do not obtain extensive circulation.

Ward's Miscellany. Under the Superintendence of a Society for the Advancement of Literature, Science, and Religion. Vol. I. London: Ward and Co.

We are glad to find that this cheap periodical has completed its first year, and that the support it has obtained encourages its Editors to address themselves with renewed vigor to their unostentatious and valuable labours. The volume before us contains a large mass of sound and useful reading. Many of the papers are highly ingenious and talented, while the chaste and sobered character of the whole render them admirably fitted for the family circle. We shall be glad to report the increasing prosperity of the Journal.

Art. XI. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Just Published.

Home Education. By the Author of the Natural History of Enthusiasm.

Cursory Views of the State of Religion in France, occasioned by a Journey in 1837; with Thoughts on the Means of communicating Spiritual good generally. In Twelve Letters. By John Shepherd.

The Pictorial Bible; being the Old and New Testaments, according to the Authorized Version; illustrated with many hundred Wood-cuts, representing the Historical Events, after celebrated Pictures; the Landscape Scenes, from original Drawings, or from authentic Engravings; and the Natural History, Costume, and Antiquities, from the best sources, to which are added, Original Notes, &c. Vols. I. & II.

Scripture Illustrations; being a Series of Engravings on Steel and Wood, illustrative of the Geography and Typography of the Bible, &c. By the Rev. J. A. La Trobe, M.A. Parts I. II. & III.

The Illustrated Family Bible, with Copious Marginal References, Notes and Annotations, and a Concordance to the Old and New Testaments. Pt. I.

Random Recollections of the House of Commons. Fifth Edition.

The Preacher's Manual: Lectures on Preaching, furnishing Rules and Examples for every kind of Pulpit Address. By S. T. Sturtevant. Third Edition, revised and greatly enlarged.

Lectures on the Epistle to the Romans. By Thomas Chalmers, D.D. Vol. I.

Reminiscences from the Early Life of a Lutheran Clergyman. By Fred. Strauss, D.D. From the German, by Samuel Jackson.

The Melbourne Ministry. Reprinted from the Eclectic Review of January, 1838. In a neat Wrapper.

In the Press.

The Life of the late Rev. Dr. Steadman, President of the Baptist College, Bradford, Yorkshire, and of the Literary and Scientific Institution. By his Son, the Rev. Thomas Steadman. One vol. demy 12mo., with a Portrait.

A History of Rome, from the Origin of the Roman People to the Death of Marcus Aurelius. By Thomas Arnold, D.D., Head Master of Rugby School, and late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. *** The First Volume, comprising the Early History to the Sacking of the City by the Gauls, is now in the press, and will shortly be published.

Our Young Men. By F. A. Cox, D.D. LL.D,, &c. In 1 vol. duodecimo.

The Dramatic Works of William Shakspeare. In 1 vol., uniform with the "Curiosities of Literature," with a Life by Thomas Campbell.

Also, as a Companion to the above, The Dramatic Works of Beaumont and Fletcher, with a Life by Thomas Campbell.

The Incarnate One; a Poem, in Three Books. Crown 8vo.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR APRIL, 1838.

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rt. I. 1. *The Works of Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, &c.* With an Introductory Essay. In 2 vols. imperial 8vo. London: William Ball. 1838.

Edinburgh Review. No. CXXXII. July, 1837.

THAT the popular works of an age illustrate its taste and intellectual character, is a principle of criticism sufficiently obious. When Homer sung, Greece was emerging from a state simple nature: passions and opinions were unchecked by the tificial customs of a more civilized people. The Iliad and the dyssey are consequently remarkable for the simple dignity of ie manners they describe—a dignity that is wanting in the reat Roman poet, whose refinement of sentiment, and pomp of escription, are just such as might have been expected in one ho had acquired his taste in the court of Augustus. In modern mes this sympathy between the works of a popular author and ie public mind, has been not less intimate. The poetry and oetic prose of Sir Philip Sydney, like his life, embodied the allant, chivalrous spirit of the age of Elizabeth; while Scott and yron are indebted for no small part of the success of their writgs, if not for their inspiration, to the excitement and the peculiar ste of our own.

Applying this principle to estimate the intellectual character the present century, we cannot but think highly of the proress of a truly philosophic spirit—a spirit which we anticipate ill be productive of the happiest results.

'The genius of Bacon.'—'The influence of his writings.' hese two subjects, though essentially distinct, have been very enerally confounded; and the same method of inquiry adopted

in the investigation of them. Inquirers have supposed that to determine his influence, it is only necessary to analyze his genius; forgetting that the knowledge of the one is to be sought for in his writings—of the other, in the history of science. His genius was eminently practical; and, therefore, it has been concluded, his chief merit consisted in having called men off from unprofitable speculations to practical knowledge. Now, if this view of the question be put into the syllogistic form, it will be found that the major or suppressed premiss—that the influence of intellectual men is as their genius—is too unguardedly stated; and therefore the conclusion, though true in logic, may be very safely denied.

A second error, scarcely less injurious, has originated in the application of a rule which, in this case at least, is unsatisfactory, if not deceptive. 'To trace the influence of the writings of such 'a man as Bacon,' says Mr. Stewart, 'it might be best to com-'pare on a large scale the state of the human mind at distant 'periods.' This suggestion has been adopted by different writers; and the superiority of modern times attributed to his efforts. Their conclusion is just, but not supported by sufficient evidence. To one who has no time to examine into the state of the question, it appears little better than a hasty conjecture. The importance of the spirit, and method of the inductive philosophy is allowed, but it is by no means clear that the writings of Bacon diffused them.

To the claims of Bacon on the grateful admiration of our times, these errors have been singularly unfavourable. The very nature of his influence is almost as much a matter of dispute as the nature of virtue. Combatants of every school and of every country of Europe have entered the field; each one asserting that such or such a favourite principle was the instrument of his success, and that every other was trivial and uninfluential; while others, as in the contest on virtue, have made him suffer for the very force and abundance of his recommendations. Unable to determine their relative importance they have rejected them all, and held that men would have reasoned not the less soundly and successfully, if his Organum had never appeared. Our own impression is,—an impression produced by the frequent perusal of his works, and deepened by an examination of evidence in his favour perfectly overwhelming—that most of his admirers, from Gassendi, who held that the foundation of his fame was the new *logic* of his system, to his last commentator, who holds that it is its *practical tendency*, have had too contracted views of his influence, and that he has not yet received the full praise which his merits have deserved.

In order to form a just estimate of the influence of Bacon, it is essential to fix steadily in our minds, what was the state of sci-

ence and what the methods of investigating truth, previous to the publication of his writings. The systems and methods prevalent in his time he has himself divided, with sufficient accuracy, into three classes—the sophistical, the empirical, and the superstitious. In methods *sophistical*, experience was but partially and carelessly consulted, as in the system of Aristotle; or, as in the physical theories of the later schoolmen, was wholly neglected; its place being supplied by a verbal logic drawn from the philosophy of language: in methods *empirical*, science was founded on a hasty and indiscriminate examination of facts, as in the reasonings of Gilbert, and of Kepler: while, in methods *superstitious*, philosophy was founded on theology, as in the physics of the Platonists and earlier schoolmen.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century, however, the first and third of these methods, and the systems that had originated in them, had become somewhat unpopular. The revival of nominalism, a doctrine that involved an important truth on the origin of human knowledge,—the celebrity of the Comedia of Dante, whose poetry had expelled the Aristotelian philosophy from the North of Italy,—the success of the chemical and metallurgic arts,—the freedom of thought, which the invention of printing had diffused,—all operated, by their influence, in undermining their authority. Their errors had been detected by the discoveries of Fracastor, Kopernik, and Gilbert; and were now exposed with great bitterness by Ramus and Telesio; while Galileo,—by his zeal and ability, by his uncompromising boldness, and above all, by his brilliant success,—gave to inductive inquiry an impulse, which till his time it had never experienced.*

This state of things was obviously favourable to the development and influence of such a mind as Bacon's—a mind at once philosophic and practical, capable of tracing facts and rules to their principles, and of deducing from principles rules equally practical, but unthought of before—ever ready to appreciate the most speculative inquiries of science, and yet regarding 'the endowment of man's life with new commodities,' as the best possible test of its successful cultivation. The *tendency* of the spirit of the times was with him. That spirit his writings embodied: but, had they never appeared, it is probable that its efforts would have remained as inefficient as they had previously been; at least till the age of Newton, who alone could have effected a reformation such as was effected by Bacon, to whom he bore a strong resemblance in the vigour of his comprehensive faculty, and in the

* See Drinkwater's Lives of Galileo and Kepler, in the 'Library of Useful Knowledge;' two of the finest pieces of scientific biography in our language.

child-like humbleness with which he received the lessons of induction.

'His writings embodied the spirit of the times;'—but they did more. They showed how and why the past efforts of that spirit had been futile and imperfect. They gave to it additional active power; and lastly, they controlled and extended its movements. In other words, Bacon was the first who taught accurately the *philosophy*, the *importance*, the *method*, and the *extensive application* of the inductive process, and is therefore justly regarded as the 'father of experimental science.'

To the *philosophy* of induction a considerable part of the Treatise De Dignitate Scientiarum and of the Novum Organum is devoted. After giving a sketch of the state of science in his own age, he proceeds to trace to their origin—as Whatley has done for Romanism—the perverse methods of philosophizing that were then prevalent. He then illustrates the evils consequent upon a neglect of experience and of the right ends of science; and shows the inconsistency of a blind reverence for antiquity 'in matters 'where our times are more ancient than those that were before 'us,' and of the use of logic, not as a form of argument, but as an instrument of inquiry. The 'deficiencies' of the scholastic systems he proves from the confessions of their professed advocates —from the little progress that men had made in the knowledge of nature—and from the 'barrenness' of practical results. Finding that, in these respects, there was nothing but failure and disappointment, he concluded that science 'should be administered' on other principles.

The defence that Bacon has given of his own method, is founded partly on the necessity there existed for some change, but still more on arguments drawn from the nature of the mind. His whole system was a system of practical nominalism; based upon two great truths—the first, that man's knowledge of external things is dependent upon observation; the second, that true science rests on the harmonious exercise of all his powers.*

For his remarks on the value of induction—on the rules he has given for its guidance—and on its extension to all the sciences whose 'deficiencies he has noted'—we must be contented to refer the reader to his works.†

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* The importance that Bacon attached to the harmony of the mental powers in all sound methods of science, has been too much neglected. See Degerando, Histoire des Systemes i. p. 298. Garat says very justly: L' analyse de l'entendement humain était instrument de Bacon, comme la Geometrie était l' instrument de Newton. Leçons de l'ecole Normale, i. p. 155.

† See De Dign.; lib. iii. c. 4. Nov. Org. i. Aph. 103—6. On the Extension of Induction, see Nov. Org. i. 127.

From an examination of the passages to which we have referred, it will be seen that the method of induction did not originate with Bacon. It had been practised by the unlettered of every age. It was practised in his own age by many to whom the Novum Organum was unknown. It is practised now by thousands who have never heard his name. Still, however, Bacon was the first who minutely described it: and showed its agreement with the laws of the human mind. Previous to his time, it had been partially adopted *from accident;* afterwards, it was practised on *principle,** and with more earnestness, because with better hopes of success. The process itself he greatly improved by the application of rules which his sagacity and metaphysical talent enabled him to supply, so that it acquired in his hands a degree of consistency and completeness such as it had not before. He found it in fact an *art;* he left it a *science.*

It is with no little surprise that we have observed, in a recent number of the Edinburgh Review, a total neglect of this very obvious distinction. The rules which Bacon has given, the Reviewer holds, were not wanted, 'because they only told men 'to do what they were all doing.' This objection, however, unlike the speech which Sheridan wittily characterized as at once true and original in its statements, is remarkable neither for its originality nor its correctness. It has been urged, in the same form, by practical men, against systems of logic, of rhetoric, and of grammar; † and might be urged with equal justice against all philosophic treatises on art or practical science. It is further inconsistent with facts. When Bacon appeared, men were *not* generally practising the method of induction, in the *investigation of nature,* whatever they might be doing in the business of life. The precious reasonings of the schoolmen, to prove that the earth is spherical and that the planets move round it in circular orbits, reasonings adopted certainly from Aristotle, but cordially approved by themselves—the dutiful decision of the Doctors of Pisa, in rejecting the evidence of their senses, because they were able to quote against them chapter and verse from the writings of their master—the notable section of Stubbe, 'on the Deceit-

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* As early as 1668, Bacon's merits in this respect seem to have been fully appreciated in France. M. Sorel, in a work published at Paris in that year, speaks of his method as one—'fondé sur les raisons tres solides, qui monstrent 'qu'il n' a pas *dressé cela a l'adventure,* comme ce qu' on fait plusieurs, mais 'avec grande consideration.'—La Science Universelle, iv. p. 497. No phrase could have expressed more happily the methods of his predecessors than the one he has here used.

† This objection is refuted by Whatley; and still more fully in the Introductory Lectures of Professor Rogers, who has applied his principle to an examination of the notions of the Reviewer, and with very good success.

'fulness of Telescopes'*—his bitter complaints of the 'changes in 'the methods of ratiocination,' which 'certain arrogant and ig- 'norant experimenters' had introduced, and of 'the fetters that 'had thus been prepared for all ingenuity and learning'—the terms of depreciation in which Rapin and a host of others have spoken of all modern systems, for the most part 'artificial and 'pedantic' when compared with the 'simple, natural' science of earlier inquirers†—all these are still remembered, and illustrate sufficiently well how little homage was then paid to the teachings of experience. Appeals to natural phenomena were indeed as heterodox in physics, as appeals to Scripture, in questions of theology.

But though we think thus highly of the rules of Bacon, *connected as they are with fundamental principles*, it is by no means pretended, that the Second Book of the Organum, in which they are most fully explained, forms the most important part of his works. It no doubt displays very remarkably the spirit of almost prophetic divination, with which its author seems to have been endowed, and is, therefore, a good illustration of his genius; but on the progress of science, it has had but little *direct* influence, because in many cases, and especially in the higher classifications, its maxims are not needed. The *first* place must certainly be

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* This celebrated Aristotelian is referred to in the well-known paper of Professor Napier, which appeared some years ago in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. It is but just to observe, that he is almost the only writer who has investigated the question of Bacon's influence, as a question of history. Dr. Stubbe has given a very amusing testimony to the merits of Bacon in the preface of one of his works. He assures us that 'it was to 'revenge himself of the nation whom he had exasperated, that he diffused 'heresies in philosophy, and created in the breasts of the English such a de- 'sire of novelty as rose to a contempt of ancient ecclesiastical and civil juris- 'diction. Indeed,' adds he, 'the root of all our present distractions was 'planted by his hands.' A little more than a hundred years later, the disas- ters of the French revolution were attributed to the same cause—the preva- lence of the Baconian philosophy. See Degerando, Hist. des Syst. 3. p. 580.

† Rapin, Œuvres, Paris, 1709, tom. 2. p. 325. He thinks it an honour to Descartes, that his 'physique est une des plus subtiles et des plus accomplies 'des Physiques modernes; qu'ils y'a des idées curieuses et des belles imagina- 'tions;' ib. 401. The work from which these passages are taken, was first published in 1676, fifty years after Bacon's death.

The opponents of Galileo, at Pisa, were not alone in their decision, as will be seen from the following extract from a letter of Conringius, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Helmstadt, written about the year 1647. Speaking of Bacon, he says: 'Homo ingenio fuit vasto, sed nec a veterum 'doctrina instructus, nec quidquid moderati agitans, dum principatum affectat 'per novitates in omni philosophia. Veneror ego,' he adds, in another place, 'si quis alius, antiquitatem; ut tamen novis inventis locum arbitrer superesse: 'sunt tamen etiam mihi nova omnia suspecta, usque adeo, *ut sæpe sensibus 'meis reluctet novum quid adstruentibus.*' Conringiana Epistolica, Helmst. 1719, p. 19.

given to the Treatise 'De Dignitate,'—with the exception of his Essays, the most popular of his writings,—and to the First Book of the Organum. They contain his refutation of the errors of previous systems, his defence of induction, his announcement of its value as the instrument of discovery, and his remarks on its application to all those subjects of inquiry in which experience is the guide. Nearly connected with these topics are the profound reflections with which they abound on numerous questions of ethical and political philosophy, which, besides forming an inexhaustible treasure of moral and jurisprudential wisdom, will be found to have exerted no inconsiderable influence on the progress of the sciences to which they respectively refer.

His practical writings in Physics also appear to have been more influential than the importance attached to them by the present generation of readers might seem to imply. The instances which they contain of credulity and groundless hypothesis—and it must be confessed that they are not few—affect the justness of his method of collecting—a method that professedly included many 'things as doubtful,' and 'some as absolutely false'—not of his method of philosophy; while the deep reverence which they indicate for experience, the firm persuasion of its value, and even their extravagant anticipations of its success, were eminently fitted to diffuse the general spirit that pervades his whole system.

In the enumeration of his practical writings, his Essays must not be forgotten. The praises of Voltaire, of Johnson, of Burke, of Stewart, of Mackintosh, and of the popular mind in every age, need not now be repeated. Our business is with their influence.

In the hands of the schoolmen, it will be remembered that ethics had dwindled, in some cases, into an affected pietism, in which its principles were examined in subservience to the scholastic theology; and in others, into a merely speculative science, studied rather for questions of discussion than for the regulation of the affections or life. Both these errors the writings of Bacon were the means of correcting. The first *practical* treatise that originated in them was the 'Discourse of the Passions'—the notion of which was taken, as Mersenne shrewdly hinted, and as Descartes afterwards acknowledged, from the 'De Dignitate' of Bacon. The next work was the 'Medicina Animorum Moralis,' of Placcius, who endeavoured to supply the deficiencies of Descartes, by giving rules for the right regulation of the Passions. During the following thirty years a number of treatises were published on kindred subjects throughout Germany; and most of them on the suggestions of Bacon.* In 1696, Werenfeld published his 'Georgica Animi

* Omeisius De Arte regendi Affectus, appended to his 'Ethics of Pythagoras.' See also the works of Korner, Fitzhoffer, Paschius, &c.

'et Vitæ, seu Pathologia Practica,' in which, as the title intimates, he has done ample justice to his master, he assures us, that Gassendi, Digby, More, Malebranche and others, were all more or less indebted to him, although they had not thought it necessary to acknowledge their obligations.* Shortly after the appearance of this work, the writings of Locke and the discoveries of Newton, called away the attention of philosophers to other pursuits; and since that time, the science of practical morality has been in a great measure neglected.

On the *method* of ethical inquiry his writings were not less influential. 'Nihilo tamen,' says Stolius,—a writer by no means inclined to favour his claims,—after speaking of the Eclectic systems of Schultetus and Keckerman, 'minus vulgata illa et sectaria 'philosophiam moralem tradendi ratio principatum obtinuit, 'donec F. Baco illius imperfectionem vividius proponeret; quæ-'que ad emendationem gravissimæ hujus disciplinæ pertinerent, 'secundum ea quæ ipse cogitabat, indicaret.'† Heumann has expressed a similar opinion; ‡ and in consistency with their testimonies, it is found that induction, as taught by him, was applied to the examination of moral questions long before it was thought of applying it to psychological science. As early as the year 1670,—and at the very time when More and Cudworth were reviving in England the Platonism of the school of Alexandria,—a work was written by Placcius,§ Professor of Philosophy in the University of Hamburgh, as a Commentary of the Seventh Book of the 'De Dignitate;' in which he has sketched the history of the progress of ethics, and given rules for collecting and registering facts for the discovery of new principles. His efforts were early appreciated, and were the means of awakening in Germany a still wider attention to the works and merits of his master.

The influence of his writings on *psychology* has been much more fully discussed on the Continent than in this country. Bonald, Schlegel, Degerando, Cousin, and a host of others, have sounded his praises, and have shown most conclusively that the modern science of the mind owes both its origin and its progress

* It will be remembered that Bacon complains of the universal neglect of the 'Georgics of the Mind.' 'Verulamiana Consilia,' says Werenfeld, 'licet 'primo nos ad laborem suscipiendum impulerint, tamen in ipsa tractatione 'exactè sequi ubique haud visum est.' 'Quidam,' adds he, 'ejus consilia' 'tacitè secuti, inter quos Gassendus, &c.

† Stolii Introductio in Hist. Litter. Jenæ, 1728, p. 745.

‡ 'Accuratè vero,' says he, after alluding to the errors of the schools, 'philosophiæ moralis viam *primus* signavit Verulamius.' Conspectus Reip. Litt. Ham. 1733, p. 239.

§ How justly he had conceived the object of Bacon's philosophy may be seen from Comment iv. De Logica, Historiaque morali et colligendis experientiis moralibus ordinandoque illarum studio. Franc. 1677, p. 186.

to the early and extensive diffusion of his writings. 'The philosophy of Locke,' ought in justice to have been called, as Degerando suggests, 'The Philosophy of Bacon;'* and for this reason, that the grand principle of modern psychology is in fact the very principle on which Bacon has founded his whole system. He tells us again and again, that experience, exterior or interior, —that is, in the phraseology of Locke, sensation or reflection,—is the only origin of human knowledge, and that if men look for the truths of science, either physical or psychological, in the 'dreams of their own fancy,'† their attempts at improvement will be entirely futile. 'Francis Bacon thought thus—Man, the minister of na-'ture, understands as much as his observations of it, either *with* '*regard to things or the mind*, permit him, and neither knows nor 'is capable of more.'

The influence of this truth was early seen;—first, in the system of Hobbes and Gassendi, by both of whom 'interior experience' was too much neglected;—and afterwards in the system of Locke. That the two former were greatly indebted to Bacon, is certain; and as soon as the 'Essay' appeared, it is equally certain that its merits, or,—as some deemed them,—its errors, were immediately attributed to the new system. 'I humbly beseech Mr. Locke,' writes one of his ablest opponents, 'that he would unbiassedly 'consider whether (since he cannot suspect his own excellent 'parts) this new way of philosophizing be not the sole cause of all 'his mistakes.'‡ This 'new way' the same writer, in a work published in the preceding year, characterized as, 'the Experimental 'Method, whose author is that great man, Sir Francis Bacon; 'but which is now demonstrated to be false, both by the confes-'sions of its followers, and by the difficulties which of necessity 'adhere to it.'§ This explanation of Mr. Locke's 'mistakes' is

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* Hist. des Syst. i. 301. 'Bacon a mis au monde,' says Cousin, 'l'ecole 'sensualiste moderne: mais,' adds he, understanding by sensualism the philosophy of *pure* sensation, 'vous chercheriez en vain dans Bacon les conse-'quences aux quelles cette ecole,'—that is, Hobbes and Gassendi, and most of the professed Lockists of France, but not Locke himself, as he seems to have supposed,—'est plus tard arrivée.' Cours de la Hist. de la Philos. i. p. 444.

† The celebrated statement of Descartes, 'that nothing comprehensible by 'the imagination can be at all subservient to the knowledge of mind,' a statement which Mr. Stewart calls the foundation-stone of modern mental philosophy, seems but a comment upon the first Aphorism of the Organum. Before it appeared, the works of Bacon had gone through several editions, and were very widely read both in Germany and in France.

‡ 'Solid Philosophy Asserted, against the Fancies of the Ideists.' By J(ohn) S(mith). Lond. 1697. Pref.

§ Method of Science, by John Smith. Lond. 1696. Pref. Schlegel has given Bacon the credit of being the author of the 'Philosophy of Sensation,' though

the more probable, from the fact, that such has been the connexion between the method of the Organum and the philosophy of the Essay, that it is only where the one has been followed, the other has prevailed.

Beside the advantages which the early diffusion of the method of Bacon has conferred on the science of the mind, he has given one of the best possible illustrations of the cautious, sober spirit in which such subjects are to be investigated. Himself possessed of the brightest fancy, he was contented to employ it in the illustration of truth. He infused the very spirit of poetry into his description of facts; while in the investigation of them, he was guided solely by the spirit of the inductive system. His observations on the scholastic question of the nature of the mind—on the limits of its faculties—on the respective provinces of reason and faith in matters of revelation, might be quoted in proof. They afford a singular instance of the combination of a highly poetical style with a philosophy severely rational, and have been of inestimable service to all science, and especially to psychology. They have tended to foster a spirit of inquiry and submission. They have diminished the labour of discovery by confining investigation within narrower bounds, and have thus been the means of saving an incredible waste of effort which had previously been expended in useless or impossible speculation.

We have already stated that the writings of Bacon exercised considerable influence on the progress of a number of questions not immediately connected with the methods of science. To one or two of these we now very briefly refer.

His observations on the power of words are familiar to most of the readers of his works; their originality and importance are perhaps less known. It is remarkable enough that among all the treatises of the ancient metaphysicians, there is not one on this subject. Bacon was literally the first who pointed out the evils resulting from the abuse of words, and from their re-action upon the mind. Locke and Leibnitz adopted his suggestions, and analysed, about the same time, the prejudices to which he had referred. Condillac *professedly* following in the footsteps of Locke, prosecuted the subject to a greater extent than his master, and with still greater success. He explained the use of analogy in the terms of mental philosophy, and illustrated most admirably the connexion between precision in the language of science, and distinct consistent apprehensions of truth. One of the latest and most useful works which may be attributed to the aphorisms of Bacon, is the Memoir of

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he seems to deny that he was aware of its importance. Lectures on the History of Literature. Ed. 1818. ii. p. 22.

Degerando, 'on signs viewed in relation to our intellectual 'operations;' in which he has done ample justice to his writings, as the means of calling attention to this most important of logical questions.*

From the prominence which Bacon has given to topics of this kind, it is very evident, that he thought improvement less dependent upon the culture of the reasoning powers, than upon the correction of those early prejudices and associations that are even now but too prevalent. Their force and number are yielding, though slowly, to the influence of education, by which alone they can be overcome. Should the expectations of Reid and Stewart of the coming improvement of mental science ever be realized; and the laws of the intellectual world be as clearly ascertained as those of the material, how greatly will the men of that day be indebted to *him* who had so often and so forcibly taught, that truth would not deign to unveil herself to her worshippers till all the 'idols' in her temple had been removed.

His remarks on Universal Grammar, on Rhetoric, on Traditive Logic, on the History of the Sciences, and above all, on the Philosophy of Law,† are equally original, and might be shown to have exerted no little influence on the modes of thinking prevalent in our own times.

To ascertain the influence of his writings on *physical* science, the one of two methods might be adopted. It might either be shown that they contain all the elements of influence fitted to effect a change, and that they were extensively circulated; or it might be sufficient to quote the testimonies of philosophers who professed to have been weaned from the scholastic systems by the perusal of them. It would clearly be most satisfactory, however, if these different methods were combined.

In the very able article to which we have already referred, Bacon's merits are represented as mainly dependent upon the 'motives for performing well the inductive process with which he 'supplied inquirers.' He appealed to their self-interest. Like Hannibal, he promised them broad acres in the region to which he wished to lead them. He offered them Rome for Carthage; the sunny fields of Italy for the wastes of Libya. He assured them that would they but set out with him, their lives, and the

* Des Signes et de l'Art de penser considérés dans leur rapports mutuels. Paris, An. viii. Pref.

† The works of Grotius and of Bp. Cumberland on this subject, originated in the suggestions of Bacon. It is remarkable that in a book written by Naudé—one of the friends of Campanella, and an admirer of Bacon—the author shows throughout that the science of government is strictly experimental. 'Considerations Politiques sur les coups d'etat.' Paris, 1653, pp. 37, 75, 42, 240.

lives of their children should be prolonged; 'their pains miti-'gated, their diseases extinguished.' He bribed them in fact into truth, by the promise of happiness.

It is needless to remind the reader that most of these promises have been redeemed; and that provinces richer and more extensive than were ever dreamt of in the philosophy of the most ardent of alchemists, have rewarded the efforts of his followers. It is allowed further, that Bacon tried the systems of the schools by their fruitfulness in practical results, and was contented that his own system should be tried by the same criterion. What we question is, that either he or any of the more illustrious of his disciples ever made it the *immediate* standard or the principal motive of successful investigation. We have never read that the Florentine academicians were induced to make experiments on the pressure of the atmosphere, or on the theory of flotation, in the hope that their conclusions would be applied to the construction of fire-engines or of fifty-gun frigates; or that Black would never have devoted a moment to the subject of latent heat but for the persuasion that his pupil Watt would apply his principles to the invention of the noblest piece of mechanism with which art has ever been endowed; or that the ecstasy of the discoverer of the hydrostatical paradox was at all augmented by a vision of himself—*alter et idem*—crushed between the plates of a Bramah's press; or that Herschel's discoveries connected with Jupiter's satellites had any reference whatever to the voyagings of his descendant to the 'far South,' for the purpose of making discoveries that are to contribute to the happiness of descendants still more remote. We have never read that Dollond's glasses were even thought of by Newton in his analysis of light; or that the splendid generalizations which have immortalized his name have ever been directly fruitful 'in the relief of man's estate,' unless it be in 'the relief' of the memory, by expressing, in one line, the observations and discoveries of centuries. We know well that science has been productive of the happiest results: and so has morality; but he that cultivates science with a constant reference to the benefits it confers, will, in the end, be no more a disciple of Bacon than the selfish man is a disciple of virtue:—and so thought Bacon himself: for, in one of the very aphorisms the Reviewer has quoted, he complains that too many of his own time were contented with present fruits, or with two or three new discoveries, and that, in consequence, the sciences in all their completeness had been neglected. It is scarcely necessary to add, in confirmation of these statements, that one of the branches of inquiry which has been most successfully cultivated, and is now among the most popular, Astronomy, has been one of the least *extensively* 'fruitful.'

The reasonings by which the Reviewer wishes to prove the

ly of the rules which Bacon has given for the guidance of ductive process, seem equally ill-founded. To take his own ıtions, it would follow, if his arguments were conclusive, that, ıuse Tell would not have been a whit the more likely to the apple, had he known the nature of the curve which the of the arrow would describe, therefore the study of the of projectiles is in all cases an useless task; or—because in Barclay could walk his thousand miles in a thousand suc- hours, without a knowledge of the name and place of muscle of the leg, therefore anatomy may be struck out of rriculum of medical study; or because a Londoner never ıces his *will* and *shall*, therefore all such rules as Campbell ven for the guidance of his unfortunate countrymen are libel- nd impertinent; or—because men spoke eloquently before es on rhetoric were written, therefore it is folly to read them. rgument is this—that, if a man can use a complicated instru- his skill in the use of it cannot be augmented by a knowledge working or make; a statement tolerably correct, so long as ks regularly and well: but if the workman be ignorant of , or if he have to modify it, in its parts or in the adaptation m, so as to fit it for other work, he must examine it ghly, and make himself acquainted with the position and every lever and every wheel. Just such an instrument is tion. At first it was rude and imperfect; afterwards it be- more complex and more useful. In its simplest form it was bed by Aristotle. In the times of the schoolmen it was rsally known, and, in matters of philosophy, as universally cted; being used only for the purposes of common life. r added a few wheels, and gave a somewhat whimsical ac- of it and of his own improvements. By Galileo, who was comparably superior man, a few practical changes were in- ced. By Bacon it was minutely described, and ultimately ted. It may be called the same tool in the hands of Kepler of Wells: just as we speak of the steam-engine of the uis of Worcester and the steam-engine of Watt: but, be- the induction of the one and the induction of the other, is as wide a difference as between the admirable paper of ne on the 'Theory of Dew,' and the fortunate guesses and tical reasonings of the other on the 'Copernican System.' e *means* of the influence of Bacon, however, is a subject of terest, at present, than its extent and progress. The question , how that influence was attained; but, whether it has been so sive as to warrant the title which has been given him, of ıer of Experimental Physics.' This question we answer ıatively—the opinions of Biôt, and Brewster, and Coplestone thstanding—and now proceed to sketch briefly the history

of the influence of his writings on the advancement of physical science.

It was in this country that Bacon first succeeded in awakening attention to the importance of experiment in the investigation of natural phenomena. On the Continent, the logic and the philosophy of his writings were for some time the only subjects of discussion, the end being forgotten in the study of the means; while in England, his rules were reduced to practice within a very few years after his death. As the paper of Professor Napier is known to most readers who feel an interest in this question, we refer them for the opinions of Wallis, Wilkins, Childrey, and other members of the Royal Society, to the passages he has quoted, and content ourselves with giving a few additional testimonies.

The first experimenter to whom we refer is Sir Kenelm Digby, the earliest experimental chemist, after Roger Bacon, whom this country can boast. From his letters to Fermat, the French mathematician, it may be seen that he regarded Bacon as his master: he seems also to have performed a number of experiments on the motion of bodies, in answer to the queries in the Fifth Book of the 'De Dignitate.'* About the same time, treatises were published on Optics and Mechanics, in which the authors, professing to follow Bacon as their guide, relate the results at which they had arrived by the inductive process.† The testimony of the enemies of the *Baconian* philosophy, as it now began to be called, is not less conclusive. One of the Fellows of Sidney College, and a friend of Otto Guericke's, complains that Bacon's authority in all matters of science was, in his time, universally acknowledged, and that, in consequence, his followers had become worshippers of those very *idola theatri* which he himself had condemned.‡ The bitter invectives of Ross and Stubbe against the 'Baconical philosophers,' are too generally known to be repeated.

From these testimonies—and they might be augmented by at least fifty more—it may be concluded that the inductive philosophy, as cultivated by Digby, Boyle, Hooke, and Newton, owed its origin and most of its triumphs, in England at least, to the efforts of Bacon.

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* See Sloane MSS. 63, pp. 122.

† See especially, 'Elementa Opticæ, nova facili et Compendiosa Methodo, explanata.' Lond. 1651, p. 5, 9, 102, &c.

‡ De plenitudine Mundi, Lond. 1660, Pref. 'Nos haud dubiâ fide accepi-'mus, medicos quosdam non modò in ejus sententiam totos abiisse, verum 'et eo nomine historiam densi et rari magnifacere. Adeo nimirum invaluit 'Verulamii *summa* auctoritas.' By his rejection of Teleology in the investigation of nature, Bacon incurred the suspicions of the 'school divines;' among whom we regret to find the names of More, Parker, and Cudworth.

In Germany and Holland his notions were popular, though not practised, at least ten years earlier than in this country. The comparison of Campanella and Bacon, by Tobias Adams, in 1623, (whatever may be thought of the critical judgment it displays), shows that his method was even then understood and appreciated. In the following year a strong controversy was raised on the merits of the Organum. Both combatants seem to have had an accurate knowledge of the intentions of the author, and one of them, after giving an admirable outline of his method, expresses his confident hope that it would be the means of effecting a reformation in philosophy;*—a hope that was realized within a very few years: for, in 1639, we are told by a celebrated Protestant divine and Grammarian, that induction, as taught by Bacon, was then extensively practised, and had proved eminently successful. †

Between this period and the establishment of the Academia Naturæ Curiosorum, in 1652, we have a number of testimonies equally satisfactory. In an Academical discourse, delivered at Leyden in 1648, the writer, after noticing the importance of 'dismissing from the mind all idols,' and assuring his hearers, in a well-known phrase of Bacon's, 'that nature can be overcome only by submission,' adds:—'Hæc fuit via trita et calcata Aristoteli et præclaris omnium semper seculorum ubivis gentium ingeniis, ac nostro seculo Ill. Verulamio in aureo opere *instauratione magnæ et de Augmentis Scientiarum.*' ‡ How far this eulogium was merited either by the Stagyrite or by those 'choice spirits'—præclara ingenia—on whom it is bestowed, is of little moment: it is sufficient that the passage betrays an intimate acquaintance with his writings, and a deep sense of their value. In the Universities of Leipsic, Rostoch, Jena, Erfurt, &c., they were early studied, and, as may be seen from the Academical Theses of the time, were productive of the happiest results. §

After the formation of the 'Academy,' which, according to Valentine and Buchner, owed its origin to the spirit which his writings had diffused, his influence became still more extensively felt. In a few years, it was the means of overturning, not only the scholastic system, but also the philosophy of Descartes, which,

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* Sloane MSS. 432, p. 132. The date is determined from internal evidence. See p. 147.

† Pansophiæ Prodromus. Lond. 1639, p. 46.

‡ Oratio de rectâ philosophicè disputandi ratione. Lug. Bat. 1648, p. 43. See Philosophia Naturalis, Auct. Heereboort. Oxf. 1668.

§ Many Theses were written between 1640 and 1650, De Vita et Morte, De Ventis, &c., in which Bacon is spoken of as the highest authority. The 'Tractatus Physici,' in the British Museum, abound with testimonies to his influence.

it is well known, was early popular in Holland. 'Usque adeo 'exosum (says Sturm) est hodiè Cartesianorum nomen non tantum 'Theologis ac Philosophis bene multis, sed integris quoque 'Collegiis Germaniæ nostræ, ut Cartesianus qui audit, gravi 'videatur multis urgeri convitio.'* This unpopularity of Cartesianism he elsewhere attributes to the 'universal diffusion of the 'experimental method of the immortal Bacon.'†

The opinions of the later members of the 'Academy' may be summed up in the language of Puffendorf, who tells us, that 'it 'was he who first raised the standard and urged on the march of 'discovery: so that if philosophy has received any improvement 'in our times it is greatly owing to his efforts.‡

In the South of Europe, the authority of Bacon was early established. In Italy, his writings were highly appreciated; and many of the members of the numerous *experimental* Societies, which the efforts of Galileo had multiplied, attributed the 'origin 'of the new philosophy' to his writings. § In Switzerland, he was very early regarded as the first and most successful cultivator of natural science.‖ To his influence it is probably owing that Locke's philosophy was first understood in that country: this much at least is certain, that Cronsaz, the first *true* disciple of Locke on the Continent, was also a great admirer of Bacon, whose writings, as he assures us, 'had very much aided the pro-'gress of inductive science.¶

The introduction of the experimental method into *Scotland* is also to be attributed to his influence. A curious and interesting account of this fact is given by Sinclair—a person of considerable celebrity in his day,—in a Treatise on Gravity, published at Rotterdam, in 1669.** In the preface he gives a description of the state of physics, and tells us that, when Professor of Natural

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* Sturmii pref. Disput. de Cartesio et Cartesianis.

† Philosophia Eclectica. Altdorf. 1686. So says Valentine, 'E Germa-'nis plures, si non omnes, hanc Experimentalem philosophandi methodum 'admittunt.' Armentarium Naturæ et artis. Gissæ. 1709, p. 25.

‡ Quoted by Mr. Napier from Blount. The works of Langelott, Becke, Tilleman, Major, Volder, Senguerd, Leichner, Barner, Struvius, Reinhard, &c., &c., of Boerhaave, and especially the 'Œuvres Philosophiques,' Raspe, of Leibnitz may be consulted in confirmation.

§ This fact is acknowledged by Lamezan, himself a Cartesian, Elementa Phil. Veteris et Novæ, Vien. 1730, p. 142.

‖ See a letter written in 1666, by Slusius to Oldenburg, in Boyle's Works, vol. v. p. 373.

¶ Art of Thinking. Lond. 1724, ii. p. 149; first published in 1712. Cronsaz was the first continental philosopher who understood the doctrines of Locke as explained by Mr. Stewart. See also Heineccii 'Elementa Hist. Phil. iv. § 107.

** 'Ars Nova et Magna Gravitatis et Levitatis,' Pref. Roterod. 1669.

Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, he happened to obtain a copy of the 'De Augmentis,' with which he was so delighted, that he immediately determined to follow its recommendations, and for that purpose devoted some hours each week to lectures on the importance and objects of experimental inquiry. The results of his experiments he had intended to publish, but found that the discoveries of the Royal Society had superseded them. His success, however, together with the exertions of Maclaurin and of the two Gregories, contributed not a little to the early adoption of the philosophy of Locke and Newton, in that country, as a branch of Academical education.

The history of his writings in France is one of the best possible illustrations of the close connexion between their influence and the progress of experimental science. During the first fifty years after the publication of the Organum, his authority was very extensively acknowledged. Poets, philosophers, mathematicians, advocates—all united in admiring his method and in celebrating his praises. 'However numerous and important be the 'discoveries reserved for posterity,' was their language, 'it will 'be always just to say of *him*, that he laid the foundation of their 'success; so that the glory of this great man, so far from diminishing with the progress of time, is destined to receive perpetual 'increase.'* So said Gassendi, 'the Bacon of France,' as Degerando calls him; and so said Diodati, and Awray, and Peiresc,—and so said they truly. But with all this admiration of his works, and with all the freedom of thought which the struggles of the Cartesians and Gassendists had produced, the scholastic philosophy continued to be the ascendent system, even after the publication of the philosophy of Newton. Nor did it give place to the doctrines of Descartes till Newton had overturned them. As late as 1730, Regis and Rohault were the text-books of the learned, while Locke and Newton, and even Aristotle himself, were neglected.

The truth is, that for one hundred years after his death, the writings of Bacon were more praised in France than read, and more read than practised;—an inconsistency which D'Alembert ascribes, with a show of justice at least, to the peculiarities of their national character. 'Our nation,' says he, in his 'Discours Preliminaire,' 'has a particular regard for novelties in matters of 'taste, but is extremely attached to old opinions, in matters of 'science. Whatever is of the sentimental kind must be obvious 'to us, and ceases to please, if it do not strike us immediately; 'but the ardour with which we receive it presently cools, and we

* See Gassendi, Opera i. p. 55; and Precis de la Philos. du Ch. Bacon par Deluc. Paris, 1802, i. p. 35.

'grow disgusted as soon as gratified. On the other hand, when 'we attain to possession after long meditation, we are desirous of 'making the enjoyment as lasting as the pursuit.'*

At length, however, the writings of Maupertius, the Letters of Voltaire,† and the Essays of Condillac,‡ brought the method of Bacon more prominently into notice. The 'discourse' of D'Alembert, and the 'Analysis of his Philosophy' by Deleyre, completed his triumphs; and since the appearance of these works, he has been studied and honoured by their writers and philosophers, both as the author and the restorer of inductive science in that country.§

The influence which Bacon's writings had exerted in Germany was early extended to the North of Europe. The Royal Society of Petersburg, founded in 1725 on the plan of the Society of London, was one result of the spirit which they had diffused. In the introductory discourses delivered at the first meeting of its members, he was expressly recognised as the master by whose precepts all experimental philosophers professed to be guided. A like tribute was awarded to him, in the following year, at the formation of the Royal Society of Sweden. 'Communia illa sunt,' says the author of one of the discourses delivered on the former occasion, 'Communia illa sunt, si strictiùs 'de scientiis dici aliqua velitis: apositè magnus Angliæ cancel-'larius, idemque melioris in disciplina physica methodi procus et 'auspex, illustris Baco.'‖

In looking over the testimonies and facts that have now been adduced, it will be found that the conclusion they warrant us in forming is one in the highest degree favourable to the character and influence of the writings of this great man. We have seen that they contain all the elements necessary to effect a reformation, valid reasons in defence of induction, rules for its guidance, spirit-stirring precepts enforcing its application. We know that within fifty years after his death, they were most widely circulated throughout Europe;¶—that the Royal Societies of England,

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* Melanges de D'Alembert. Amst. 1763, i. p. 150.

† Letters on the English Nation: Letter xii.

‡ Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines, in his 'Complete Works,' xx. p. 510.

§ The philosophers of France always speak of Bacon in terms of praise, which, if applied to any other man, would be deemed extravagant. See Ency. Method. Art. Baconisme by Naigeon, and the Works of Condorcet, Garat, &c.

‖ Sermones in primo Academiæ Scientiarum conventu recitati. Petrop. 1725, p. 22; and Commentarii, ib. i. pref.

¶ In 1665, the Treatise De Dignitate had gone through Eighteen editions, of which eight were printed abroad, and of the remaining ten, four were in Latin. Up to the same time, the Sylva Sylvarum had gone through Twelve

of Germany, of Russia, of France, all owe their origin either directly to their recommendations, or to the spirit they diffused; —that they were the means of introducing the 'new philosophy' into Scotland; of reviving and extending it in France; of converting the ethics of the schools from a dry fruitless system into a practical science; of aiding, if not originating the modern philosophy of the mind, and of throwing light upon a thousand collateral questions to which they but briefly refer;—that many philosophers were won over to the experimental method by the perusal of them; and lastly,—that most of the celebrated writers on science and inquirers, both in this country and abroad, have honoured him as their legislator and guide. From these facts, it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion, that for past triumphs and for future discovery, experimental philosophy, in all its departments, must be indebted to the influence of the writings of Bacon, and to the character which they impress upon every succeeding age.

'For past triumphs, experimental philosophy is indebted to the 'writings of Bacon:'—if so, the reader will study them with fresh interest, and with a deeper sense of their sublimity. They are sublime in eloquence and in genius; but still more sublime in the influence they have exerted on the intellect of Europe. With what strange delightful feelings should we take up for the first time the volumes that contain them, were we to remember that there is not a page, and scarcely a paragraph, but has added to our comfort or promoted our improvement!

'For future success, experimental philosophy must be indebted 'to the influence of the writings of Bacon.' The triumphs of induction are not yet completed; they are but begun; and in every department of inquiry, in human science, and in theology 'the Sabbath and port of man's labours,' triumphs greater than those of the past are yet to be achieved, before the whole of the intellectual globe can be called our own. The study of the writings of Bacon is still needed; and needed almost as much now, as it was needed in his own time. The idols he condemned were not the idols of *his* age or of another; they were the idols of our nature: they may be banished, but only for a season: they return with every new race; and it is only by constant watchful-

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Editions; the History of Life and Death, Sixteen; the History of the Winds, Eight, four of which were printed in Holland, and two in France.

In 1669, the new Atlantis had gone through Seventeen Editions, seven of which were printed abroad. In the same year, the 'De Dignitate' was prohibited in Italy. In 1677, the Novum Organum had reached the Ninth Edition. It was printed at Leyden in 1645, and in 1650, 1660 at Amsterdam. The other six editions were printed in England.

ness and effort, that the 'temple of truth' can be kept undefiled by them.

In no science is the practice of the spirit and of the rules of Bacon more requisite than in theology—a spirit, in this instance, eminently consistent with the character of an humble, devout Christian. In no science has idol-worship been more prevalent; and in no science can idol-worship be more sinful; for *here*, it is rebellion against the very majesty of truth. Errors and prejudices of every kind have been handed down, like the family-gods of ancient Rome, from father to son, for ages; or where the errors themselves have become extinct, their ghosts, in the shape of scholastic phraseology, occupy their place, and become in turn the objects of worship; while the fair form of truth is neglected. Would any one but apply to the creeds of Europe what Bacon has said on the abuse of words, or on the rashness of pushing investigation beyond the limits of Scriptural statement, and strike out, not as untrue, but as trivial or uncertain, whatever implies a violation of his precepts; how few and simple would be the articles left after such an erasement:—or could he but collect and destroy all the books that have been written on 'subjects unfit 'for human inquiry,' by what millions of pages would our public libraries be diminished. There would be found wanting, nineteen volumes out of every twenty of 'the Fathers,' and the twentieth catalogued with Ecclesiastical History or Christian Antiquities:—gone, of the writings of the Reformers, four volumes out of every six—the fifth volume catalogued with 'Commentaries,' and the sixth, saved by its appeals to the Bible as the religion of Christians, catalogued with the First Book of the Organum:—and of modern Treatises on the Decrees, on Necessity and Freedom, and others of the five points, whole reams of reasonings. As lovers of *metaphysique*, we should regret the loss of arguments and subtleties, that had so often amused and gratified, even when they fell short of conviction; but, as lovers of the unity and happiness of the church; as lovers of *Scripture-facts*, but not of *human explanations* of them; our feelings of regret would be softened at least, if not brightened, by the thought, that after so awful a catastrophe, Christians might possibly be induced to think less of discussions on the secret things of the Bible, and more of the importance of inquiry into the things that are revealed. We should mourn as Bacon might have mourned if a second Amroo had destroyed every copy of Aristotle in Europe—the glosses and perversions of every Commentator included:—or as the nephew of King Réné *did* mourn on the death of a troublesome friend, Queen Margaret of Anjou. Sad we should feel,—and yet it would be a relief to know that they were gone, and that their interests were not likely again to clash with interests dearest to ourselves.

These thoughts have been suggested, we confess frankly, by the series of publications, in which the edition of Bacon's works, noticed at the commencement of this article, appears. We have not been in the habit of finding his name in company with those of John Howe, Jonathan Edwards, and Jeremy Taylor. The association, however, is much more appropriate than might at first be supposed. To the student every volume of this series will prove a treasure; but were we asked, which of them it is most important that the student of theology should master, we should answer unhesitatingly, by all means, the last. Let him study Bacon—and having imbibed his spirit, and 'converted into the substance of his own mind,' the precepts he has laid down for his guidance, let him take up the Bible as a collection of passages revealing the highest truths—let every passage on any given subject be examined and interpreted consistently—let the conclusions *induced* be just as comprehensive as the proof-passages will justify—let no explanations of doctrines be offered as *credenda*, which the record has not given—in other words, let the principles of the philosophy of Bacon be applied to the *interpretation* of the Bible, and let them be so applied universally, and 'the unity of the faith' will be very speedily attained.

Believing then that the cultivation of the spirit of the inductive philosophy is second, in its influence on the union of the church, only to the cultivation of the spirit of love—and no one will quarrel with us for preferring the right state of the affections to the right exercise of the intellect—we cannot but regard the works of Bacon, published in a cheap and handsome form, as a most valuable accession to our theological literature. We commend them, therefore, most heartily to the theological student.

To the present edition is prefixed an elaborate history of his life and works, written in language strong and nervous, but occasionally deficient in taste. Of Bacon's moral character the writer thinks less favourably than Montagu, and less harshly than Pope; and probably with justice. His analysis of the works of Bacon is one of the fullest we remember to have seen, and cannot but be useful to the student. We should have preferred, however, an analysis of his intellect to an analysis of his writings,—such as may be found prefixed to the works of Taylor. The truth is, that no analysis of them—or at least of the philosophical parts of them—can now be of great advantage. If it be general, it gives no idea whatever of the man or of his merits; and if it be minute, it becomes tedious, because unrelieved by the beauties which may be said to illustrate rather than to adorn the sentiments of Bacon himself. 'It is sufficient,' as Dr. Johnson would have expressed it,—'it is sufficient for the writer to have done 'better than others what no man can do well.'

Art. II. 1. *British Colonization in New Zealand.*

2. *The Principle, Objects, and Plan of the New Zealand Association. Examined in a Letter to Lord Glenelg.* By DANDESON COATES, Esq.

3. *Mr. Dandeson Coates and the New Zealand Association; in a Letter to Lord Glenelg.* By E. G. WAKEFIELD, Esq.

4. *Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes (British Settlements).* Re-printed with Comments by the Aborigines Protection Society.

WHEN the British government, in that impatient spirit of legislation which, satisfied with the removal of a temporary difficulty, overlooks or disregards all ulterior consequences, resolved upon establishing a gaol on the recently discovered shores of New South Wales, they were far from anticipating the results of this step. They could not suppose that thus would be laid the foundation of colonies destined to advance with almost unexampled rapidity in wealth and greatness, but whose prosperity would be cankered by vices of the most appalling character pervading every part of the Society. Still less probably did they imagine that the settlements thus formed would prove instruments of oppression and wrong to the nations by whom the islands of the Southern Sea as well as the coasts of Australia were peopled. It is not to be supposed, but that had they been aware of the character of the machinery they thus set in motion, some hesitation would have been manifested in purchasing a mere momentary relief to this country at so disastrous a price. Some measures would assuredly have been taken to guard against the worst consequences of their plan, and they would hardly have felt themselves justified in casting out from English society the very dregs of the nation, leaving them to carry to other lands the vices and habits which had made them exiles from their own. To do the government of that day justice, however, it must be confessed, that beyond the immediate object of emptying the crowded and unhealthy prisons of Great Britain, they had no purpose, save such as might flow from some vague idea of extending, even by so hazardous and uncertain an experiment, the colonial possessions of the empire. We do not refer to this absence of evil design as an excuse for their conduct. A very moderate acquaintance with the history of colonies might have taught them what were the probable, and indeed inevitable consequences of their act, and wilful ignorance can never be pleaded as a justification of wrong. We have adverted to this instance solely for the purpose of showing the imperative necessity of weighing deliberately and dispassionately all the consequences of any undertaking in which wide-spreading results are involved, especially

where these consequences embrace in their sphere the interests of individuals or communities who have no means of protection or escape.

The works prefixed to this article refer directly or incidentally to a project now set on foot under the auspices of a Committee of noblemen and gentlemen, for the Colonization of New Zealand. Against this project, Mr. Dandeson Coates, the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, has vehemently protested, in the pamphlet to which his name is affixed. Considering the magnitude of the consequences involved—that on the one hand, the utter extermination of the New Zealand race by unjust warfare, by fraudulent aggression, and by the vices and diseases that civilization brings in its train, is confidently predicted; and that on the other their preservation from these evils, and their elevation into a civilized and christian community, is declared to be the object and the assured result of the foundation of a well regulated colony on their territories; we propose to devote a few pages to an examination of the proposed plan, and of the objections that have been urged against it,—so far as the fate of the New Zealanders is involved.

Apart from experience there would seem no ground for supposing that the establishment of a civilized community in the immediate neighbourhood of a savage race, would be injurious to the latter. We might rather be led to suppose that the reverse would be the case,—that the uncivilized tribes would be gradually weaned from their barbarous practices, and that, convinced by daily observation of the superior advantages of steady industry, and of regulated habits, they would relinquish the usages to which they had been accustomed, and gradually conform themselves to the more elevated standard placed before them. It requires, indeed, a very large and comprehensive deduction from undoubted facts, to assure ourselves that this is not the case, and when even the actual operation of the colonies of civilized nations upon the uncivilized races within whose territories they are established has been clearly shown, we are irresistibly impelled to seek for some satisfactory solution of the apparent anomaly. We cannot admit it to be an inevitable result without denying the capacity for intellectual, moral, and social progress of all but those races who have already attained civilization. We must, therefore, look to the circumstances under which colonies have been founded, to the principles by which they have been regulated, to the objects they have pursued, and the manner in which these objects have been sought, for an explanation of so mysterious a phenomenon. And when through such an examination we have found the cause of past evils, we may not unreasonably hope at the same time to the manner in which the occurrence of similar evils n be prevented for the future. If indeed, as

seems sometimes to be imagined, no remedy can be discovered, we must expect to see the native tribes of North and South America, of the whole extra tropical region of South Africa, of Australasia, and of the Polynesian groups swept away by an irresistible destiny. The work of devastation and destruction has commenced, and upon this hypothesis no power can arrest or divert its progress.

Are we, however, complacently to fold our hands in prospect of evils so appalling, or content ourselves with vain exclamations against their perpetration? Can we in fact believe that this is the unavoidable doom of millions of our fellow-creatures; that when the predicted period shall arrive in which the knowledge of God shall cover the earth, not one of these tribes shall remain in existence to share in its blessed influences, and exult in its glorious hopes! Is not the conclusion one to which we ought to allow ourselves to be led by none but the strongest and most irrefragable chain of demonstration? If it be indeed true, then from this time forth Government may cease to trouble itself with the protection of the Aboriginal tribes of any of our settlements, and philanthropic individuals may rest from attempts to improve their condition—the whole question relating to them would but be one of time, and it would seem a matter of very little importance whether one or two generations are to be occupied in the work of extirpation. In this view the almost exterminated Hottentots are less to be pitied than the Caffres. The former have reached that place where the wicked cease from troubling; their sufferings are terminated—the tale of their injuries is complete. To the other, remain unavailing struggles and ruinous submission in melancholy alternation; they have yet to witness the occupation of their immemorial heritage by the rude and ferocious boor—the burning of their habitations, and the slaughter of their wives and children; they have yet to find themselves standing at last in sight of the land in which they had grown from infancy to manhood, with no means of subsistence except such as they might derive from the plunder of their relentless oppressors, and to know that after a few more years of privation and suffering, their wrongs and their race would terminate together. And if this *must* be the result, if, in the language of a witness before the Aborigines Committee, quoted approvingly by Mr. Dandeson Coates in the pamphlet at the head of this article, we 'may have a short respite after having driven panic into the 'people, but must come back to the same thing until we have shot 'the last man;' it may be doubted how far it is the part of humanity to prolong these conflicts and thus continue these sufferings. Before, however, we acquiesce in so gloomy a doctrine, it behoves us to investigate most narrowly the foundation upon which it rests.

It is upon this assumed *necessary* result of colonization that the objections of Mr. Coates to the object of the New Zealand Association proceed. If he be wrong in this opinion, his whole case fails. He has said nothing against the plan of the Association or the principles upon which the colony is to be founded: which in truth he does not appear to have taken the trouble to understand. It is the mere purpose of establishing a colony against which he protests, and this upon the sole ground that a colony must inevitably involve the destruction of the natives. There are other considerations applicable to this particular case to which we shall have to advert, but we wish primarily to examine briefly and generally the causes of the undoubted effects of former colonies upon the native races, in order to ascertain whether or not the same consequences must of necessity result from all.

It is necessary, for a reason which will subsequently appear, to separate what may be termed the direct from the indirect evils inflicted by colonization. In the former we include the wars between the settlers and the natives, the destruction of the latter in consequence of the deprivation of the land from which they derived their subsistence, or the destruction of the game they had been accustomed to pursue, their being reduced to a state of slavery, the seizure of their cattle, and their slaughter when attempting retaliation or reprisal; and in the latter the desolating effects of the wars that Europeans have fomented among the nations, and of the vices they have introduced. It is with the former that we have to do at present.

The extermination of those races by whom were peopled the fertile and blooming islands discovered by Columbus, was accomplished by the united influence of war and slavery. Those whom the sword had spared were reduced to a state of servitude, and employed in unhealthy and excessive labour. The insane and unreasoning appetite for gold, by which the Spaniards were possessed, resulting partly from the crude and indigested views of political economy then prevalent, and partly from an impatience of all but the most rapid means of acquiring wealth, urged on the new possessors of the soil to require from the indolent and effeminate natives, labours to which they were unequal, and under which they rapidly sunk. In the strength of despair, the Carib Indians rose against their oppressors; but the contest was too unequal to endure long, and in the course of a very brief period nothing was left them but the alternative of perishing by the sword, by famine, or by excessive toil. Under the mingled operation of these methods of destruction, the extermination of their race was effected, and within less than a century from the day when they had welcomed the Spaniards as beings of a higher order, destined to introduce among them the elements of knowledge and of power far superior to aught with which they had

been previously acquainted, scarcely a single individual survived to deplore the ruin in which his race had been involved.

In Mexico and in Peru the case was different. There, although the proceedings of the Spaniards were characterized by similar atrocities, large bodies of the Indians survived, and their descendants exist in numbers perhaps not greatly diminished at the present day. It would lead us too far from our present topic to enter minutely into the circumstances to which the different fate of the Indians of the Main is to be attributed. It is enough to have here drawn attention to the fact, that, in the midst of these colonies the Indians exist, and that the Spanish rule has had little influence in lessening their numbers, since it was originally established. The first operations of the Castilian invaders were sanguinary and destructive. Their abiding sway has been comparatively innocuous.

In the English colonies in North America the order of events was again different. There the first operations were for the most part peaceful and just. The settlements were effected with the sanction of the Indians, and guaranteed in most instances by treaties entered into with their chiefs. But as the numbers of the settlers increased, the population of the native races has diminished, until in less than two centuries the destruction of all the natives eastward of the Alleghanies has been as complete as that of the tribes by whom the Antilles were peopled. Nor has the work of extermination terminated here. It is still going on, and there appears no reason to doubt but that in the course of comparatively very few years there will not be a single nation eastward of the Mississippi. This has been accomplished partly by war, but principally by the combined operation of the vices which a connexion with Europeans has engendered, and the deprivation, under various pretences, of the land which the Indians had been accustomed to cultivate, or which formed their hunting grounds. There have been comparatively few gross apparent acts of injustice. Such doubtless have occurred, as in the case of the Creek Indians and the State of Georgia, and individual instances must be frequent. For the most part, however, there has been, we are disposed to imagine, a sincere desire on the part of the American rulers to preserve a race distinguished amid all their crimes by much that is dignified and noble, and displaying elevated sentiments, and a strong natural sense of justice. But circumstances have been too powerful for the unskilled efforts of the Government. Ignorant of the true causes to which the destruction of the savages was attributable, they have been incapable of applying the proper remedy, and the wasting away of the Indians has proceeded silently but ceaselessly.

Far different again has been the treatment of the Hottentots and Caffres of South Africa. In this instance it is impossible to

speak in language too indignant of the treatment to which these unhappy races have been subject. They have been exposed to every variety of oppression and injustice. When the Dutch first formed a settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, the natives had already advanced to the pastoral state of society. They were rich in flocks and herds, and they cultivated in common small portions of land in the immediate vicinity of their kraals. Their wealth formed a temptation to the Dutch, and they were robbed first of their cattle and then of their lands, and were subsequently reduced to slavery, for the purpose of tending as the property of another the herds that had originally belonged to themselves. We have said that they were reduced to slavery, but in fact theirs was a condition worse than slavery itself. Had they been the property of the Boors their owners would have had an interest in their preservation, and would have been compelled to provide for their subsistence; but they were nominally free, and consequently their masters were destitute of even that selfish motive for kindly treatment which the slave owner possesses. In the words of one of the witnesses before the Aborigines Committee, 'Any traveller who visited the interior of the colony little 'more than twenty years ago, may now stand on the heights of 'Albany, or in the midst of a district of 42,000 square miles on 'the North side of Graaf Reinet, and ask the question, Where 'are the Aboriginal inhabitants of this district which I saw here 'on my former visit to this country? without any one being able 'to inform him where he is to look for them.' The population of the Hottentots, at the time of the discovery of the Cape, is estimated by competent authorities to have been not less than 200,000. Its present amount is less than 32,000. And this destruction of the original inhabitants has been compensated by no corresponding increase of the European race. In America the place of the Indian is supplied by active and intelligent millions. In the colony of the Cape the Europeans are perhaps hardly one-fifth as numerous as the race they have supplanted, and whatever may be said of the savage and degraded position of the Hottentot, there is little doubt that the boor is at least his equal in these respects.

But in addition to the direct results of colonies upon the condition of the nations, there have been others, indirect, but scarcely less appalling. In North America it has been owing, perhaps, almost as much to these latter, as to the former causes, that the destruction of the Indians is to be attributed. The vices and diseases of civilized life have been introduced among them; reckless adventurers have settled in their territories, and have partially adopted their manners, giving to their warfare a more destructive, if not a more ferocious, character, and inciting wars which might never otherwise have been undertaken. The

trade too, in furs, and in hides has led to the destruction of the wild cattle upon which they had subsisted and thus their means of support have been narrowed, while the spirits for which these have been bartered have encouraged deadly habits of intemperance. In this manner, long before the American nation advances upon the Indian tribes, they are subject to a destructive process, which the government could perhaps scarcely check. In precisely the same manner, the Islanders of the South Sea, among whom we have founded no colonies, are subject to all the vices which a corrupting civilization can breed; and are the victims of those outrages, which the absence of all law encourages among the violent and licentious classes, by whom almost alone these islands are visited. The statements of the missionaries abound in facts, which strikingly illustrate this consequence of our commerce and of our settlements in New Holland; and show the deep responsibility which attaches to this empire, for permitting the existence of such atrocities without an attempt, worthy of the name, to restrain or punish their authors.

And this brings us to the subject from which we started—the plan of colonizing New Zealand, and Mr. Dandeson Coates's objections to any colonization whatever.

The evils which are to be feared, for the natives of New Zealand, from the establishment of the projected colony, are divisible into two heads. 1st. Those which result from the deprivation of the land, from which the New Zealanders have gained their subsistence; and 2ndly. Those which may be produced by quarrels between the natives and the settlers, and the wars which such quarrels may involve. We will say a few words on each.

It is a part of the plan, upon which the proposed colony is to be founded, that, in the first place, all land shall be purchased of the natives; and, in the second place, that no land shall be purchased by private individuals, nor by the authorities, except under certain general rules, framed expressly for the protection of the interests of the natives against their own improvidence. By this provision one of the chief sources of injury to the aborigines of colonies will be destroyed. It will not be the case here as it was at the Cape, where a settler could obtain a grant of land, of some three or four miles square, without the slightest reference to the title of the native inhabitants; nor will it be as is now the case in America, where hundreds of thousands of square miles are purchased for a consideration inadequate at the best, and of a temporary nature. The purchase will be made upon equitable terms. It is true the purchase-money will not be equivalent to its value to an European, but it will be higher than its value to a New Zealander. No instances will be permitted to occur, after the establishment of the colony, similar to those

which have already taken place, although no colony is professedly established, where an estate of fifteen miles square has been obtained for a mere trifle. The natives will be treated upon equitable principles; and, as publicity will be given to the terms upon which all purchases are made, any departure from the rules laid down will be at once detected and exposed. Here is, therefore, the best security for the due observance of the regulations by which the society is to be guided in all its dealings under this head.

With regard to the quarrels which it is alleged, in despite of the best intention, may spring up between the settlers and the natives, it must be conceded that there is a possibility of their occurrence. But, assuredly, it must be equally conceded, that there is no inevitable necessity that this should be the case. It has seldom, perhaps never, been found that the savage is the aggressor in these conflicts. Some wanton and unredressed wrong, on the part of the colonists, has uniformly been the cause. The savage has been denied the rights of citizenship. He has virtually been put out of the pale of the laws. The injuries he may have committed have been cruelly avenged. Those he has endured have been unredressed. What wonder then that he should be driven to rely upon himself for that justice which society has denied him, and should involve in one common fate those who have inflicted wrong, and those who have refused redress. This is the only means of protection which he possesses; and it is but natural that he should avail himself of the protection it may afford. Let, however, the principle of equality be established,—let the law throw the shield of its protection alike over the native and the settler,—allow the former all the immunities which the latter enjoys, and the principal, if not the only, source of strife is at once destroyed. This is a fundamental rule of the proposed colony, and provisions are made to secure its punctual observance. There will be a protector of the natives—a public prosecutor, appointed as their counsel in all cases of wrong. The judges will be required to study their language. They are thus secure, as far as legal provisions can afford a security, against the wrongs which the natives of other countries, colonized by Europeans, have endured; and the probability of quarrel is consequently reduced to the very lowest amount. That there is still a possibility we are aware. In all human undertakings there are possibilities of failure, against which no conceivable precautions can adequately provide; but the man who refrains from embarking in any enterprise because of these possible contingences, is in reality less prudent than he who despises them. We must be content to act upon probabilities. The Almighty has not resigned the government of the world, so that we can be the arbiters, in every respect, of our own or others' destiny. But

he has established certain rules, by a careful observance of which we may, in the average of cases, confidently anticipate success; and, having guided ourselves by them, may leave the issue of our undertaking in his hands. We are not to hide our talent in the earth, whatever that talent may be, lest perchance in trading we should lose it. It is ours to pursue what we conceive to be right ends by appropriate methods, and with proper motives. The result of our endeavours is in the hands of a higher power.

But it may be said, why colonize New Zealand? Have we not Australia, and North and South America, and South Africa, whereon to establish our surplus population—if surplus there be? Why should we pass over these to select this country, where the Church Missionary Society already, in twenty-three years, has taught some fifteen hundred individuals to read and write, and has one hundred and fifty communicants? We reply,—if any credit is to be attached to the representations of those who have spoken on the subject of New Zealand, even of Mr. Coates himself, who so strenuously objects to the colony, 'for the sake of the New Zealanders themselves'! It is that they may be saved from the influences to which they are now exposed—that they may be protected against the Englishmen by whom these islands are infested, who commit with impunity the most atrocious crimes; who introduce the most disgusting vices; who encourage warfare; who counteract, alas but too successfully, the labours of the missionaries; and who, in the course of a few years, if permitted to continue their lawless courses, will have spread themselves over the whole country—a moral pestilence, at once debasing and destructive. Great Britain, by planting her convict colonies, has exposed the New Zealanders to this contagion; and is, therefore, bound to secure them against its worst consequences. At the present moment there are in New Zealand two thousand runaway convicts and sailors. These 'devil's missionaries,' as they have been but too appropriately termed, must render vain, or at least oppose the most serious obstacles, to the exertions of the missionaries of the gospel. Already, under their influence, the work of depopulation has commenced; and, unless something is done at once and effectually to check them, the natives must share the fate of other uncivilized tribes. To keep the New Zealanders from contact with Europeans is impossible. We may save them for a time from the direct evils of civilization; but from the *indirect*, nothing *but* the establishment of a colony, upon enlightened and Christian principles, can save them. This has been, if not directly, yet by implication, conceded by Mr. Coates; since, as is admirably shown by Mr. Wakefield in his reply, the very measures that he proposes, in order to guard the New Zealanders from these disorderly struggles, involve as a necessary consequence the foun-

dation of a colony, though without any of the safeguards with which the proposed plan of colonization is accompanied. It is not a question, whether or not these islands shall be colonized by Europeans. The question in fact is, whether they shall be colonized by the worst and most degraded of our countrymen—the very outcasts of civilization, or by an organized society, bound to regard the rights and protect the interests of the native race. Can we hesitate, when such is the nature of the question, as to what shall be the character of our decision?

We must advert briefly to some of the special provisions which the New Zealand Association propose to adopt, in order to preserve and to civilize the natives; and upon which is chiefly founded their confidence, that they shall be the benefactors, not the exterminators, of the people among whom their colony is established. We have already stated, that the New Zealanders will be placed upon a footing of equality with the European settlers. They will be entitled equally to the protection of the law for their persons and property; will be permitted to acquire and inherit land, and to buy and sell on equal terms; and they will be possessed, as soon as they become residents in the colony, of equal political rights. To this may be added, that every facility and encouragement will be given to missionary effort, and that peculiar attention will be paid to the education of their children. This might seem all that justice could require—all even that Christian charity could inculcate. But the founders of the colony are not ignorant that apparent justice may oftentimes be actual oppression; and that equal laws may operate with frightful inequality upon those subjected to their control. To expose the unskilled and desultory labour of the New Zealander to the unchecked competition of the skilful and methodical artizan, or agriculturist, would be at once to place the former in a position of hopeless inferiority, resulting inevitably in his degradation and ultimate destruction. In the same manner, to subject the lawless native to the unrelaxing restraints, and severe punishments, of our criminal code, would be at once unjust and practically injurious. It would be unjust, because it would punish as crimes what are the permitted practices of the natives, and what, consequently, they had never been taught to regard as criminal; and it would be injurious because, instead of inspiring respect for the authority of the law, it would generate distrust and dislike, and would deter by an appearance of harsh and excessive severity, instead of inviting by the sense of security and advantage. Punishments opposed to the moral feeling of a people inevitably produce far more evil than good; and, if this is the case in societies accustomed to venerate the authority of the law, it will be so in a far higher degree in a society where such authority has been previously unknown, and where it must

be, to a considerable extent, optional with the individual whether or not he will bring himself within the pale of the law. Exceptional laws are therefore rendered absolutely necessary, and there is no part of the plan of the society which will require more forethought in its framing, or more care in being carried out. It is a striking instance of the little trouble which the opponents of the colony have taken to understand its principles, that Mr. Coates has not said one word as to this part of the plan.

It is obvious that much must be left to the discretion of those to whom the execution of the plan is entrusted. All that can be done is, to lay down certain general rules, defining clearly the nature of the object to be obtained, and pointing out the manner in which these objects may most advantageously be pursued, leaving the details to be filled up and modified as circumstances may render expedient. To provide for all the varying aspects under which the subject may be presented would be clearly impossible. But enough may be done to render comparatively easy the task of those who have to apply these general rules to the actual position of the colony. We will mention two or three of the regulations, proposed as fundamental parts of the plan, to be adopted in reference to the natives.

The first object is to preserve to the nation an equal social position. As we have already pointed out, to expose them to competition as labourers for hire, would be to place them at once in a position of unequivocal and painful inferiority. They are unaccustomed to methodical and regular employment—they have not the habits of patient and persevering industry, which are especially characteristic of English laborers,—they are in addition wanting in the requisite skill. The wish of the Association is that the intercourse between the settler and the natives may inspire the latter with a taste for European comforts, and may introduce among them European habits. But if this is the result of the establishment of the colony, the native labourer will find himself in a position which forbids him to gratify these newly implanted tastes, without being, every moment, reminded of his inferiority. His wages will be lower, even, supposing him to labour constantly, because, his skill is less than that of an Englishman; and he will not labour constantly. He will not be brought at once to renounce his desultory and independent habits. He will work willingly for a day, or a week, or a month, but he will then require relaxation and freedom. He must be free to wander where he will; to resume for a time his old pursuits; to hunt or to fish; to roam through the forest, or to lie indolently on the ground in the enjoyment of that absolute repose from all exertion, which is one of the chief charms of a savage life. And this will be the case even after he has acquired, to some degree, a taste for the comforts of civilized society. To compel unremitting labour,

would be to defeat the objects of the Association, by repelling the natives; to throw these latter upon their own resources by giving them no other means of acquiring subsistence than their labour in the service of the settlers, would be to make them in their own eyes and in the eye of the colonists, an inferior race. This would be especially the case with regard to the chiefs; it would apply, also, in a less degree, to the cookies or slaves.

In order to prevent, as far as possible, this result, it is necessary, that the New Zealanders should be furnished with some independent means of subsistence. This will be done, in all probability, by the allotment of a certain proportion of the land purchased. The land thus set apart would be inalienable, at least, for a term of years. It would be proportioned to the numbers of the tribe from whom the purchase was made. The precise manner in which it would be settled is, necessarily, at present, uncertain; but, it is probable, that the chief of the tribe would have a sort of feudal superiority over the whole, and that it would be parcelled out among the inferior chiefs and the other members of the tribe, in certain definite proportions, subject either to a fixed rent, or to the payment of a certain portion of the produce for the use of the chief. It would, in fact, be held under a sort of copyhold tenure. The interests of the holders would be inalienable; but they would be allowed to lease it for a certain term, and under certain fixed conditions. If they choose to cultivate it themselves, they would, of course, do so, paying the required rent to the chief. If, on the other hand, they preferred to leave it uncultivated, in order that they might work for hire, this course would be equally open to them; but, in such cases, they would still be liable to the rent. In this manner, all the existing relations of New Zealand Society might be preserved freed from their defective points, and might even be made the means of a natural and easy transition from savage to civilized life. The possession of land would confer independence upon the natives, and generate a feeling of equality between them and the European settlers; and, at the same time, the established associations which a long course of years has inwoven in the framework of their ideas would be preserved. Nothing would be done to violate or shock their recognised customs; but these would be skilfully employed to give stability to the improved institutions which it is the desire and the object of the founders of the proposed colony to introduce.

We do think then that those who have originated the plan, and carried it out to its present state of maturity, have a right to claim the credit, not merely of benevolent intentions, but of a wise forethought; and that, although they are unable to foresee or predict with certainty the actual result of their labours, they may enter with confidence upon their work. That there are

dangers to be surmounted, we are aware. There is what may be almost termed an occult influence of civilization upon savages. The change of usages demanded of them is fraught with peculiar risks against which no kindness can provide. To abandon their wild and irregular habits, and to conform to the regulated observances of a settled society, is of itself a hazardous experiment. And with a full knowledge of this fact, and of the influence of contact with Europeans, the early emigrants know that there is a possibility of the entire failure of their plans as far as these are connected with the preservation and improvement of the natives. But they are entitled to ask, are there no evils connected with the present condition of the race? Are not the desolating wars now waged between them under the influence of which vast tracts of country have been well nigh depopulated, real and tangible sources of misery which far outweigh the problematical injuries to be inflicted by English colonization? Leaving out of the question, the convicts and sailors by whom the country is infested, and looking only to the relations between the New Zealanders themselves; they may ask if nothing is to be hazarded in order to put an end to the destructive and ferocious warfare now almost ceaselessly waged, and to which European arms and some smattering of European skill have given so much more deadly a character? The preservation of the New Zealand race is a worthy object; but the substitution of Christian feeling and the arts and manners of civilized life for the degrading superstitions and atrocious practices by which the character of that race is now disfigured, is an object far more worthy. Such an alteration cannot be effected without some sacrifice and considerable risk; but never was there a great object which did not make, at least, equal demands upon those engaged in prosecuting it, and involve at least equal hazards. It is the condition of our present state that good can only be reached through suffering; and that, oftentimes, the highest good demands the greatest and, apparently, the least effectual sacrifices. Knowing this, however, we cannot bid any one refrain from attempts at improvement. We have not to read the command, not to do evil that good may come, that we can counsel abstinence from good lest evil should be produced.

We have left ourselves no space to advert to the character of the country within which the proposed settlement is to be found; or of the principles on which it is to be regulated, in order to secure to the settlers a high degree of immediate prosperity. Those who may desire information upon this subject, will find it amply furnished in the first work at the head of this article. Thus much, however, we may mention. The situation of New Zealand is admirably adapted for commerce; it abounds with secure and spacious harbours; its soil is generally fertile, and the concurring

testimony of all who have visited it, establishes the fact, that the natives are anxious to have an English settlement upon their shores, in order that they may have the protection of English law, and the advantages of English commerce. The principles of colonization are similar to those upon which the colony of South Australia has been established, and which we detailed in a former number of this journal. The success which has hitherto attended their practical working, augurs most favourably for their future results; and, they of themselves, furnish almost a guarantee for the prosperity of any settlement founded in conformity with them. But for these matters, we must refer to the work mentioned above. Our object has been to examine into the influence which a colony was calculated to exert upon the natives; because, if it had appeared, that they were likely to be the sufferers by its formation, we should have felt it our duty to oppose to the utmost the intended settlement. We anticipate no such results, but on the contrary, that if anything can save and elevate the New Zealand race, it will be the introduction among them of Christianity and civilization, under the auspices and with the guarantees of the proposed colony.

ART. III.—*An Essay on Accent and Quantity; with their Application to the English, Latin, and Greek Languages.* By JOHN FOSTER, M.A., late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Second edition, 1763.

AS in the infancy of poetry, *music* is that which imparts to it half of itself, moulds its character, and tunes the national ear; so when its first stage is passed, *metre* succeeds, and is so influential on poetry and on pronunciation as to deserve peculiar attention in the philosophical history of languages. It is not any large proportion of our pages that can ever be occupied with such subjects; yet, we think, they may be made neither uninteresting nor uninstructive.

In learning a foreign tongue, we are all aware of the importance of knowing on what syllable of a word the accent falls. For the help of beginners, accents are often written in the text of Italian; and from a Greek text, we may almost say, they are never omitted. How perplexing then is it to the Greek student to find that he is not allowed to *pronounce* the accent which he is constrained to *write!* We are informed that the ancient grammarians, from the time of Aristophanes of Byzantium downward, adopted this method of writing the accent, in order to help

foreigners to pronounce the language; yet to us it is an entire *ignis fatuus*, positively leading us astray.

The last English book written professedly to clear up this difficulty, as far as we are aware, or at least the book which has attained most celebrity, is Mr. Foster's Essay: its date, it will be observed, is 1763. This book is regarded as a *standard* one at Oxford; and it is, undoubtedly, entertaining, learned, and instructive. But the practical conclusion to which it has brought English Hellenists, is nearly the following: 'That the Greek 'accents certainly did mean something; that they indicate a pro-'nunciation nearly as old as Plato; that the marks are by all means 'to be retained in our printed books; yet we are not likely to be 'able to pronounce them, and there is no great use in trying.' One grand mistake of Mr. Foster rose out of ignorance of fact; *viz.* that the modern Greeks pronounce accents almost exactly as the English pronounce theirs, and neglect the quantity of syllables altogether. He labours much to vindicate the learned Greeks of late centuries from the charge of barbarity, ignorance, &c., to prove that theirs is the true pronunciation, and that it is full 2000 years old; while he unhappily mistook *what is* their pronunciation, never having heard it, we presume.

Most persons of information are now aware, that a modern Greek sounds ἄνθρωπος as though it were written ἄνθροπος, πολλάκις as πολλᾶκις, and so on; the *longs* and *shorts* being nothing, the accent every thing. If now Mr. Foster have truly proved what he has argued with great strength, we must believe that Aristophanes of Byzantium, and, perhaps, Aristotle and Plato, used a pronunciation subversive of received *quantities*; a conclusion to which Mr. F. professes himself utterly irreconcileable.

Another mistake on Mr. F's. part, which greatly injures his book, is yet very pardonable, because it is so very common. We have never seen an English grammar in which the truth about it is laid down: but we must appeal to our readers' own ears in the matter. He alleges then (or rather, *concedes to his opponents*), that in the *English* language, accent and quantity are inseparable: that is, long syllables are accented, and accented syllables are long. This is wholly a mistake. Many long syllables are unaccented, and many short syllables are accented; and this even in the same word. Thus the word *meásur'd* has the first syllable shorter than the second, yet the accent is on the first. The same happens very often, as in *bálance*, *hónors*, *shádows*, *fínisht*, &c. Sometimes two syllables are both long, and the accent may be on either, according to the sense or usage: as, *cóntest*, *contést*; *ínsult*, *insúlt*; *wéstern*, *oútline*, *dównfall*, *expláin*. But very often, accent and quantity do go together, as in *plínty*,

mighty, beauty, pretend, beneath. It does not seem to be the English idiom however, to allow a final accented syllable to remain short; but the voice manages to dwell on and lengthen it; as, *upsét* (*upsett*), *until* (*untill*), *begín* (*beginn*), except when a word is united to it, as *begín-it*, in which case the accented syllable sometimes remains short. But English is not acquainted with a final short accented vowel, as in the Greek εἰπέ, which, however our organs easily pronounce.

A little attention only on the part of our readers will, we think, now show, that the following English words might be written in Greek characters, with the accent, most clearly:

pénitent,	πένιτεντ	demócracy,	δημόκρασι
dúplicate,	δούπλικαιτ	sórrowful,	σόρωφυλ
bréthren,	βρέθρεν	overlóok,	ωβερλύκ
oútlining,	αύτλοινιγγ	imbécile,	ιμβέσιλ
compléte,	κομπλῖτ	mechánics,	μικάνιξ
índustry,	ίνδοστρι	pédantry,	πέδαντρι
indústrious,	ινδύστριος	cóntritely,	κόντροιτλι
démocrat,	δέμοκρατ		

Nothing need be desired more marked than the separation of accent and quantity in these and numberless other cases. It will be seen that cases exist in our language even of polysyllable words, having the penultima long, yet the accent on the antepenultima; as is *pédāntry, cóntrītely.* It is with no good reason, therefore, that some have doubted whether the Hellenic could have had such words as, ἄνθρωπος, ἔπειτα, γάλᾶκτος, κίνδῦνος, with the same arrangement.

It is impossible to doubt that the use now made of accents by the modern Greeks is the use for which they are invented. The rules laid down by earliest grammarians have so extensive an agreement with the accentuation of words by perfectly *illiterate* peasants; many of the rules singularly arbitrary and unaccountable; as to make any other supposition untenable for a moment. Moreover, all foreign words, as those from Turkish or Italian, brought into modern Greek, are declined according to other and simpler laws of accentuation; testifying that the moderns have no disposition to invent any so complicated system as that which has been transmitted to them.

The accentuation of the modern Greeks is not that which Mr. Foster describes it, a mere *elevation* of musical tone; but as in English, it is a *stress* or *emphasis* laid on the syllable, which however, almost necessarily draws after it a small elevation of tone. The emphasis is the most characteristic and necessary thing. Perhaps on the last syllable of a long word, the musical elevation is more considerable than in English speech; as, also, when

it falls on the former of two vowels, on which it is not easy to lay much emphasis. In such cases as, παρακοπὴ, ὀλιγωρία, the English ear distinctly appreciates, not only an emphasis on the accented syllables, but a lifting of the voice that approaches to singing. But in no case of Greek accentuation is the emphasis wanting. Small words, as τὸν, τὴν, &c., when through union with others they lose emphasis, lose the elevation of tone also.

We think it is not now difficult to see what are the chief prosodiacal changes of pronunciation, which in the last 2000 years the Greek language has really undergone. Just as we hear Irishmen say *grándfäther* or *grándfether*, so have the Greeks gradually accustomed themselves to shorten many of their vowels when unaccented, as in ἄνθρωπος. In fact the difference of long and short vowels has in most cases disappeared, and an intermediate sound been adopted. For instance, the ο and ω are both merged in the close ο of the Italians and French; except in such cases as τὸν Θεὸν τῶν θεῶν, (*ton Theon tôn theôn*, the God of gods,) where they distinguish them for the sake of contrast. Hence, in modern words, the spelling is often uncertain, as, ακόμη or ακώμι, *yet*; αἱ κοκώνες or αἱ κοκόναις, *the* ladies. The diphthongs οι, ει, υι with the vowels η, υ, are merged in the sound ι, for which reason, the modern pronunciation is called *iotacism*; αι, also, and ε are confounded. Some of these changes were, doubtless, very early, probably before the days of Augustus Cæsar: but in Roman times υ or *y* had its peculiar sound, different from the Latin *u* or *i*, being probably a French *u*.

Another change consists in dropping the sound of the circumflex, or, rather, in confounding it with the simple accent. What this circumflex was, is not very clear to us. The grammarians say, that it consisted in a rising and falling of the voice; and, we should unhesitatingly say, that *that they ought to know*, but for the strange errors alleged as facts by English grammarians, one after another, concerning our own language and pronunciation. There are reasons that make us suspect that ὡς and ὦς differed in the *quality* of the vowel, just as French *o* and *ô*, *eu* and *êu*: but whatever was, no difference now exists.

A third important change may be a result of the first; *viz.* that modern Greek poetry is regulated solely by accent (that is, by the written accent), so far as rules can be given for its metre. The following lines are well known as having been given to the English public first by Lord Byron.

> 'Ειπέ μας, ὦ φιλελληνα, πως φέρτε τὴν σκλαβίαν.
> Και τὴν απαραγόρητον των Τούρκων τυραννίαν;' &c.

> ['Tell us, O Philhellenist, how bear ye slavery,
> And the inconsolable tyranny of the Turks?']

The metre of which his lordship compares with . . . .

'A captain bold of Halifax, who liv'd in country quarters'—

Mr. Foster has fallen into a singular error about such metres.—p. 201. 'After the ninth century, the use of these marks is *sup-*'*posed* to have been *sometimes* mistaken and perverted. In 'the rambling poems of John Tzetzes, written in the thirteenth 'century, they are by *some* persons *supposed* to have regulated his 'metre," &c. He convinces himself that such a thing never happened, except by the mistake of the half-learned, who thought that the accentual mark indicated 'the stress of a long quantity.' As if a short musical note could not have a stress, as well as a long one!

It is surprising that so able and well-informed a writer as Sir Daniel Sandford, in his translation of Thiersch's Greek Grammar, should allege that accent is inconsistent with quantity, and should *deprecate* pronouncing Greek with accent at all. Now, if so, we say, do not teaze your pupils with writing the accents. It is really too bad to write them and not sound them. But the difficulty urged is this; that to our ears accent has so vast a predominance over quantity, that the accent utterly destroys all harmony in the ancient Greek poetry. We propose to examine this objection thoroughly, and to enter into some comparison of English and Greek metrical principles, for this purpose.

In our own poetry, we recognize three grand classes of metre: (1) that in which the accent properly falls on alternate syllables: (2) that in which every two accents are separated by *two* unaccented syllables: (3) that which is mixed of both kinds with more or less irregularity. The FIRST sort is called *iambic* or *trochaic*, according as the accent falls on *even* or on *odd* syllables of a line—but there is no difference of principle between them. An iambic line, as:

'A fórtress ráis'd by fréedom's hánds;'

Is changed into a trochaic by dropping the first syllable, thus:

'Fórtress ráis'd by Fréedom's hands.'

It can hardly be needed * to state that 'iamb' is here used *in*

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* In case any of our readers should be unacquainted with the names of the Greek feet, we think it safer to add the following table.

⏑ ⏑	Pyrrhic	⏑ ⏑ ⏑	Tribrach	Here the mark ⏑ denotes a short, and — a long syllable, and have properly no relation to accent at all.
— ⏑	Trochee or Choree	— ⏑ ⏑	Dactyl	
		⏑ ⏑ —	Anapæst	
⏑ —	Iamb	— — —	Molossus	
— —	Spondee	⏑ — ⏑	Amphibrach	
		— ⏑ —	Cretic	

an accentual sense, as likewise 'trochee;' the former to mean a dissyllable word accented on the last, the latter the same accented on the first syllable. Thus *frighten* is a trochee, *pretend* an iamb, both as to accent and quantity: *shadows* is an accentual trochee, but an iamb as regards quantity; and so on.

The SECOND kind is called dactylic or anapæstic, again only with reference to the mode of commencing the line. Thus:

'Néver again in the greén sunny bów'rs,
Where my fórefathers lív'd, shall I spénd the sweet hóurs.'

Here the former verse is called dactylic, because the accent is on the first syllable; the third is anapæstic, because two syllables precede the first accent. But the distinction of names is useless. As well might we call a verse 'amphibrachian' which has one syllable before the first accent. As:

'Say, rúsh'd the bold eágle exúltingly fórth'....

The THIRD kind is a genuine English metre, but in the last century had been fairly banished by the artificial school of Pope, until brought back by our most modern poets, beginning with Coleridge. The old English ballad freely admitted it, as have the most successful imitators of the ancient style.

Southey writes in one of his ballads:

'Her feet were bare, and on her breast
'Thro' rags dĭd thĕ winter blow;
'She sat with hĕr face toward the wind,
'˘And thę grave was covĕr'd with snow.'

Here by the marks ˘ ˘ we have denoted the two contiguous unaccented syllables which diversify the metre.

But, except in imitation of the ancient ballads, this irregular style is now reserved by poets of greatest taste for wild passages, which, in some sense, we may call dithyrambic. It, perhaps, is not a mere fancy, therefore, to compare the three kinds of metre with the three principal kinds admitted in Greek—*viz.* dramatic, epic, and dithyrambic. Our terms are too narrow. We wish the first to include all that is iambic and trochaic; the second, all that is dactylic; the third, all that is irregular, and, perhaps, intended to be sung to music.

We request our readers, once more, to reflect on the striking separation of accent and quantity in English poetry. For instance, in Campbell's line:

'Say, rúsh'd the bold eágle exúltingly fórth'—

e syllables *say*, *bold*, are necessarily long, although not ented. Foster well calls our attention to the fact, that 'long, short,' are words of no very distinct meaning. If (to use a sical explanation), a crotchet represents a long syllable, d a quaver a short one, then minims and semibreves are *much re long*, while semiquavers and demisemiquavers are *much re short*. The English tongue does not dwell on two contigu- s consonants as the Italians do, who pronounce *tempo tto** with a peculiar pause on *mp* and *tt*; hence, the first and rd syllable in ĕxultĭngly are by us pretty rapidly dispatched, ough not quite short. But *bold* has a long vowel and two con- nants following it, so as to attain what might be compared a semibreve length. What the old grammarians call 'long by sition,' is the pause of the voice caused by any accumulation of onants. This is very sensibly felt in English poetry, if there several; and the most artificial of poets knew its force, in iting:

'When 'Ajāx strĭves some rŏck's vāst we ght to thrów,
The line too labours, and the words move slow.'

e *xstr*, and *ăstw* loading the unaccented syllables, produce labouring effect which he aimed at.

Thus while accent determines that a line shall be metrical, antity is that which gives it expression, harmony, variety. erses in which all the accented syllables are long, and all the accented short, if often recurring, would be most offensive, m the tripping or bounding effect produced by the too vehement pulse of the voice: being like the *scanning* of verses practised children. Not dissimilar is Homer's line (pronounced as we onounce it),

'Αυτικ' επειτα πεδονδε κυλινδετο λαας αναιδης'—

e regard it, therefore, as inaccurate, to speak as though in nglish poetry accent were every thing and quantity nothing. ach has its own place to serve, and each is greatly dependent the *sense* and oratorical union of words. Nor is accent, any ore than quantity, found in harmonious metre according to any

* Mr. Foster p. 371, encourages the popular error, which supposes that in *allow*, *shadow*, *potter*, &c., we really pronounce ll, dd, tt, and hereby pro- ng the preceding vowel. In any such cases, our pronunciation is fitly picted shăl-lō, shăd-dō, pŏt-ta, or pŏt-tĕr—the double consonant is only an index at the vowel is to be shortened: but the consonant is not really *sounded* uble: nor ever in English, except at the end of a word; as *upset* (upsĕtt).

very fixed rules. For instance, in Milton's first line of 'Paradise Lost—

'Of mán's | first disobédience, ánd the frúit—'

It will be seen that the second foot is (both as to accent and quantity), a trochee instead of an iamb; while the fourth accent is almost too weak to be counted. Here is a case in which *time* seems more regarded than accent for completing the verse; as happens in many cases, provided that the *number* of accents remain the same, and several of them be strong enough to maintain a general rhythym through the whole verse. Indeed, any of the first four feet of the English admits of an (accentual) trochee in place of an iamb, so that only the trochees do not occur too often. We extract the following examples from Mr. Foster, who, however, as we think, confuses the whole subject by supposing accent and quantity to be (in English) inseparable.

'*Die ŏf* ă rŏse in áromátic pain'—
'*Lives through* all life, exténds through áll exténť'—
'*Jácl,* | *whó with* inhóspitable guile'—
'Bów'd their stiff nécks, | *loáden with* stórmy blásts'—
'Fierce ráin with líghtning míx'd, | *wáter* with fíre.'

The second of these lines has every syllable in it long, yet is harmonious by virtue of the accent. Such must have been the old Roman metre, before it had been thoroughly forced into subjection to Greek principles; for assuredly it must have been something else than mere *quantity* which made the following line metrical to Cicero's ear.

'Rāmī bāccārūm ūbērtāte īncūrvēscĕrĕ.'

which is meant for a six-foot Iambic! In Italian poetry it is manifest that harmony consists, as in English, partly of accent and partly of time. Thus in the opening lines of Tasso:

Cánto l'ármi pietóse, e il cápitáno
Che grán sepólcro liberò di Crísto—

two accentual Trochees begin, in the place of Iambs.

That which the Latins call the *cæsura*, or division of a verse, also influences English metre. In fact, the trochee which we have above noticed, in place of the Iamb, is chiefly allowable *after a pause of the voice;* as always at the beginning of a verse, since the voice has necessarily paused before that. This will be manifest in the instances above. The want of harmony remarked by Mr. Foster in the line,

'In their triple degreés, régions to which—'

wrongly explained by him. In fact, it is owing to several ıses: 1st. that the Trochee *triple* is NOT preceded by a pause the voice: 2nd. To the too great frequency of the trochees: ly. To the weakness of the first word, which ill bears a stress the voice. Change the word *in* to *down*, and the verse becomes s inharmonious. As it stands, we may well mistake it for ana-stic: 'In thĕir triplĕ dĕgrées.'—4thly. To the weakness also the syllable *tri*, which is short, since the consonants *pl* are so able of union, that even the Romans counted a vowel short fore them. In fact a long syllable prefixed to the line would ke a better blank verse of it, as:—

'All in their triple degreés;—régions to which—'

ıere *triple* is now two short syllables for one long, with the ent on the former of the two. This is perfectly conformable all the principles of the Greek iambic verse.

To return to the cæsura. It facilitates the dwelling of the ice on a terminating syllable. Mr. Foster produces the line:

'Etérnity!—thou pléasing, dreádful thoúght—'

e rhythm of which, as usual, he but half explains. The second cent falls on a syllable so insignificant, that the skilful reciter, mend the matter, will throw a peculiarly strong emphasis on e first accent; which the nature of the word allows. Next, he *uses after the word*, and thus makes up the *time* which is defi-ent, before proceeding farther in the verse. The very same use acts to justify great shortness in the last syllable of a line, only we can lay a strong stress on the *penultimate* accent. As;

'In the calm lights of mild philósophy.—
Solútus ómni fœ'nore—'

In rhyme, however, where the final syllable ought to be stinctly heard, such a liberty is less justifiable, and should be ore sparingly used. To illustrate the cæsura yet further, con-ler the following line:

'Etérnity is nów in viéw.—'

Here, since the voice cannot pause after the fourth syllable, that llable is felt to be weak, *especially since a vowel follows.* etter is:

'Eternity *lies* now in view—'

because, 1st. The consonant does not melt into the preceding vowel as did the vowel i; 2nd. The syllable *lies* being longer than *is*, helps to make up the time demanded between the 2nd and 3rd accents.

We have said enough to show the subordinate, yet essential part which *quantity* holds in English metre. We must now show how by managing the voice, we throw the accent at pleasure* on different words, so as to accommodate ourselves to the demands of the metre. First, when two monosyllables come together, each having (in prose) its own accent, we can make *either* accent predominate, so as to produce either an iamb or a trochee. Thus in prose, we say, *a wíld hórse;* but in poetry, either *wíld hórse*, or *wild hórse*. For example:

'The† wíld horse swíms the wílder streám.'

But:

'Drág the wild hórse to gráce the bárbarous shów.'

Again:

'Rúshes in tórrents to swéll the wild flood.'

But:

'The wíld flood ráges o'er the plains below.'

Next, in anapæstics, by giving a strong metrical accent on certain syllables, we can throw as it were into the back ground other accented syllables, so as to take no notice of them. Hence the necessity of a more vehement impetus of the voice in anapæstics, which makes it a sort of doggrel if unskilfully managed, and has prejudiced many against a noble metre. Mr. Foster speaks of the following line as *cretics:*

O the sweét country life blest with heálth, peace, and éase—

but the circumstance that the 1st, 4th, 7th, and 10th syllables are long, and have a (subordinate) accent, is quite accidental and no-

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* Some languages, as French and Turkish, have no decided accent on any one syllable of a word, but a slight uniform stress on each syllable. Nevertheless, in a sentence, *oratorical* accent always exists, falling on special syllables. This must give yet greater latitude to the reciter; and in consequence, the poetry has far less intrinsic harmony. More must depend on recitation or music, and the recognition of the metre is less simply a mental operation.

† Is it a mere fancy that the three long syllables *wild horse swims*, so smooth and uniform, with a subordinate accent even on the middle one, helps us to feel the animal's buoyancy and energy, as he lifts himself above the waves? But the metre is good, independently of the matter narrated.

thing at all to the *metre*, which recognizes only four accents in the line. We may even find some parallel to the Greek Ἄρες Ἄρες, which excited the envy of Martial, in cases such as:

Wild rúshes the tórrent, the bóat rushes wíld—

in which the words *wild* and *rushes* take the accent alternately, and the metre is determined nearly as much by the *time* intervening between the four accents, as by the circumstance that there are four.

Perhaps our reader will now concede, that dactylic or anapæstic verse is more removed from speaking and nearer to song, than is the iambic; while it also admits more liberty of accommodating words to the wants of the metre. The same circumstances are observable in Greek poetry. The epic verse rose out of the earliest Greek minstrelsy, and retained many marks of its musical origin. One might believe that it was once a perpetual *chant* of some one fixed tune; and the voice so moulded the words of the language as to give many of them several pronunciations which the after spelling has depicted.

In the Homeric verse, the quantity is often imperfect, and only made out by managing the voice. Thus—he has ἀπονεεσθαι, ἀθανατος, Απολλωνος, Δῖῖ μητῑν, αταλαντον, and numerous others, in part concealed by a fictitious orthography, in part accounted for by arbitrary rules of the grammarians, which do but hide the principle. Such a rule is *their* doctrine of the 'Cæsura;' which quite fails of accounting for the phenomena. To explain our meaning, we will take the verse:

ἡμετερῳ̄ ενι οικῳ̆, εν Αργει, τηλοθι πατρης—

Here they tell us that it is the cœsura or division which makes the first ω long, in spite* of the vowel that follows. When we object, that it does *not* make the second ω also long; they reply: No, because the *beat* of the metre falls on the first, and not on the second. So that it seems not to be the cæsura, but the beat, that lengthens the ω. Moreover, the beat *without any cœsura* in other cases lengthens a syllable, as in ἀπονεεσθαι. Nay, it will be observed that the voice *cannot* pause after the first ω, but *must* pause after the second, so that the 'division' after the first is wholly fictitious. Our wonder now rather is, that the cæsura does *not* lengthen the second ω. For we will quite allow its force in such cases as the following, where there is really a pause:

* It is treated as an axiom, that a vowel or diphthong long of itself should of course be shortened if a vowel follows: but such words as αρχαῖος, επειτῖος, &c., ought to show that the rule is arbitrary.

αυτου. | εισοκεν αστυ μεγα Πριαμοιο ἑλωμεν—
Et succus pecorī, | et lac subducitur agnis.

But we are now led to inquire, What is the metrical beat so talked of? Is it not as in music, where an *emphasis* is given to the first note of every bar, or half-bar? If so, wherein does this differ from what *we* call accent? Mr. Foster would have no difficulty in replying, that it is the very same, because *he* holds the Greek accent not to imply any stress of the voice, but only musical elevation. *We* cannot thus escape, because we are constrained to believe that the accents as uttered by the modern Greeks rightly express that for which the marks were invented. Yet that the metrical beat could mean anything else, seems impossible. Moreover, the testimony to the existence of such a thing, and to its effect on the metre in lengthening short syllables, is as uniform and positive as could be desired; while the Homeric verses themselves are full of proof of its influence.

The conclusion to which we seem driven, is this: That the epic poetry was not (properly speaking) *read*, but was *sung*, or *chanted*, in such a way that the poetical accent was in numerous cases decidedly different from that of ordinary speech, or of prose reading. In such a conclusion there is nothing which we might not be prepared to believe. This has been the practice of the orientals, perhaps in all ages. At this day the Koran is not read, but chanted; and much more of necessity is *metrical* poetry chanted. We are informed of the great pains taken, in the old Athenian education, to teach boys a right intonation of Homer's lines; and the description is such, as to produce the belief that it was something more than reading. Even among ourselves when poetry is sung to music, vast liberties are taken in transposing the accents: often indeed with a great want of taste, and great loss to the sentiment, when quavering is thrown away on unimportant syllables.

If this view be admitted, it is easy to account for the change in Greek poetry. The old system was artificial, kept up by music-masters and rhapsodists, and by the study of the Homeric poems. When learning so predominated over genius, that the educated part of the Greeks dreamt of nothing but of imitating, or of commenting on the ancients; the vulgar meanwhile followed nature in the construction of their rude rhymes, called at first στίχοι πολιτικοί, *public* or *vulgar couplets*. Nothing can be more contemptibly prosaic than the early efforts of this nature; and naturally, they were recited with the common prose accent. Recent years have cultivated the taste and powers of the Greeks, and there is now no reason, why their poetry, cultivated on its native principles, should not equal that of any in Europe.

We believe then, that the prose accent and poetical accent was quite different, the latter admitting of considerable modification

according to the metre employed; though (as we think) having two chief varieties, corresponding to the epic and dramatic measures, (or to the dactylic and iambic.) We seem brought to the conclusion, which perhaps Sir D. Sandford approves, that the accent (as written in our books) ought to be neglected in reading Greek *poetry*, indeed must be neglected, before we are capable of understanding its rhythm.

'Considering the interval of four or five centuries between the Homeric poems and Euripides, besides the difference of dialect, and the difference of accent for which the Œolic dialect was remarkable, (which, like the Latin, never took the accent on the last syllable of a word;) we are disposed to think that the Athenian pronunciation of Homer was, like our reading of Chaucer, a sort of compromise between the old and new system. How far the rhapsodists had retained the old reality, we can only guess. It is *possible* that they had recourse to the 'beat' only, where the exigency of the metre peculiarly required it, and oftener approximated to their own pronunciation; just as a reader of Milton pronounces a word *medicīnal* which at other times he calls *medĭcĭnal*.

As regards the tragic senarian, (or six-foot iambic,—the Athenian blank verse,) it may seem less certain that it was uttered as 'recitative.' Yet if this be admitted concerning the epic poetry, we think it every way probable concerning the dramatic, granted that here the 'beat' has far less obvious influence on *quantity*, it is yet not unattested, as in the case of a short vowel before mute. We learn also that the verse had three chief beats, and three subordinate ones; and, accordingly the three chief beats need to be followed by short syllables, to give them full prominence; while after the subordinate beats long syllables are admissible. To us it seems impossible that such beats could have existed, without subverting the common accentuation.

ω τε"κνα Κάδμου τοῦ" παλαί νεά" τροφή—
διω"σδοτοίς σκηπτρο"ισι τίμαλφού"μενούς—

These two lines we have so marked that the double accent may represent the principal, and the single the secondary beat. Next, we write the same with prose accents:

ω τέκνα, Κάδμου τοῦ-πάλαι νέα τροφή—
ζιωσδότοις σκήπτροισι τιμαλφουμένους—

We are unable to see how the accents could be generally preserved, in conjunction with the beats; and our conviction is that the rhythm depended on the *beats* and on *time*, exactly as in English poetry. Occasionally, the beat and the prose accent would be the same, as in—

ὦ τέκνα, Κάδμου—

and occasionally, the accent might co-exist, without being influential on the metre for good or for bad, in a sort of secondary way; just as we observed in the English anapæstics above, that a secondary accent was found.

The rules which have been given for the *cæsura* of these lines, we suspect will all become needless, when a proper estimate is made of the poetical accent. To develope this subject would carry us rather too far, but we will enter slightly into it.—Words formed of three long syllables, as *ὑψηλῳ*, are capable of entering the epic verse with the beat either on the extreme syllables, or on the middle: yet as a fact, in the Homeric poems, the latter appears very rare. We opened the Iliad at random in the third book (v. 358,) and on examining one hundred consecutive lines, we found twenty instances of the former (as *θώρηκός*, *οὐ-μεν-γάρ*) and not one to the contrary. On examining the whole first book, we found ninety-seven cases with the beat on the extreme syllables, and only four of an opposite kind. Of these last, three are the word *ανθρώπων*, ending the hexameter, and the other is,

v. 337..... *διογενες Πατρόκλεις, εξαγε κουρην.*

in which we may read *Πατρόκλεες*, if it be worth while. This review makes us suspect that in epic poetry the Molossus was *naturally* accented on the extremes; in which way also from the necessity of the case it is accented in dramatic poetry.

Let it now for an instant be conceded that such words as *ευσημους* and *απορροιξδει* are (in poetry) to be accented on the last syllable and last but two, then such lines as the following from Sophocles, become harmonious, and we have no need of deploring, with some critics, their want of a Cæsura—

ουδ' ὄρνις εὐσημούς απόρροιβδεί βοας—
Μενελάε, μή-γνωμάς ὑπόστησάς σοφας—
κοὐδ' ἐν χρονῳ μακρῳ διδάχθηνάι θελεις—

Farther. There is nothing in the *quantity* of a tribrach, like *πεδια*, to prevent the beat from falling on any of the three syllables; yet in all Sophocles and Æschylus it is nearly uniformly on the first syllable. The exceptions are as follows:

Sophocles.	*Æschylus.*
τόν πατέρα—	*ὡ μελέος—*
καί πατέρα—	*ξενία δε—*
πατέρα γαρ—	*Ἑρμή χθονίε—*
εἰς αβάτον—	(inserted from Aristophanes).
κάι πεδία—	

against which we have actually counted 250 tribrachs in which the beat falls on the first syllable. The exceptions above may be

perhaps accounted for by the combination of the smaller words (e.g. καίπεδία is pronounced as one word); or in the case of πατέρα it may be believed that the prose accent here prevailed. For, while the great majority of Greek tribrachs are (even in prose) accented on the first syllable, πατέρα happens to be an exception. It surely cannot be *by accident* that in so many instances this rule of the tribrach should hold.

As for pyrrhics, like δῦο, τῦτα, we find forty-two cases in Æschylus and Sophocles, where the beat falls on the first syllable, making each equivalent to a single long accented syllable. In no other position are they found at all, except at the end of a line, where both syllables may be considered unaccented.

By similar investigations, we have constructed the following table:

◡ ◡ ◡	βλέφαρα	accent on 1st syllable.
◡ ◡	δύο	do.
◡ ◡ —	άρετην	do. (but ἡ αρετή)
◡ ◡ ◡ —	πάραμενώ	accent on 1st and last
◡ ◡ — —	άδαμαστούς πέριβαινεί	do.
— — —	ώρμηθή	do.
— ◡ ◡ ◡	άμφοτέρα	accent on 1st and 3rd (But in Euripides, often as αμφότερα)
— —	θασσώ	*Generally* on the second.

We must confess that the first foot of the verse would afford numerous exceptions; but so far from this invalidating the above, it has only helped to convince us that that foot admits an (accentual) trochee. In the Journal of Education it was maintained a few years back that a trochee (according to *quantity*) is admissible in the first foot; of which we are not able to assure ourselves, except as to proper names: but we unhesitatingly accent the following line, so as to leave the beat on the first syllable of ποτερα—

πότερα δομοίσι πτώμα πρόσκυρεί νεον;

which is strikingly recommended by the analogy of English poetry.

The above results appear to us to hold in the choral metres, with modifications when they become anapæstic or dactylic; and we think that the chief help needed to elucidate Greek metres generally, is a marking of the beats properly. For example:

(1) ὦ Σεμελάς τροφοί
Θηβαί, στεφανούσθε κίσσῳ,
βρύετε βρύετε χλοήρᾳ
σμίλακι κάλλικάρπῳ,
καί καταβάκχιούσθε δρύος
ἢ ελατάς κλαδοίσι.

(2) ὦ μακαρ, ὅστις εὐδαιμών
τελετάς θεών ειδώς
βιοτάν ἁγίστευεί,
καί θιασεύεται ψυχάν,
εν ορέσσι βάκχευών
ὁσιοίς καθάρμοισίν.

(3) ω Πέλοπος ἄ-προσθέν
πολύπονος ἵππειά,
ὡς ἐμολες αἰανής
τᾷδε γᾷ !
εὖτε γαρ ὁ πόντισθείς
Μύρτιλος εκοίμαθή, κ. τ. λ.

Of the three instances, the first shows the tribrach and pyrrhic, the others the molossus and spondee. As we observed that English verse made either a trochee or iamb (accentually) out of *wild horse*, so we think did the Greeks out of Θηβαι, ισσῳ, &c. &c., though much oftenest the beat is on the last syllable.

Ever to recover the Athenian pronunciation is hopeless; we can only make a rude approach, at best, and shall always find numerous verses, to us seemingly deficient in harmony, which perhaps were approved of by them. In the songs, we cannot tell to what extent they sacrificed sense to music; nay, sometimes a knowledge of the music played may be essential to understanding the metre. We do not therefore expect that any wit of critics would be able rightly to accent *all* their songs: but we rest in this, that *if they are to be accented at all*, it should be according to the presumed beat of the metre, and not according to the prose accent. But we have before said, that we cannot tell to what extent the prose accent was *intermixed*; and we now add, that in Euripides, the latest of the three tragedians, who most brought down tragedy into familiar talk, we seem to see instances of this.

It will be asked, If this be true, why are the rules of Cæsura needed, in iambics and hexameters? and why do our ears find such harmony in them, according to our pronunciation? and why do we so miss a Cæsura, when it is wanting?

We reply: (1) Porson and others have greatly overrated the supposed fact, that such rules of Cæsura exist in iambic senarians. After all his straining and cutting, and numerous insufficient excuses, plentiful exceptions remain, that show the approved Cæsuras to be no 'rule' at all. We can only say, that either

the structure of the language or the habit of the poets led to such and such divisions of the verse *more commonly* than other divisions. It is *possible* that the chant of the recitative had originally a slight pause at the chief division.

As to the Homeric poems, nearly the same is to be said. But besides, it seems certain that we endeavour to refer their harmony to the same principles as those of Virgil's Hexameter; from which it probably differs much. Farther, if the grammatical doctrine of the Cæsura be really received in fullest rigour, it is equally difficult to account for its importance to the harmony, *whatever be our idea of pronunciation.* For instance, *how* in Virgil's line,

Pectóribūs inhians, spirántia cónsulit éxta—

the alleged Cæsura after Pectóribus (where the voice seems unable to pause) should lengthen the last syllable, with the accents placed as we have placed them, (and which we have reason to think the true Latin pronunciation,) is explicable only on one hypothesis; viz. the force of arbitrary custom.

(2) And this explains why we find harmony in the dramatic and epic measures, pronouncing them as we do. Our sense of harmony is absolutely worthless as a proof that our accent is right; for the modern Greeks, reading their ancient poetry with an essentially different accentuation, equally admire its harmony; and the learned among them will with equal fastidiousness discover and reject that which to an Athenian would have been false quantity, though they themselves violate this quantity in the utterance. It is hard for a mere English reader to conceive to what an extent a *mental* apprehension of metre may be carried. It is without affectation that a practised ear (or mind), which approves of beginning a Latin hexameter with the words *Certa nǎgis,* shrinks from *Certa mājus* as a false quantity, although in our pronunciation the syllables are never distinguished. Again, people suppose that they find harmony in the Sapphics of Horace, which run as:

Jám satis térris nívis atque diræ—

but are annoyed by such as:

Síve qúos Eléa domum redúcit—

or:

ποίκιλόθρον', ἀθανατ' Ἀφροδίτα—

although it is nearly certain that the last more truly expresses the metre, being indeed the more common by far in Greek, and that

to which it has been observed by critics that Horace seems gradually to have been more prone, as he became more experienced in writing sapphics.

The truth is, that if any number of verses have considerable similarity of structure and division, and if the language have a judicious distribution of vowels and consonants, there is no pronunciation or accentuation whatever which will not by custom at last make the verses seem harmonious. It is a singular phenomenon again illustrating the power of custom, that verses ending as,

. . . . ανα ξ ανδρων Αγαμεμνων . . . .
Τεττιγα ὀξοσε ων ελκετ' απ' ακρεμονων . . . .
Τεττιγ', απταινοις δαιτα | φερεις τεκεσιν . . . .

are approved of in Greek, but disapproved by our ears in Latin. We ought also to remember that many verses that the ancients approved, are to us inharmonious.

It seems therefore to us, that the question, why dactylic hexameters do not succeed in English, may be answered more satisfactorily than Mr. Foster has answered it. We assign three reasons: 1st. That the ear of the English public does not recognize them, because the rhythm is quite new to it. 2nd. That the composers have not aimed at cultivating them as did the ancients, with a due regard to *quantity* as well as *accent;* but have satisfied themselves with one alone. We appeal to Mr. Southey's hexameters, as the most recent specimen that has drawn general notice: composed also by a poet who has paid extraordinary attention to metres, and whose ear all must allow to be highly tuned. We open his book at random, and extract—

> Whén that Spírit withdréw, the Mónarch aroúnd the assémbly
> Loók'd, but none élse came fórth; and he heárd the vóice of the 'Angel, &c.

Here we find *Spírit withdréw* used as a choriamb; and so it is, as to accent; but in quantity it stands ˘ – – –, or at least ˘ ˘ – –, if we concede that by quick pronunciation the second syllable may be shortened. Again, *Monarch* is in quantity an iamb, not a trochee. Mr. Southey defends the trochee in place of the spondee, as *drew the, heard the;* nor have we any objection to it, abstractedly; for we believe that custom would make this or any thing else seem good. But he justifies it on a ground, which shows that he (as most persons) is in the dark as to the facts of our language; viz. that 'the whole vocabulary of the language 'does not afford a single instance of a genuine native spondee: '. . . . and only one of foreign derivation, which is the word 'Egypt. *Twilight* and *evening* he alleges to be pure trochees.

evident that he means in an accentual sense; but how in sense he can call *Egypt* a trochee, we do not know. But ake this occasion of remarking, that we must not be misled he *look* of the letters ng to take them for a double conso- . The ng is only a nasal n, and is in some extra-European ues expressed by a single consonant. Hence the last syllaf *evening* would be short before a vowel, as:

When ēvenĭng ărises.

dney and the older hexameter writers seem to have made ıtity every thing and accent nothing. Mr. Southey quotes accents two of his verses thus:

ell may a pastor plain; but alas, his plaints be not ésteem'd—
'Opprest with ruinoús conceits by the help of an outcry.

this not fair. Sidney evidently estimated his longs and ts by the rules of Latin grammar, and neglected *accent* en- y; but Mr. Southey does not aright discriminate between nt and quantity.

ut, 3rdly, the language itself is ill suited to the measure, from fact that *so few of its words terminate in vowels.* It is only much effort that we can bring together words suitable to the meter, and it is an effort which no one who has the heart of et will endure to make in original composition. Not having trained to it from early associations, it is only by artifice the ear will come to the task. Moreover there is a want of ic in combinations such as *and the, of the, for the, from the, from,* and numerous others which perpetually recur: for le by the insignificance of words and our habit of quick prociation we know not how to make any thing of them but two t syllables, the accumulation of consonants forbids their being dedly short. The same applies to *bȳ the, throūgh the,* &c. ir first syllable is between short and long; and having no de- d quantity, is ill adapted to a metre which gives primary imance to quantity; as the *Latin* hexameter (the intonation of ch we generally seek to imitate) certainly did. We are for e reasons fully of opinion, that it is only in translating from mer or Virgil by *way of specimen* that any wise poet would mpt the metre in English.

n conclusion, we wish to press the propriety of learning and ling prose Greek with the accent as marked in the books. In ther languages we acknowledge the importance of this. Even Hebrew and Latin, languages quite *dead,* we pronounce acling to the rules of accent delivered by the old teachers: (it is e regretted that the Latin vowels are so wrongly sounded by

us, and the consonants v and j:) but in Greek, which is in some sense a living language,—whose accentuation at least survives, and which differs so little from the spoken tongue, that a Hellenic scholar is in a few days intelligible to educated Greeks, *if only his pronunciation is good*,—we utterly neglect that very accent which it is a mark of finished scholarship *to write!* Meanwhile our pronunciation is to natives nearly as ridiculous and unintelligible, as is that of an Englishman who should pronounce French as if it were English. The alleged difficulties are a mere fable. In Germany the accentual pronunciation is extensively used. We hope * Sir Daniel Sandford, who has given his authority to our vulgar corruption, will reconsider this matter; or if he will not let his pupils utter the accents, he will exempt them from the annoyance of learning them.

ART. IV. *The Poetical Works of Thomas Pringle; with a Sketch of his Life.* By LEITCH RITCHIE.

THIS volume will be read with melancholy interest, as a memorial of departed worth, and consecrated talent. It will awaken an interest in all who are capable of appreciating mental power and moral excellence in rich combination; and the melancholy inspired will be felt even by the general reader of sensibility, whose heart must sicken at the disappointments and trials of one so good and so gifted; but more especially, by those who had the happiness of a personal knowledge of Thomas Pringle.

An acute observation of providence assuredly dictated the sentiment, that 'God hath set one thing over against another;' for in defiance of the romantic calculations of youth, and the delusory and ever deluding anticipations of maturer age, the present life will always be what it has hitherto proved, a mixture of joys and sorrows. If the entire condition of mankind could be fairly and fully estimated, it would, doubtless, be found that, amidst the endless diversities of particular conditions, the extraordinary felicities of some, and the no less remarkable afflictions of others, there is an average and proportionate diffusion of good and evil throughout the mass of civilized society. Not only is there a primary indication of this as a design of the Creator in the instinctive capacities and adaptations of our nature, but in the constitutions of providence also. How frequently do we find mental superiority associated with physical weakness, elevated station with an uneasy

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* Since the above was written, we have to lament the loss which Greek literature has sustained by the premature death of this accomplished gentleman.

mind, the splendours of life with the distractions of a family, great opulence with oppressive care and incessant anxiety; or, on the other hand, extreme poverty with health and peace! Prosperity, however distinguished, has its drawbacks and deductions; adversity, however calamitous, its mitigations and its sunshine. These compensations are everywhere visible, notwithstanding the general disorganization which has been produced by the fall of man; but wherever religion prevails we perceive a proportionate tendency to the removal of these evils and to the general increase of human enjoyment; so that we cannot doubt of its prevalence as the means of a universal and perfect happiness.

It is not merely in these respects, or for the elucidation of these views, that such biographies as the brief one before us are useful; but as they tend to show the moral power of virtue and religion. Men of real principle are more than prepared for the reverses they are called to experience; they furnish a valuable example both to their contemporaries and to posterity; they display the controlling, guiding, and leavening influence of sanctified character in moulding their own destiny, or modifying, perhaps, in some sense determining, that of others. Thus they survive their death, and are immortal even on earth in spite of the grave. Their life is a lesson, and their death is a lesson. Their sufferings, often compensated by inward enjoyments, are the means of ameliorating the state of the world, by teaching others how to think and feel and act on this stage of existence, so that the tear that bedews their memory is absorbed in their recollected excellence and still anticipated influence. In the orderings of providence they did not, indeed, live for themselves; but in the wisdom and mercy of its arrangements, we see that mankind have been, is, and ever will be the better, for their having lived. What is the worth of fame without piety—what, the glory of ambition that conquers for itself alone? To have subdued a world is the distinction of Satan; to 'go about doing good,' is the recorded glory of the Son of God.

While the literary efforts and poetical productions of Pringle evinced his abilities, his greatest permanent celebrity will rest upon the basis of his labours in the cause of freedom and humanity; the former he nobly maintained abroad, the latter at home. To a few, but ever widening circle of friends, he was known as the author of some poems, the editor of 'Friendship's Offering,' and the writer of a very instructive narrative, respecting the state of Southern Africa; but he was, above all, the able and indefatigable Secretary of the Anti-slavery Society. That was, in fact, precisely, the proper place for him, as it afforded peculiar facilities for the development of the power and benevolent bearing of his talents. He did not possess the highest qualities of genius, but he was encircled with a moral glory which beautified

with its radiance his appropriate sphere of intellectual eminence and useful activity. It was his happiness to live to witness the triumph of anti-slavery principles; though, as it now appears, the joy of the nation was somewhat premature when the legislative enactments announced emancipation as the purchase of twenty millions of British gold, paid to the West-India planters; premamature, inasmuch as the apprenticeship clause has evaded for a time the high purposes of justice and benevolence. The *spirit* of British legislation must, however, at no distant period, triumph over the blunders or the craft of British legislators; and the Christian feeling of the people of England coerce and conquer the stubbornness of Jamaica inhumanity.

The amiable qualities of Mr. Pringle, no less than his official situation, brought him into friendly association with the most distinguished promoters of the cause of negro emancipation. We cannot resist the temptation of extracting part of a letter to his wife, which contains a graphic description of the domestic manners of Mr. Wilberforce. Of that great and good man every memorial is precious.

'*Highwood Hill, January* 23d, 1830.

'I arrived here last night about seven, without suffering much annoyance from cold, or finding the roads so bad as I expected. I have enjoyed a good night's rest, and now sit down, after breakfast, at a comfortable fire in my own room, to write to you before I do anything else, and to give you a few details which I think will interest and entertain you.

'Finding on my arrival that there was company with the family, I desired the servant to show me to my bed-room, in order to adjust myself a little before joining them in the dining-room. Mr. Wilberforce immediately came up, welcomed me with great cordiality, and pressed me to go down without dressing, as there was no fine company, but only Mr. Simeon, from Cambridge, Mr. Sargeant, another clergyman, and two ladies, friends of the family. I here dined—and after an hour's chat I prevailed on Mr. Wilberforce to retire for his usual nap, which he seemed disposed to forego on my account. At tea he again joined us—and then I told him the news of Lord William Bentinck having issued a proclamation at Benares, prohibiting in future the burning of widows, throughout the British dominions in India. The good old man was overjoyed, and eagerly inquired into all the details and as to the certainty of the intelligence; on being assured of which, I observed with interest, that he covered his face with his hands, and appeared silently to offer up thanksgiving to God for this great triumph of Christian philanthropy, of which he had lived to witness the accomplishment. We conversed on this and various kindred topics till nine o'clock, when we adjourned to the hall for family worship. Mr. Wilberforce himself gave out the hymn, and we were accompanied in singing by a small organ. All the servants (seven or eight) were present. The congregation of the household for this service, has a very delightful and patriarchal appearance, especially, when one observes

the holy fervour with which this great and good man leads their devotions. Mr. Simeon read and briefly expounded a chapter of the Bible, and Mr. Wilberforce himself concluded with a prayer—so plain, appropriate, and impressive, that it greatly reminded me of the family prayers of some of my Scotch Seceder relatives when I was a boy.

'After this the good old man again sat down with us at the fireside, conversed with interest and animation on a variety of subjects, and read a favourite passage or two of poetry which happened to be referred to, and it was past twelve o'clock before I could get away to bed.

'This morning we assembled to family worship at half-past nine,—afterwards breakfasted—and now I am come up to write my letters.'

—p. xcvii.

The ancestors of Mr. Pringle were border farmers. He was born at Blaiklaw, otherwise called Easterstead, on the 5th of January, 1789; when a few months old he met with a serious accident, by which his right limb was dislocated at the hip joint. The nurse concealed the circumstance at the time, though it was soon discovered that something was amiss with the limb. He was carried to Kelso for medical advice, but the nature of the injury was not ascertained for a long period, when it was no longer practicable to reduce the dislocation. Thus he was rendered lame for life. His early piety was remarkable, for it has been stated by his old nurse, 'that when she has returned to the 'house after an absence on business, she frequently found the boy 'on his knees, engaged in fervent prayer.' In his fourteenth year he was sent to the grammar-school of Kelso, to learn the rudiments of Latin; and three years after he went to Edinburgh, to complete his studies at the university. Here he was not distinguished, but respectable; less attentive to classics than to English poetry and criticism. Hesitating much respecting the choice of a profession, he entered at length as a clerk, into the service of his majesty's Commissioners on the public records of Scotland, while he looked to literature to eke out his small salary. His friend the Rev. Mr. Story says, 'that his employment, unless 'when it occasionally gratified his antiquarian taste, was most 'repugnant to the natural bias of his mind, and altogether alien 'from those studies and mental exercises in which he especially 'delighted. No one will be inclined to question this statement, of 'which his character and future career furnish ample illustra-'tion.

In 1811, he and a friend published a poem called the 'Insti-'tute,' for which he gained some praise, but no money. In 1816, he was a contributor to 'Albyn's Anthology,' and the author of a piece in the 'Poetic Mirror,' which was lauded by Scott, and the means of an introduction to his acquaintance. Early in 1817, he wrote an article in the 'Edinburgh Monthly Magazine,' on the Gipsies, from materials furnished by Scott. About the same

time, he became editor of the 'Edinburgh Star,' newspaper, in which he wrote the leading article twice a-week. He also conducted a magazine, which falling into the hands of new proprietors, became 'Blackwood's Magazine.' Another which he had undertaken, became 'Constable's.' By a quarrel with Blackwood a separation soon occurred, and he was rendered an object of dislike and abuse to the party. On 19th July, when his affairs seemed flourishing, he married the daughter of Mr. Brown, an East Lothian farmer, but the magazine fund diminished his resources. Soon after he published his 'Autumnal Excursion,' relinquished the editorship of the 'Star,' and as his biographer states, 'after the period of glorious hopes, of lofty yearnings, and gallant struggles —our history finds him once more, in January, 1819, on his accustomed seat in the Register Office.' His salary, however, being small he applied to government for a grant of land for his father and brother, determining to emigrate with them to Southern Africa. In February, 1820, they set sail for the Cape of Good Hope, when the administration was in the hands of Lord Charles Somerset. After a toilsome march of five days up an African glen, they settled at Glen-Lynden. He, at length, relinquished his temporary possession to his brother, and sought his own support at the Cape. He first became librarian to the government library, and resided at Cape-Town three years. We shall not detail his literary and public efforts, suffice it to say, his zeal for freedom drove him home; for it rendered him obnoxious to arbitrary power, by whose frowns he was ruined. During the whole of 1825, he was in active correspondence with the Commissioners of Inquiry, on the subject of abuses in the local administration, the treatment of the coloured race, and the defence of the frontier. He was the originator of the scheme for the establishment of the Hottentots as independent occupiers of the land, and was one of the most active members of the society for the relief of the distressed settlers in Albany.

Mr. Pringle left the Cape in April, 1826, and arrived in London in July, accompanied by his wife and Miss Brown. He was now £1000 in debt; and his claims for compensation were disallowed. Before quitting Africa, he sent an article to England on the state of Slavery in the Colony, which led, by a train of circumstances, to his acquaintance with Mr. Buxton and Mr. Macaulay, and eventually to his becoming Secretary to the Anti-slavery Society in 1827. In this situation his services were highly appreciated, and his zeal and usefulness were unabated to the last. The conclusion of his labours was a document signed with his name on the 27th of June, 1834, reciting the Act of Abolition, and ascribing the glory of the triumph to God. On the 28th he was seized with the illness (consumption) which terminated his valuable life on the following 5th of December, in his

8th year. In anticipation of the breaking up of the Anti-slavery ociety, he had solicited a government appointment at the Cape, nt without success. He had determined however upon the oyage, but the providence of God interposed by the rapid de-ine of his health. His end was peace. His remains were nterred in Bunhill Fields.

It is now time to speak of the 'Poetical Works' of which this olume in great part consists. In point of arrangement it would ave been better to have placed the juvenile poems first, and the frican Sketches last; and in this order we shall notice them. he Ephemerides, or juvenile poems, are divided into three arts, comprising juvenile poems, songs and sonnets, and iscellaneous pieces. All are pleasing, and many beautiful. In oint of versification and sentiment, they have fewer faults than ost productions of a similar kind; and the fascination of some f them inspired the wish for a prolongation of their music and elody. Over all of these the lamented author has spread his wn amiable spirit, while many not only exhibit his correct taste nd judgment, but indicate his enthusiastic love of nature and the ne breathing spirit of liberty. Most of these compositions seem flow from feeling which could not be repressed, and which, by kind of instinctive and inevitable necessity takes the form of etry. Either there was no art, or it attained its highest skill concealment. Pringle could not, we should think, like Gray, olish every line as he proceeded; yet there is equal ease and ry similar elegance. We wish our readers to drink at this untain of the Muses, and shall therefore endeavour to tempt em by a few sweet potions.

THE HIGHLANDS.

AIR—'My heart's in the Highlands.'

'The Highlands! the Highlands!—O gin I were there:
Tho' the mountains an' morlands be rugged an' bare,
Tho' bleak be the clime, an' but scanty the fare,
My heart's in the Highlands—O gin I were there.

The Highlands! the Highlands!—my full bosom swells
When I think o' the streams gushing wild through the dells,
And the hills towering proudly, the lochs gleaming fair!
My heart's in the Highlands—O gin I were there!

The Highlands! the Highlands!—far up the grey glen,
Stands a cozy wee cot, wi' a *but* and a *ben*,
An' a deas at the door, wi' my auld mother there,
Crooning—"Haste ye back, Donald, an' leave us nae mair.'
The Highlands! the Highlands! &c.

—p. 174.

Akin in sentiment and feeling is the following sonnet, though a different style.

LONG YEARS OF SORROW.

Long years of sorrow and slow-wasting care
Have stol'n from thy soft cheek its vermeil hue;
And somewhat changed the glossy locks that threw
Their shadowy beauty round thy temples fair;
And lent to those sweet eyes a sadder air,
That from their long dark fringes laughing, blue,
Once looked like violets fresh-bathed in dew,
And seemed as they might even enchant despair!
Sickness and grief have touched thee; yet so mildly,
That, though some graces of thy youth are gone,
The loveliness that witched my heart so wildly
In life's romantic spring—is still thine own:
And those meek pensive eyes, in their revealings,
Speak now of higher thoughts and deeper feelings.—p. 183.

Many of the little songs and sonnets we should gladly transfer to our pages; we will quote one which unites much poetry with ardent piety.

A HYMN.

1.

When morn awakes our hearts,
To pour the matin prayer;
When toil-worn day departs,
And gives a pause to care;
When those our souls love best,
Kneel with us, in thy fear,
To ask thy peace and rest—
Oh God our Father, hear!

2.

When worldly snares without,
And evil thoughts within,
Stir up some impious doubt,
Or lure us back to sin;
When human strength proves frail,
And will but half sincere;
When faith begins to fail—
Oh God our Father, hear!

3.

When in our cup of mirth,
The drop of trembling falls,
And the frail props of earth,
Are crumbling round our walls;

When back we gaze with grief,
And forward glance with fear;
When faileth man's relief—
Oh God our Father, hear!

4.

When on the verge we stand
Of the eternal clime,
And death with solemn hand
Draws back the veil of time;
When flesh and spirit wake,
Before Thee to appear—
For the Redeemer's sake,
Oh God our Father, hear!—p. 210.

The 'African Sketches,' consist of various poetic illustrations of the country, suggested to Mr. Pringle while a resident. Some of them are of a very superior character; and two, the 'Bechuana Boy,' and 'Afar in the Desert,' have the decided marks of genius. The latter in particular is what only a true poet could have imagined and executed. Both however, are too long for insertion, and we must close. Mr. Ritchie is entitled to warm thanks for the good service he has rendered to the memory of his friend. The volume to which he has so generously contributed needs no recommendation; it will sufficiently recommend itself. In addition to its intrinsic merits, the brief advertisement prefixed will appeal to the best feelings of a large class. We leave it, unimpaired by any comment or appeal of our own. '*This* work is not published 'in the usual way, but entirely for the benefit of Mr. Pringle's 'widow.'

Art. V. *A Grammar of the New Testament Dialect.* By Moses Stuart, Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary, Andover. 8vo. pp. 256. Andover, U. S., 1834.

The same work, republished in England, with a Preface by the [anonymous] Editor. Duodecimo, pp. 20, and 238. London, 1838.

A Greek Grammar of the New Testament. 8vo. pp. 64. London, 1835.

FROM the days of Gataker and Salmasius, and, especially, after the light afforded by Bentley, John Vorstius, and the school of Hemsterhuys, the nature of the New Testament Greek has been laid open to the satisfaction of every candid scholar; and the fallacies of Pfochenius and Anthony Blackwall have lost the credit which, once and to a very limited extent, they seemed to have.

In the early part of this period, the excellent George Pasor, left, at his death, in manuscript, a *Grammatica Græca Novo Test. Domini N. Jesu Christi illustrando destinata;* and it was given to the world by his son Matthias, in 1655. It is rich in materials, well arranged; and the author recognizes, in the clearest manner, that 'the style of the N. T. is formed upon the genius of the 'Hebrew language.' The testimony of Dr. Winer well deserves to be transcribed. 'George Pasor, Professor of the Greek Lan-'guage at Francker (ob. 1637,) known by his small Lexicon of 'the New Testament, which has passed through several editions '(the last by J. F. Fischer,) left behind him, among his papers, a 'Grammar of the N. T. which was edited by his son, Matthias Pasor, 'Prof. Theol. at Groningen (ob. 1658,) with additions and correc-'tions of his own.—This work is now *a literary rarity;* although 'it is far better adapted to perpetuate the author's fame than his 'Lexicon of the N. T.—The second book [the syntax] is the 'most valuable; and, in the third, that part which respects the 'Dialects of the N. T.—The Syntax is compiled with great accu-'racy, and is copious even to the exhausting of the subject. 'Parallels out of the Greek national writers are seldom adduced. 'In fact, the Syntax of this excellent writer exceeds any thing of 'the kind that has hitherto been compiled; and leaves Haab's 'inadequate performance (Tübingen, 1815,) very far behind it.' *Gr. Gramm. of the N. T.* pref.

Dr. George Benedict Winer, Prof. Div. successively in the Universities of Erlangen and Leipzig, long made use of Haab's work, but with increasing dissatisfaction. This led him to publish, in 1822, his *Grammar of the Idiom of the N. T.* a work which has met with high and deserved approbation, and which the author has considerably enlarged and improved in subsequent editions. An English translation of it was made, by Professors Stuart and Robinson, and printed at Andover, U. S., in 1825. It is to the reproach of both America and Britain, that a work of so much value and importance has met with comparatively so little attention in either country. It is by no means superseded by the newer works of which we are now treating, for it has features of character which have not been transferred to them. Yet the indefatigable Professor Stuart has resisted the depressing influence of discouragement, and has again favoured the body of thinking and diligent Biblical students with the original work which we now recommend to our readers. He says,

'My purpose has been *to bring together all the important forms and principles of Greek Grammar*, in as *short a compass as possible, and yet to be perspicuous and satisfactory*. The labour of doing this, I am quite sure, cannot well be estimated, except by those who have made the like attempts. Whether I have succeeded, must be determined before another tribunal, not my own.

'The reader may be assured that he will find Greek Grammar exhibited here according to the stand which this science has most recently taken, under the guidance of the great masters named above,' [Buttmann, Rost, Matthiæ, Hermann, Winer, and Thiersch.] 'The doctrine of the Greek Tenses, he will find very different, in some respects, from the representation of it in the old Grammars.'

Winer, in his what we must call invaluable volume, did not think it requisite to insert paradigms, or rules of inflexion, which belong to a general Greek Grammar, and may justly be supposed to have been already learnt. He confined himself to a statement of the forms which are peculiar to the Septuagint and the New Testament; and this he comprised in twelve most perspicuous and interesting pages. But Mr. Stuart, consulting the benefit of those who have not enjoyed the privilege of a sufficient classical training, has exhibited the Forms of Declension and Conjugation, with the systematic Rules and Illustrations, at ample length. This, added to the Preliminary matter upon the Peculiarities of the Hellenistic Dialect (for, notwithstanding the objections of Salmasius, it may properly enough be so called,) occupies half the volume. Yet, after all, the arrangement and dependence of words is the great object of attention in a work of this kind. Upon this part, the Professor says:—

'In regard to the Syntax, I have used him [Winer] much to my purpose; and I here make my most grateful acknowledgments for his laboured, acute, and copious display of the New Testament Syntax. Yet my work differs not a little from his in mode of exhibition. His Syntax is constructed, almost every where, upon the [presumption of] previous knowledge of the student, or upon that of other Grammars: mine aims at being sufficiently complete in itself.

'Very much of Winer's excellent Grammar is occupied with *critical* discussions about particular texts. I am thankful for such acute criticisms, let me find them where I may; but still, I cannot help thinking that the more proper place for them is in a *commentarius criticus*.—Our *plans* are very different.—I would hope—that the plan of the present work will be found more acceptable and useful to those who study sacred criticism. The state of science and method of study in Germany, are so different from our own,' [in New England, but the remark is not quite inapplicable to Great Britain and Ireland,] 'that a work well adapted for that country may meet with a very slow reception in this, or even fall into desuetude. Every work of such a nature as a Grammar, should be adapted to the times and to the country in which one lives.'—*Pref. passim.*

The English edition is of a smaller and more commodious size, and is beautifully printed. The Editor, to us unknown, prefixes the following observations.

'—— The Editor feels that it would indeed be superfluous in him to speak, either of the qualifications of the learned author for the production of a work of this class, or of the value and utility of a Grammar designed peculiarly for the elucidation of the New Testament *Idiom*. To those who ask for evidence of the former, it may be sufficient to mention Prof. Stuart's Commentaries on the Epistles to the Romans and to the Hebrews: works which stand alone in the whole range of English critical Commentaries on the Scriptures, and which will ever remain imperishable monuments of his skill as an interpreter, of his eminence as a sacred Philologer, and of his sagacity as a critic. But should any be disposed to doubt the necessity for a Grammar of the New Testament language, the Editor would respectfully recommend to such persons a perusal of the Preface and the Introduction to this volume, which will probably be sufficient to convince them that there is at least *some* reason for a distinct treatment of the peculiarities of the Hebrew-Greek dialect.'

The labours of the Editor have been great, and they entitle him to the gratitude of the student. They have been employed;—*first*, in revision, and the correction of 'some hundreds of 'typographical errors, principally in the Greek, its accentuation,' &c.—*secondly*, in collating the passages quoted, with the late Bishop Lloyd's edition of the Greek Testament, and with the best editions of the Greek Classics;—*thirdly*, 'in two or three 'instances' rectifying undoubted mistranslations. Yet, we should have preferred this to have been done in subjoined Notes, leaving the author's text unaltered.—*Fourthly*, some improvements in the style, 'mostly in substituting purer English phrases or idioms for 'Americanisms.—In fine, the utmost diligence has been bestowed 'upon the labours of the press.'

The last of the three works upon our table is entitled to be mentioned with respect and honour. It bears indubitable evidence of having been issued from the atmosphere of the London University College; and the same kind of internal evidence leads us to believe that the merit of the work belongs to the gentleman who has lately edited the Greek Testament, so judiciously arranged, with such valuable *subsidia*, so beautifully printed, and in so commodious a form, as to be, in our opinion, the best edition ever yet published as an *Enchiridion*, a pocket-manual, for the Christian Student. In his preface to the New Testament Grammar, the Editor, whose sound judgment shines through his amiable modesty, informs us that 'The Syntax has been chiefly 'taken from Winer's excellent Grammar for the New Testament; 'but much additional matter has been inserted from Wahl and 'other authors.'

What gratitude do we owe to the Father of lights and Fountain of goodness, from whom 'all right counsels and good works 'proceed,' that productions of such utility are multiplied in this

ur day, for encouraging and aiding the impartial study of the oly scriptures! May God grant his efficacious blessing; that he young men in our schools and colleges, and proportionably in ll the walks of commercial and professional life, may avail themelves of these high advantages, far beyond what their fathers enoyed, in the spirit of true piety and practical religion! Then and hen only will they KNOW by the happiest consciousness, that hese 'Holy Scriptures are able to make them WISE unto SALVATION, through the faith which is in Christ Jesus.'

In our article upon Robinson's New Testament Lexicon, p. 76 of the last No., the following sentence was inadvertently mitted.

There is one circumstance of omission in this work, which we nuch regret; it is the not having put the mark of long or short uantity over the doubtful vowels, in those syllables whose prooody cannot be determined by the ordinary rules. Such an addiion would have cost little trouble, to either the author or the ditor; and it would have been an immense advantage to the umerous students of the Greek Scriptures, who have not had the dvantage of being trained to the use of the Attic poets, and do ot possess *Morell's Thesaurus.—Passow's Wörterbuch*, and everal Lexicons published within these few years in our own ountry, have this valuable accompaniment.

Art. VI. *Our Young Men: their Importance and Claims.* A Prize Essay. By F. A. Cox, D.D., L.L.D. London, W. Ball. 1838.

MOST of our readers are probably aware, that in the early part of 1837, the Committee of the British and Foreign Young Men's Society, offered a prize of one hundred guineas for the best essay on 'The claims of young men on society.' The society in question was then but recently formed, and little known. It was designed to advance the intellectual and moral welfare of young men, and, especially, to guard them against the numerous and seductive temptations to which they are exposed in London and other large cities. 'With this view,' it is stated in one of the publications of the Society, 'it offers the usual advantages of 'literary and scientific institutions; a library, reading-room, and 'periodicals, occasional lectures and weekly meetings of the mem-

'bers for conversation, and the reading of original essays. It also 'publishes its monthly magazine.

'Their *moral and religious advancement*, however, is its grand 'design, and, therefore, all meetings of the members are opened 'and closed with prayer, and no books are admitted into their 'library except those which are fitted to serve the interests of 'piety and wisdom.

'Other societies present the means of intellectual instruction; 'religious communities, the influence of Christian conversation 'and example, but few other societies combine all the privileges 'that result from the union of the two. Literary institutions, it is 'true, by exciting a thirst for knowledge and teaching the mind 'to think, prepare the way, in some measure, for the reception of 'the truth; but that this is too seldom the aim of those who con-'duct them, it is evident, by observation of their books—the 'folly and the scepticism that infect them. On the other hand, 'though the piety which pervades the churches of Christ, by puri-'fying the mind, enlightens and exalts it, little or no provision is 'made by them to communicate knowledge in general. Witness 'the obscurity of mental vision that prevails in many congregations 'and churches. But in this Society religion and knowledge are 'joint presidents or guardian spirits, breathing their own immortal 'vigour into the hearts of their followers, and leading them on with 'untiring energy to the contest of truth with error—to fight the 'battles of the Lord against the mighty.'

Such an institution, constituted on the basis of religious principles, and making its resources bear with concentrated force on the interests of a specific and most important class, is well entitled to the commendation and support of the Christian public. To what extent that support has been realised, we have not the means of knowing, but if nothing else be effected than the publication of this treatise, a very important service will be rendered to the interests of the rising generation. Several essays were forwarded to the adjudicators, many of them, we are informed, possessing 'qualities which entitled them, though on different grounds, 'to very high commendation.' Dr. Cox's treatise, however, was pronounced to be 'decidedly the best,' and as such, has had awarded to it the prize offered by the Society. We congratulate the Doctor on his success, as we trust it will be the means of bringing him into useful and most gratifying contact, with a large class over whom he might otherwise have had no opportunity of exerting a salutary influence.

The treatise is divided into three parts, which treat of the importance of young men to society; the persons on whom it especially devolves to watch over and promote their interests; and the advantages which would accrue from the cultivation of their minds and hearts. Each of these leading divisions is sub-divided into

several sections, which bring the various and diversified aspects of the subject distinctly out to view. We would willingly indulge in extended extracts, but other claims forbid our doing so, and we must, therefore restrict ourselves to two or three. The following is taken from the section on 'The Influence of Young Men in Social Life,' and is executed in a chastened and beautiful style.

'From Sunday scholars and Sunday-school teachers, and Tract distributors, have arisen a generation to maintain the cause of religion in our own country, and convey its benefactions to distant lands. The gospel has been thus preached *to* the poor and *by* the poor, while thousands have been made 'rich in faith.' The observant minister of religion will not fail to notice, that young men trained under these circumstances have usually become his most effective coadjutors, by their zeal and love and devotion. While others of more elevated rank, even though pious, have been restrained by the artificial distinctions of society, these, which constitute in all congregations the great majority, have found it easy to maintain a freedom of intercourse among themselves, and unite with others somewhat above their condition, in christian and benevolent undertakings. They have not been bound by the frigid rules of politeness or the false notions of propriety in passing a particular line or circle, to associate and co-operate in advancing the interests of religion; and the minister has usually found that while the more wealthy of his charge could only *ride* in their carriages once on the Sabbath, to the house of solemn assembly, they could *walk* with repeated and ever-renewing eagerness of attendance there; and, while on ordinary days the former too often remained in the *drawing-room*, the latter could repair to the *vestry*, for prayer and praise.

'And who is yonder preacher of the 'everlasting gospel' on the sunny plains of India? Who is he, that is standing forth amidst the countless myriads that are repairing to the festival of Juggernaut, to maintain a noble contest with this and that group of brahminical dogmatists and idolatrous devotees, to announce to the multitude often laughing him to scorn, the tidings of salvation through the blood of atonement, and to spread abroad with untiring perseverance through the live-long day portions of the inspired volume, which he has spent previous years in translating into their vernacular idiom, or which his fellow-workers in the great cause of human happiness have assisted to prepare? Who is he that, after these toils, repairs to a lowly structure, where the gathering few that have 'tasted the good word of life' are convened, with many whom curiosity or secret purposes of mischief may have drawn together; and there, with fervent prayers and spirit-stirring appeals, dispenses the doctrines, warnings, or promises of the Bible, to ignorant and erring immortals, till sinners tremble and saints rejoice? Who, indeed, but that once poor and wicked child that was led, or rather driven by maternal beseechings to the village Sunday-school in Britain, to obtain the instructions of a voluntary benevolence, and be placed under the salutary restraints of a christian discipline! 'Ephraim was like a wild bull in a net;' but the bonds of a discipline then unwelcome, subdued, and the kindness of disinterested instructions

at length gained him. He learnt the elements of reading and religion; his dark mind gradually admitted some rays of heavenly light; he was taught again and again with the simplicity of truth, and the urgency of holy love, to repent of his sins, to believe in Christ, to seek reconciliation to God. His eye shed the frequent tear that distilled from a melted heart: he saw his guilt, repaired to the cross, and sought association with the church of the Redeemer. His religion became of an elevated character, and inspired thoughts of consecrated devotedness: long he trembled at himself, and felt the awful responsibility of touching holy things: but why should he not, and wherefore ought he not, to devote that sanctified heart to the service of his new found Saviour, which, in its carnality and deep debasement, had been given to the 'god of this world:' he hesitated—feared—kindled with irresistible zeal, and displayed missionary adaptations, left his beloved country—crossed the tempestuous ocean—and became the 'burning and shining light' he now appears; imparting knowledge, exhibiting Christianity both in its doctrine and spirit, 'and turning many to righteousness,' in that distant land, which is the scene of his useful labours, as it will probably be the place of his honoured sepulture!'—pp. 39—42.

Our next extract is of a different character, more *sombre*, but not less instructive. We had scarcely expected to find our author so capable of sketching to the very life the scene described. A traveller's room is a world in itself, and divines are seldom permitted to look in upon its customs. An occasional glance, however, may be obtained, and Dr. Cox has obviously made the most of the moments he has spent there. We have known instances, and our author, probably, has reasoned upon such—of noble-hearted, generous, unsuspecting, and strictly moral young men, being ensnared and ruined by the associations and habits of 'the 'traveller's room.' At first, they shrank from the contaminations they found prevalent, but their principles were gradually undermined, and their hearts rendered callous. We have heard from some—subsequently reclaimed from vice—an account of their successive compliances with temptations, until, at length, they joined the class of tempters, and became the active emissaries of Satan. A great improvement has been recently effected. Still it is a fearful ordeal for the young and inexperienced. But we forget our author. The following is his description.

'There is another class who may, at first sight, appear more detached and isolated, but, nevertheless, are so widely spread, and retain their peculiar habits, and often their peculiar position in life, so long, that in this estimate of the claims of young men, they demand a very distinct reference; I refer to those who are known by the name of *Travellers*. Employed by some central or metropolitan house of business, they go forth for months to visit and perform the necessary agencies of trade in every district and town of the kingdom. It is obvious, that

they are at once thrown into situations, in which they have great facilities both for receiving and imparting a moral influence. The spirit of worldly gain adapts itself to the diversified conditions of society; and, hence, in this country, we are supplied with public accommodations for every class. We have the hotel for the opulent, and the commercial inn for the traveller, that is, specifically for the traveller by profession. The young man receives his commission from his 'London house,' and forthwith commences his career, He 'puts up,' as the phrase is, at such an inn in such a town, which is the first of a series to which he has been recommended by his employers, or by more practised travellers; and there he finds what is technically called 'The Traveller's Room.' And what is a traveller's room? I mean to describe it not so much in its external features as in its moral character; but, in doing so, it is proper to premise that there are many and happy exceptions to what, nevertheless, even in the present advanced state of society, may, it is to be feared, be regarded as a general rule.

'Having disposed of his horse, or as, perhaps, it should *now* be more properly said, having alighted from the coach, whose convenience and cheapness alike invite to a change of former habits in this respect, the youth in question enters the accommodating apartment. Modest, diffident, unused to the ways of the world, he awaits the usual hour for refreshment. The conversation may be general, probably political, perhaps unmeaning; and each separates to make his *calls* upon customers in the town, or to extend the operations of his *principal*. Our young traveller pursues a similar course. The day closes; the transactions of the past hours of busy occupation are briefly *entered*, the needful letters of information written, and the evening lounge and evening meal arrive. Conversation is renewed; amusements are recommended; newspapers are read; inuendos against religion, or the claims of virtue, introduced;—some stroll out, and upon their return from their nocturnal perambulations, are little prepared to impart sentiments or produce impressions favourable to morals. Neither their language nor their conduct will, in fact, endure the scrutiny of virtue or the test of religion. They are fitted only to vitiate conscience and corrupt the heart. Expressions are repeated, which at first, like the gates of hell, as Milton describes, 'grate harsh discord' upon the unaccustomed ear. There is a *deposit* of evil, *a leaven* of unrighteousness left in the secret recesses of the mind. It may, however, be for a time resisted by virtuous predilections, a yet unsophisticated mind, and a cultivated understanding. The lessons of early instruction, if haply they have been judicious and religious, will be called to mind, parental solicitude, prayers, and admonitions will catch the inward quick-glancing thought, though it be only like the reflections of a mirror, or the reminiscences of a dream; and, perchance, maternal tears will seem to flow again with their entreating kindness and subduing effect. Satan has only, at present, insinuated the doubt—'*Hath* God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?' Another day arrives; other temptations present themselves; and if the impression be not deepened, it is at least not obliterated. The unexperienced youth proceeds on his journey, pursues his appointed course, and by his associations in new

but similar places of concourse and communion, adds to his stores of disastrous knowledge, till the revolting character of vice is diminished by familiarity and habit; that which was displeasing becomes tolerable, then attractive, and finally destructive. If an accurate and full-length portrait of his *future self* could be exhibited to *present view*, many a youthful adventurer would start with astonishment, and resentfully exclaim with Hazael, 'Is thy servant a dog that he should do this thing?' and yet, by the gradual encroachments of sin upon a heart once apparently guarded and pervaded with virtuous sentiments, its base usurpation is established, and its detestable dictates are entirely obeyed. The influence of a guilty companionship, into which a young man may be thus early thrown, is incalculably great, by breaking down the barriers which have been previously reared by parental training or the discipline of a good education, or by confirming previous propensities to evil and habits of vice. And when it is recollected that the number is very considerable, of young men in this kind of employment, and that those who are exposed to these moral hazards are hereafter to be the heads of families, it will be manifest that the effect upon society is such as to constitute a powerful claim upon our attention, our sympathies, and our prayers.'—pp. 47—50.

We must make room for another extract, taken from the section on 'the duties of schoolmasters and teachers,' the whole of which is characterised by sound sense, and an accurate knowledge of human nature. We know the gentleman to whom our author refers in such grateful terms, as the guide and instructor of his youth, and have heard others of his pupils, occupying like Dr. Cox important stations in the Church of God, speak of him in similar language. Would that the number of such teachers was greatly multiplied.

'One of the first objects of a tutor should be, to secure a spirit of obedience, by conciliating affection and winning confidence. At an earlier period, the child should be trained to the *habit* of obedience, even though he may not know the *reasons* of it; but as the mind expands, these should be supplied to the young man; habit will then become principle. At the period when young men are most disposed to revolt, and to question 'the wisdom of their ancestors,' they are most really prepared to comprehend the grounds of discipline and the rectitude of authority; and he will best secure it, who, while he shows it to be legitimate, makes it kind. A tutor is in the natural position of dictating to his pupil, as to the course of his studies and the mode of pursuing them; and having carefully devised his plan, he must render it evident, amidst the fluctuations of juvenile caprice or ignorance, that instruction is a blessing to him who is taught, and a means used for a still higher end by him who teaches.

'Ideas of *pleasure* should be connected with those of tuition. The *labor ipse voluptas* may certainly be accomplished if the mind be properly disciplined, and may be perpetuated throughout the whole course

of intellectual effort. Formerly, the roads to knowledge resembled those of the country, rugged and rutty, full of dry and stony technicalities, or the mud of the ancient schools, and progress was necessarily slow and difficult: and though there is no royal road to knowledge, the skilful contrivances of art assisting science, and the plenitude of well-arranged classifications in the various departments of knowledge, together with improvements in oral communication, have smoothed and *macadamized* it.

'The writer may be pardoned for the personality of a reference to the guide of his earlier years, as it affords an illustration of the subject. His method was familiar and Socratic. Instead of wearying the spirit with everlasting iterations of terms and phrases, and driving his pupil blindfold along the paths of knowledge, by conning over dry or unintelligible things, he would stimulate the faculties into action by winning means, elicit thought, and employ discussion. He not only imparted what he knew, but prompted inquiry, and became his pupil's companion in research. If there were difficulties which he himself felt, he would acknowledge them, and seek to obviate them, inviting observation, calling in the aid of reason, or appealing to the elucidation of experiments, and tracking the dark shadow that flitted before him, till he overtook and dispersed it, or climbing the lofty mountain, with a patient and persevering step, till he ascended the height of discovery; or if, on the other hand, the difficulties were those only of his pupil, he would unfold the facts to him in a way which not only gave him a present triumph, but taught him the method of future and more important conquest. He knew it was better not to pass a difficulty without mastering it; and, therefore, instead of permitting flight or evasion, he would gently conduct his perplexed and half-desponding young friend over many a *pons asinorum* in literature and science. He still lives, and may he long live—the inspirer of taste, and the guide to useful knowledge!'—126—128.

The extracts we have given will enable our readers to form their own judgment on the style in which this volume is written, and as that judgment *must* be highly favorable, we need not say a word of commendation on this point. In reference to the more substantial qualities of the work, we shall merely remark, that it has rarely happened to us, to meet with a treatise of a didactic and religious nature, which combines in so happy a degree, the pleasing and the instructive, the power to interest with the power to benefit. The extensive circulation of such a volume among the younger branches of our families, cannot fail to exercise an influence friendly to domestic peace, to all fraternal affections, and to that purest of human passions which rests complacently on the Father of all mercies, and the God of all grace.

Art. VII. 1. *The Church Review, and Scottish Ecclesiastical Magazine.* No. XXIII., February, 1838.

2. *Reports of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, on Church Extension: Given in and read, May,* 1835, 1836, *and* 1837. By THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D., Convener.

3. *First, Second, and Third Reports of the Commissioners of Religious Instruction, Scotland.*

4. *On the Law of Christ Respecting Civil Obedience, especially in the Payment of Tribute; with an Appendix of Notes and Documents.* By JOHN BROWN, D.D., Minister of the United Associate Congregation, Broughton-place; and Professor of Exegetical Theology to the United Secession Church. Edinburgh: M. Paterson.

THE Ecclesiastical conflict pending in Scotland was for a long period nothing more than a war of principles; and such but for the folly of churchmen, it might perhaps have remained to a distant day. No movement was made, on either side, which could be expected very speedily to terminate in any great practical results. Like the old warfare against the evils of patronage, unsoundness of doctrine, and relaxation of discipline, the new contest against the principle of an Establishment might have been treated as a mere speculation. While the Dissenters triumphed in argument, the safety of the state-church would have been to treat them and their allegations with the old affectation of disdain and contempt. Although the pride of churchmen might thus have been humbled, their temporal interests would have been secure. But when, instead of submitting with seeming patience, as formerly, to charges which it was vain attempting to rebut, they turned round and made an aggressive movement,—their long-boasted security was gone at once and for ever. This was recklessly to engage in a species of warfare, for which they wanted the armour, the prowess, and the tactics indispensable to success; and the result must be their signal defeat, and the total destruction of their cause. As their only answer to the arguments urged against their old endowments, has been loud clamour, with a corresponding effort to obtain new ones, will it be any wonder, if, like the dog in the fable, while grasping at the shadow, they lose the substance? With a view to aggrandize themselves, and to trample the Voluntaries under their feet, they foolishly framed, and are madly prosecuting their celebrated scheme of Church Extension; by endeavouring to obtain such a Government grant as in the furtherance of that scheme, they, and their Tory supporters in Parliament, may be pleased to require. Thus outraging the feelings and infringing the rights of others, they have wantonly called forth the most powerful opposition from men of the soundest heads and hearts in the country, even among them-

selves as well as among Dissenters. Should the Legislature be brought seriously to listen to the voice of the opposition they have excited, how glaring and extreme will their folly appear! It will then be found, not only that 'the church is in danger,' but that the utter destruction of her civil establishment must be nigh at hand.

Our readers, we think, will readily admit that ample evidence was adduced in our former article, to prove that the Establishment in Scotland, so far from meriting further extension, deserves to be speedily, completely, and for ever overthrown. But, while our former discussion is, in one view, decisive of the whole question, the state of matters at present, renders it imperative, that we should now more particularly attempt to show that the Church Extension scheme itself is in a high degree absurd, iniquitous, and impracticable.

The character of this project may be judged of, not only from the manner in which it originated, but from the means which have been employed to insure its success. Had it not been for the increase and usefulness of Evangelical Dissenters, it had never been heard of. An unwilling, but unavoidable conviction of their growing importance and influence in the country, provoked churchmen—not certainly to the exercise of love, but nevertheless, to the performance of many good works. Among these, however, their efforts for Church Extension must not be numbered; for the promoters of this scheme, with high pretensions to wisdom, beneficence, and piety, have distinguished themselves by unprincipled attempts to calumniate Dissenters, to deceive their own people, and to impose on the Government.

After the violent attempts made for many years to put down the Secession, had completely failed, it became common among the more respectable class of churchmen to admit and applaud its importance and utility in the land. Thus we find the Rev. Sir Henry Moncreiff, who wrote about twenty years ago, making the following statement: 'It cannot be denied, that among the mi-'nisters belonging to the Secession, there are individuals not in-'ferior to the most respectable ministers of the Establishment; 'and it ought to be in candour admitted, that their people are, 'by a great proportion of them, as well instructed, as those who 'adhere to the church. It is obviously a subject of serious regret, 'that so large a proportion of the people should be in a state of 'separation from the Establishment; and so much the more that 'there is now no essential difference in the education, in the doc-'trines, in the standards, or in the general character of the Esta-'blished and the Seceding clergy.'* How different from this

* Brief Account of the Constitution of the Established Church of Scotland, pp. 70, 91.

the language employed by our modern church extenders! One of them, whom it were a disgrace to his brethren to name in the same page with almost any of them, has represented the whole of the largest Body of Seceders as guilty of *perjury*, because, in his view their original Creed bound them to approve of the principle of an Establishment, which yet they now repudiate and condemn. Even Dr. Chalmers, who, in his better days, avowed himself their friend, and was sometimes their panegyrist, since he was seized with his Church Extension *mania*, speaks of 'the vul-'garity and violence of those agitators who have gone about as 'emissaries of mischief, scattering all the elements of dissension and discontent 'among the people!'* The conductors of the Church Review, however, have gone far beyond this; but we will not defile our pages by retailing their outrageous slanders.

Not only are the statements of the Reviewer as false as they are outrageous, but he must have known them to be so. The most violent and reckless voluntary in Scotland never, at any public meeting or 'soirée,' employed, or would have been permitted to employ, any such horrible and inflammatory language as that which is imputed to '*some* reverend Doctors.' *They* frame their lips to speak of 'setting the church on fire'—of 'scattering her ministers as chaff before the wind'—or 'of wading ankle-deep in the blood of churchmen!' If there is one Scripture which, more than another, they are accustomed to quote and to appropriate, it is this,—'the weapons of *our* warfare are *not* 'carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong-'holds,' &c. And as to 'the language and conduct of the Central 'Board and the United Synod,' let their *Resolutions* on the occasion referred to, which were advertised in the PATRIOT and other vehicles of public information, speak for themselves. We have perused and reperused them; nor do we hesitate confidently to affirm, that the most torturing construction of malignant criticism will be unable to find in them any thing even approaching to what is denounced as being 'seditious language.' The truth is, the Reviewer belongs to a class, who, in reference to Dissenters, labour to alarm the fears, and to call forth the vengeance of the executive Government;—nor, do they conceal their anxiety to bring back the iron age of our Pitts, our Dundases, and our Braxfields; when those who ventured on freedom of discussion, were in danger of bonds and imprisonment, of banishment or death. Although they know not how to excuse the Duke of Wellington for the part he took in passing the Emancipation Bill, yet their chief hope for 'restoring the Protestant constitu-'tion in all its pristine purity,' seems to be in the House of Lords,

* Report of the Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland on Church Extension, (1837) p. 12.

which they characterize as 'that BULWARK between the tyranny 'of kings and *the savageness of mobs!*'

And yet some of these men, with all their bitterness against Dissenters and others of liberal views, have succeeded in deluding many simple people into the belief, that their burning zeal has for its principal object the extension of the church of Christ, the friend of men and 'the Prince of Peace.' After assuring their wretched dupes, that 'the arrows of Conder, Wardlaw, Marshall, 'Young, and Dick, lie shivered in a thousand fragments, and held 'up as trophies of their utter defeat—that their mystifications, 'their sophistry, and misrepresentations, are fully exposed, and 'held up to the scorn and ridicule of an intelligent public,'—these worthies proceed to show that public what they think 'a more excellent way.'

But, in truth, some much more estimable men than those to whom we now refer, have degraded themselves above measure by the manner in which they have attempted to delude the people, that they might get their co-operation in promoting the foolish scheme of Church Extension. They first tried them by framing specimens of Parliamentary petitions on the subject suited to various tastes. Five different forms at least were sent through the country, accompanied with letters to all clergymen, requesting them to fix on that most likely to please in their respective localities, and urging the necessity of getting numerous signatures 'in every parish, however remote, and among every popu-'lation, however humble.'

And how were the signatures obtained? By different writers about the time referred to, statements substantially the same as what follows, were made; and, so far as we know, no man has dared to contradict them to this day. In many instances, the clergy, and their emissaries, procured the signatures of men, and even of *females* and *children*, in consequence of representations the most fallacious;—as, for instance, that the object of the petition was merely to provide instruction for the poor, who must otherwise be neglected;—that a very small grant of money would be necessary;—that it was not at all intended to interfere with Dissenters;—that there was nothing political in the matter, nor any object whatever, but 'the excavation of the immense mass of 'heathenism' in the towns, and villages, and hamlets, in our land; and that therefore Dissenters of every class, and politicians of every creed, might, in perfect consistency with their peculiar principles, append their names to these petitions. In some cases, the petitions were never read to those who were required to subscribe them. In other instances, where doubts were expressed, such influence as grandees may be supposed to have on those in humbler life, or landlords over their tenants, and masters over their servants, was successfully em-

ployed. Numbers who ultimately found that they had been deceived, applied to have their names erased, but were refused; and some signed counter-petitions. Nevertheless, the petitions got up in this disgraceful way, were, without loss of time, forwarded to Parliament. But when the facts of the case were brought out, not only the great body of Dissenters, but vast numbers of those connected with the Establishment, joined in representing the true state of matters, by forwarding a sufficient number of petitions so expressed as to render it evident, that, had the endowments prayed for been granted, there would have been a simultaneous burst of indignation in every district of the United Empire, which no power on earth could have suppressed.

The next extraordinary device of the Church Extensionists was to publish Annual Reports of their proceedings. And of these Reports we cannot say less, than that they abound with more extravagant descriptions, more Utopian theories, more ingenious nonsense, and more glaring mis-statements, than were ever before attempted to be palmed on human credulity by any set of men pretending to common sense, or common honesty. The celebrated individual, who is their real author, while greatly to be pitied, as having, no doubt, been imposed on by others of a baser description, who have played upon his childish simplicity, and heated imagination, is also greatly to be condemned, as having in his turn, drawn largely on what he calls 'the gullibility' of the people. Let us take the following specimen in confirmation of this remark,—it respects the public meetings held in various places for promoting the scheme:

'It is certainly most gratifying to have had the countenance on these occasions, of men of the highest rank in the country, and that our first nobility should have presided or taken part in the business of these assemblies. But we confess ourselves to have been still more interested by the evening meetings at which we were encouraged by a large and increasing attendance of the common people. It is not too much to say of these meetings that *they have medicated the spirit of every neighbourhood in which they have been held: and that without a single exception, they have left behind them a preponderance of conviction and good will in favour of the Established Church. The acceptance, the cordiality, often the enthusiasm, wherewith our speakers were listened to, have scarcely in one instance been ruffled by so much as a whisper of dissatisfaction.* Even in what to us were the most formidable places, and where the greatest opposition was anticipated, *the argument on the side of the Church and of Church extension found its way into the hearts and consciences of a willing auditory. Though certainly prepared for controversy, should it come in our way, we have not yet been called to any serious encounter with it. On the contrary, the inherent strength of our cause seems to be felt and acknowledged, wherever we have the opportunity of openly and publicly propounding it; and never did an experiment at first untried, and therefore some-*

what uncertain, so speedily conduct its adventurers to an experience at once the most delightful in itself, and promising the best results to the prosperity and safety of the Church of Scotland. The cause of an endowed and established Church is now more linked and identified than ever with the cause of the common people; and as the fruit of the expositions that have been given, we have advanced prodigiously in moral strength during the course of the last twelvemonth. We hold that the doings of the agency last year have established to demonstration, that our cause has only to be known, in order to become triumphant every where. They have had a most powerful sanative influence over the whole length and breadth of the Establishment; and we feel assured that a public meeting in every parish would make the whole of our ancient kingdom to rise, if not as one man, at least in overbearing majority, for the defence of our Church, and the furtherance of the great objects which she is now prosecuting. It is all the more desirable to make known the inherent and essential popularity of our cause, under the discouragements to which we are exposed from the retardation, or, for the season, the disappointment of our hopes. Ours is a cause too firmly based on the principles and sense of the Scottish community to be given up in despair. It may be shaken, but cannot be overthrown. Did we but know wherein it is that its great strength lies, we should not be discouraged either by adverse decisions within the senate, or by those sounds of fierce and fearful controversy without, to which the agitation of its questions may from time to time have given rise.'

—Report, (1837) pp. 12—14.

We could not read this passage, without having brought forcibly to our recollection the adage, *Credat Judæus.*—Believe it who can. But we shall only say, that he must be a wonderful simpleton and of easy faith indeed, who does not at once perceive that the wrapt enthusiast, who penned it, was recording merely the visions of his fancy, and the wishes generated in a disordered brain, instead of facts that had been or that could be substantiated. After due inquiry in the proper quarters, we are compelled, 'more in sorrow than in anger,' to aver, what we undertake before any competent tribunal to prove, that the above statements generally, but especially those which we have marked in *italics*, and they are indeed nearly the whole, are totally at variance with the realities of the case. The Deputation referred to, so far from being 'prepared to meet controversy' at the public meetings which they held, would suffer none to reply to any of their arguments or averments: and when afterwards challenged to meet their opponents, the challenge was positively declined, under the pretence, that, as Dr. Simpson, one of the most zealous and talented among them, declared, 'controversy was not the principle of their pro-'ceedings. At their commencement,' he adds, 'this point was 'fully considered and determined; and in announcing to our 'brethren the measures we are now pursuing, it was distinctly

'stated that the object is not of a controversial character, but 'to communicate information on the subject of Church extension.' These were the very words of his letter, declining a challenge which had been given him after speaking at one of the meetings referred to—the letter can at any time be produced; and the terms of it are in express contradiction to the statement in the Report, that 'they were certainly prepared for controversy, should it come 'in their way!' Why, again, did these ambulatory physicians need to '*medicate* the spirit of every neighbourhood,' and to produce 'a *sanative* influence' on the minds of its inhabitants, if their minds had been previously in any thing like a sound and healthy state? While publicly proclaiming and administering their *nostrums*, 'whispers of dissatisfaction' were not allowed. But counter-meetings, *much more numerously attended*, were subsequently held; and when the deleterious nature of their prescriptions was described, a response was given, not in 'whispers of dissatisfaction,' but in thundering peals of indignation. If, indeed, as the Report says, 'their cause has only to be known, in order to become triumphant every where,' how does it happen that petitions in its favour from among the people are now heard of no where? And how will they be able to account for the undeniable fact, that petitions against it among all but the most rabid Tories, are in preparation 'every where,' and with thousands and thousands of signatures, alike of Churchmen and Dissenters, are pouring in daily into the Commons House of Parliament. The late petition against endowments from the city of Glasgow alone, was subscribed by 40,400 persons. Their attempts to gull the people, then, have after all proved to be equally foolish, contemptible, and abortive.

But they have also attempted fearfully to impose on the Government of the country. And the first species of imposition which they sought to practise on the ministry of the day, after their plans of Church extension had been concocted, was to have it understood and taken for granted as a matter of course, that all their representations on the subject, just because they were *theirs*, must necessarily contain 'the truth, the whole truth, 'and nothing but the truth.' They had, at one critical period in the history of the case, so far succeeded in this, that their confidence of an ultimate triumph waxed bold, and began to be expressed in terms of frantic delight. This can hardly be considered matter of wonder, when, to use their own phrase, it was a 'confidence founded on the gracious recommendation of their 'cause from the throne!' Our readers will remember that this recommendation was made on the opening of the first session of Sir Robert Peel's Parliament. The light, which they supposed that the hated Reform Bill had well nigh 'put out in obscure 'darkness,' had just begun to dawn. They hoped that the palmy

days of Toryism were about to return in all their brightness and beneficence—when the Church would only have to ask, and her ancient friends and natural allies would be ready to give. But unfortunately for the cause and the confidence of our Church extensionists, though happily for the interests of freedom, equity, and truth, those halcyon days soon passed away. And before publishing their Report for May, 1835, they were compelled, under a feeling of bitter disappointment, and inexpressible sorrow, to speak of them as days that had already gone.

'*The days were,*' they say, 'when it might have been thought enough to have addressed ourselves in written memorials, or by personal interviews, to the wisdom of our rulers, to their own independent judgment and principle; and in such a cause as ours, with such an object of best and highest patriotism, we do feel ourselves on firm vantage ground for holding converse with the statesmen and senators of our land. But over and above this, there is *now* in public questions a demand for external testimony, an anxiety *to learn what may be the collective voice of the people, perhaps a disposition to number rather than to weigh;* and so in this preference of arithmetic over statics, to hinge every measure or determination of the governing body more *on the state of a will that is without, than on a wisdom within,* taking independent cognizance of every question, and deciding on the merits which inherently and essentially belong to it. *In the judicatories of our Church, the light of scripture and the light of reason are the paramount authorities which we acknowledge;* and let it be our prayer, that under their guidance we may be upheld in a fearless course of consistency and rectitude, which not even the oppositions of the multitude shall ever tempt us to desist or to deviate from.—But when a civil government requires to know, not only what is for the good of the community, but, ere they shall adopt it, to know also what is the will of the community—*in helping them to this information, we felt as if we acted under the sanction of apostolic example, in becoming all things to all men,* if by any means in themselves lawful, we could obtain that extension of our Church, which, with the blessing of God on the enlarged preaching of the word, might be the instrument of saving many souls.'

—Report for 1835, pp. 10, 11.

There is in this passage an artful, but a very obvious and base insinuation against the Government and the Legislature generally, that their rule of judging and acting in a case so important as that referred to, would merely be a regard to the wishes, however erroneously formed or absurdly expressed—of their respective constituents, whose favour and continued support they were anxious, at whatever expense of political principle or even of piety, to secure. That this is not an overstrained inference from the hints here more covertly thrown out, is evident from the following sufficiently plain, broad, and unmeasured language, employed shortly after, on the subject, by Dr. Chalmers at a meeting

of what is called the Commission of the General Assembly: 'If,' said the infuriated orator, 'men are to be found who *can sport and* '*tamper with interests so sacred*, to whom *the gratification of their* '*own electors is dearer far than the moral and immortal well-being* '*of the thousands* beneath them in the scale of society, who to se-'cure *their Dissenting constituency* will *make a sacrifice* of the 'unfranchised population, and rather than that their own *wretched* '*politics* should suffer, *would have irreligion and ignorance per-*'*petuated among the families of our land;* if such men there be, 'and there is a voice of greater ascendency in the councils of Go-'vernment than our own—if the highest objects of patriotism must 'make place and give way before the contests of partizanship, it 'is not for the church to mingle in this unseemly fray; but having 'lifted up her testimony, and told her rulers, as became her, both 'of the duties of the State, and the necessities of the people, to 'feel acquitted of her office, and calmly wait the arrival of happier 'times.'*

The conduct of the legislators thus described and condemned, it is intimated, was the more outrageous, in thwarting the views of a Church, all whose judicatories regulate their decisions solely, as above stated, by 'the light of Scripture, and the light of reason as 'the paramount authorities which they acknowledge.' But who will believe this? Much has been said of late years about the improvement that has taken place in the Church of Scotland; and we ourselves recollect having heard one of her zealous friends mention, as a proof of this, that a minister might *now* read a portion of Scripture, and appeal to its authority, in the General Assembly, without being laughed at! But there is much room for further improvement. At that very Assembly in which the Report under consideration was read, so far from being guided by 'the 'light of Scripture as their paramount authority,' Dr. M'Crie, to whom they are so fond of appealing as a friend, when it suits their purpose, condemns them for having set this authority at defiance in matters of vital and pre-eminent importance. 'An 'overture,' says he, 'involving a charge of error on a capital 'article of our religion, justification by faith, has been dismissed 'simply on the declaration of the accused individual, that he was 'perfectly sound on that head. The decision on Calls, so much 'applauded by many, together with its strange but not unsuitable 'accompaniments, I can look upon in no other light but as an 'attempt to gull the people with a show of privilege, while it 'subjects them to be fettered at every step in the exercise of it, 'and involves them in the inextricable meshes of legal chicanery.'†

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* Speech, p. 14.

† M'Crie's Sermons, p. 346.

It seems most unaccountable that Dr. Chalmers should have ventured to characterize, as guided by 'the paramount authority 'of the light of Scripture and the light of reason,' an Assembly in which, in matters of great religious importance, he and his friends have been so commonly outvoted, and in which their predecessors usually called, 'the evangelical party,' have been in the minority, and that often a small minority, for more than a hundred years! Was it that in this too he strangely supposed he felt as if he acted under the sanction of apostolic example, in becoming 'all things to all men?'

However this be, certain it is that an appeal to apostolic example was never before so prostituted, as when it was made to sanction the mode in which the General Assembly's committee acted in 'helping' government 'to the information' wanted in order to induce them to aid by a pecuniary grant in the scheme of Church extension. They attempted this, in the first instance, by the old method of 'addressing themselves in written memorials, 'and by personal interviews to the wisdom of their rulers,' with the hope that, as formerly, these would be quite sufficient. And of what nature their representations were, may be learnt from the account given by themselves:

'We addressed ourselves to the object of obtaining public and parliamentary support in favour of our Church; and with the view of strengthening and preparing the way for a formal application to government on its behalf. In our circular marked No. 5, and which was distributed chiefly among Scottish members of parliament, we expressed a strong preference for the aid of Government towards helping out the annual maintenance of the clergymen of the new churches, rather than for a building grant towards the erections themselves. We felt the superior importance of the former over the latter, to *the great object of moderating the seat-rents, so as to make these churches accessible to the common people at large.* Knowing how obnoxious the very name of an endowment is to those who have reflected not on the precise use to which it is subservient,—*we endeavoured to make quite palpable the connexion between all that we sought at their hands, and the inestimable benefit of a cheap and universal Christian education for the working classes of society.* We had too great confidence in the generosity and love of frankness which characterize the rulers of every land of freedom, to be at all fearful of offending, because we spoke as we felt, or *because we felt not as petitioners, but as donors.* And even still, should we be again employed as the bearers of a commission on the high errand of Christian patriotism, we will go, *not in the attitude of fawning supplicants,* the representatives of *a prostrate and pusillanimous church, grasping at the endowments of office, and bent, as our enemies have told it, either on the destruction of rivals, or the aggrandizement of our own sect and order.* We certainly do expect their co-operation in *this enterprise of charity;* and that, to arrest the gathering mischief of a

depraved, because *too long neglected population*, they will both listen to our advice, and *accept our aid.* The ***hundred and thirty churches*** which we shall put into their hands, and ask them to endow, ***it is not to enrich the clergymen***, but ***by the lowering of the seat-rents in each and all of these churches, to facilitate thereinto the entry of the people.*** The endowment EVERY SHILLING OF WHICH ***goes to the cheapening of family-pews for the working classes, is not a boon to churchmen, but is a boon to the common people,***—not a device, as in the delusive hour of clamour and calumny it has been grossly represented, for the multiplication of pampered ecclesiastics; but a device for the elevation of the lower orders in the scale of intelligence and virtue,—that the now unprovided outcasts in our populous cities and unwieldy parishes may be reclaimed and humanized by the lessons of religion,—above all, that their imperishable spirits may be trained for immortality, and the gospel of Jesus Christ be preached ***without money and without price to the poorest of the land.***'—Report, (for 1835) pp. 8, 9.

Such, then, is the *denouement* of their scheme of Church extension, given in their own words, and such the reasons by which they attempted to urge it on a professedly enlightened and liberal government, and on various members of a ***reformed*** parliament, some of whom represent constituencies by the majority of which the scheme has been denounced as uncalled for and extravagant, wild and wicked. Let us now proceed to analyze it a little; and it will not be difficult to prove to the satisfaction of our readers, that a most disingenuous, but a most impotent attempt has been made to befool our rulers, to degrade and ruin Dissenters, nay, and to set at nought the common sense of all 'to 'whom their *presents* may come.' Now all this may be rendered apparent by the slightest attention alike to what these men ***disclaim***, and to what they *demand.*

We begin by mentioning, as a notable curiosity, rather than from any material bearing it can have on the question at issue, that, when in the very act of petitioning government, they are careful to disclaim being considered as *beggars* in any sense. They are not 'fawning supplicants,' nor yet supplicants of any kind; not even 'petitioners, but donors;' not soliciting aid from government, but politely expressing the hope, that government 'will accept *their* aid.' Yet these beautiful paradoxes, it seems, admit of an easy and ingenious explanation. The men who were in too dignified an 'attitude,' to petition the government, would not surely condescend to petition the people. But somehow or other, they got from the people what they liberally presented as a *donation* to the Government; hoping, that, without 'petitioning,' and merely by giving 'advice;' they would get it back with something more, and then, with noble and disinterested munificence, make another donation of the whole, 'not as a boon to 'churchmen, but a boon to the common people!' It was indeed

to be regarded as altogether a singular 'enterprise of charity.' Their *donation* to government consisted of 'one hundred and 'thirty churches, which they put into their hands, and *asked them* '*to endow.*' This, it appears, is their way of making a present. They were not, therefore, 'the representatives of a prostrate and 'pusillanimous church, grasping at the endowments of office'—not they. It is true, that sixty-six of these churches, now made over as a gift to the government, were old Chapels of Ease, whose Ministers had hitherto been supported entirely on the Voluntary plan. But, even as it respected these chapels, 'every shilling of 'the endowment now asked, was to go to the cheapening of family-'pews for the working classes.' The ministers of these chapels, according to this, were to receive no larger income, nor to have any better security for their living, nor, indeed, in any way, or to any extent, to be 'enriched,' by the proposed endowment! But who will be foolish enough to believe all this? They did not believe it themselves. And yet they ventured to employ the style of artful concealment in the hope of imposing on the uninformed, though at the certain risk of getting credit for nothing but dishonesty from those who understood all about the matter.

Again, they disclaim the intention of burdening government, or rather taxing the country, to any great extent by asking them to endow a vast number of Churches. In the above quotation, they speak of only sixty-three *new* churches for which they ask an endowment. But in the Article No. 5, to which reference is made, they are more explicit; still, however, expressing themselves with the utmost caution, and in a way the least calculated to excite alarm. They ask, 'the prospective endowment of all new churches to be afterwards raised. This process,' they add, 'behoved to go *on* '*very gradually*, and would subject Government to an expense '*trifling* at the outset, and increasing by *almost* imperceptible 'augmentations; to be terminated when our large towns and over-'peopled parishes were all fully supplied.'*

The downright jesuitism of all this is obvious. It was meant, at this *incipient* application, to delude Government into the belief, that endowment was to be asked for such new churches only as were built at the expense of those who in the different localities felt the necessity which existed for them. One fact is carefully concealed, that, in various instances, the money was merely subscribed for, and (while it might never have been paid) was safely retained in the pockets of the subscribers, till the endowment should be actually obtained. Another fact no less disgracefully concealed at first from Government, was, that while very many

* Report, 1835, p. 37.

would not subscribe at all, till they should see the endowment secured, the church extensionists were urging their friends at home by every method they could devise to seek the speedy 'multiplication' of new churches for endowment, after having laboured to persuade the Government that their object was to be gained by a process, very *gradual* in point of time, and very *trifling* in point of expense. Hence, they say, in their very next year's Report:

'There is one question on which we promised a very brief deliverance. We allude to the disposition, we fear, *too prevalent*, on the part of the church's best friends, to do nothing for her extension until they see what Government is to do. This, we hold, both in respect of principle and of sound policy, to be a sad inversion of the right process. At this rate, it were altogether at the decision of any Government, *however careless or contemptuous of religion it might be*, whether *the measures of the Church* for advancing the kingdom and the gospel of Jesus Christ, should be permitted to go forward, or have an arrest laid upon them. Every new erection is *pro tanto* a contribution; and, we repeat, that *the multiplication* of these will prove the patent way to the endowment of them. If the church will but do what she might, the cause must gather in strength and in public support every day, and in the momentum of *its progress*, will carry the general mind of society, and with this will carry the Government then relieved of perplexity along with it.'—*Report for* 1836, pp. 23, 24.

The absurdity of this passage is equalled only by its insolence: government is applied to for an endowment; and yet the matter is not to be 'at the decision of any government,' but agreeably to 'the measures' adopted by 'the church,' which must not be 'permitted to have an arrest laid upon them!' We say nothing, at present, of the utter incongruity with all Christian principle, and with the slightest pretensions to decency in Christian men, that they are willing to be indebted in any way, for the extension and further establishment of their church, to the co-operation of a Government which, they allege, may be in the highest degree, 'careless or contemptuous of religion.' We only ask, whether it can be according to the will of Jesus Christ, that '*his* kingdom 'and gospel should be advanced,' by such a wretched, and even diabolical species of instrumentality as this? Is Satan now divided against himself? Let them answer these queries; and they will be obliged to admit that in most, if not in all cases, they involve practical results which are perfectly decisive of the whole question of *civil* establishments of a *divine* religion.

But, in the mean time, their object is, *per fas aut nefas*, to have their church *greatly* extended, although in their first application to Government, they wished it to be understood that a

very limited extension was all that they required. Nor do they hesitate *now*, for the attainment of their object to attempt moving heaven and earth, while, according to their own showing, it may, also, be necessary to get the assistance of those who are guided by an influence from the lowest and the worst region in the universe.

Be this as it may, soon after the primary application to Government, 'the Royal Commission of Religious Instruction, Scotland,' was appointed: and from the returns made by churchmen to a circular issued by that commission, it appeared, that more than five hundred new churches were wanted at once! Some have since gone still further, and maintained that there should be a church for every thousand persons, which would require the number of the present churches to be much more than doubled? Nevertheless, they have the highest authority for encouraging the expectation that even to that extent, or beyond it; their wishes will be realized. At a meeting, in Edinburgh, at which the Lord Provost presided, Lord Moncreiff made this statement: '*If the extent of Scotland be covered with churches of the Establish-*'*ment*, let no man fear but they will receive the endowments to 'which *they are entitled*, (what would the amount in this case be?) 'and the church be thereby enabled to continue, as it always has 'been, the friend alike of sound principle, pure religion, and 'peace and social order in every branch of government.' How could men, who all along had cherished such expectations; and, who, as we shall presently see, were bound, on their own principles, to seek their realization; yet dare to impose on the rulers of the land, by affecting the most moderate views at the commencement of their manœuvres, only as the means of securing demands which, if explicitly avowed, would have led to their instant rejection?

The only other thing we shall mention as disclaimed by our church extensionists, is, that they have any view to aggrandize their own church at the expense of Dissenters. 'They are 'not bent,' they say, 'as their enemies have held it, either on the 'destruction of rivals, or the aggrandizement of their own sect 'and order.' For this bold and barefaced assertion, they do not surely expect any mortal to give them credit. It has often been contradicted by their own friends. Nay, a member of that very committee; the same to whom formerly we referred, thus broadly contradicts it. 'We know well, that the grant of this 'money will tend somewhat to injure them (the Dissenters) that it 'will withdraw some of their supporters who sit with them from 'the want of accommodation in the established church (?) and com-'pel them to lower their seat-rents, because we will undersell 'them in the market; and we have too good an opinion of the 'prudence, wisdom, and caution of our countrymen ever to

'imagine that they will pay eight shillings for an article which 'they can get as good for four shillings. In this way their pecu- 'niary interests will be effected;' nay, and to such an extent, as afterwards intimated, that they may not be 'enabled to retain their 'present congregations, to keep up their high seat-rents, and to 'pay the interests of their debts;' and, hence, 'all their complaints of 'hardships and apprehensions of *annihilation* in a pecuniary point 'of view!'* How truly did Mr. Gillon, himself a member of the Church of Scotland, and, therefore, it may be presumed, an unbiassed and competent judge; in his place in Parliament, say, 'The outcry which had been raised in Scotland about religious 'destitution, was nothing more than a *crusade* by the clergy of the 'favoured sect upon the Dissenters, who received and asked 'nothing from the State!'

But on this subject we beg leave to appeal to the publication of Dr. Brown, of Edinburgh—a man who for his talents, learning, and character, is held in the highest admiration, by all who have the happiness of his acquaintance. We regret that our limits prevent our quoting from his admirable treatise, which we warmly recommend to the early perusal of our readers. 'The law of Christ 'respecting civil obedience, especially in the payment of tribute,' has seldom been so fully, and never, that we know of more happily illustrated. As a critical and yet plain and luminous exposition of a confessedly difficult passage of holy writ, which has often been prostituted to subserve the vilest purposes, by the admirers and supporters of arbitrary power, it is invaluable. The notes alone extending to sixty-six pages in very small type, show that the author possesses stores of learning, which an amazingly retentive and ready memory enables him instantaneously to produce for the illustration of any subject belonging to the highest departments of divine science or of human knowledge. We congratulate our friends of the Secession in Scotland on having such a man to fill one of the most prominent stations in their church, and also in their theological seminary: and we hope he will be long preserved to adorn each, and thus, both directly and indirectly, to be a successful teacher of many in the great doctrines connected alike, with Christian freedom, and 'civil 'obedience,' with the interests of spiritual religion on earth, and 'the salvation which is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory,' in heaven.

It still remains to consider what our Scottish Church Extensionists so clamorously *demand* from the bounty or rather from the justice, 'of a paternal Christian government.' At the outset, as we have seen, they laboured to get their principle recognized by seeming

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* Speech in the Assembly Room, p. 25.

to make only a very moderate demand; but it is now evident, that nothing less will satisfy them than such a number of new endowed churches as shall be proportioned to the vast increase of the population, since the period when their establishment was framed. Their scheme carries absurdity on its very face. And yet they are reckless enough to urge the adoption of it, by such reasons as the following; that the religious destitution throughout the country is great and deplorable; that the church accommodation and pastoral superintendence necessary to meet that destitution, are quite inadequate; that dissenting places of worship are not to be taken into the account; and, that even if they were reckoned, and allowing that in some few places, there may be vacant church-room, yet it will still be found, that owing to high priced seat rents, and other causes, there is no church-accommodation for 'the poor and working classes.' Such are the bold pretences by which churchmen attempt to justify their present 'crusade.' But the slightest review of them will show their utter futility.

On the subject of *religious destitution*, it appears to us that a great deal has been foolishly asserted on the one side, and incautiously admitted on the other, which, from want of precision in the meaning affixed to the phrase, has no bearing on the question at issue. If this phrase is intended to convey the idea of *irreligion*, then the prevalence of the evil is great and fearful indeed. But it will not surely be pretended, that building places of worship, and endowing them well, so as to let the seats at the lowest price, or, at no price, will completely cure *this* evil. Suppose that our most sanguine church extensionists saw, what they anticipate soon seeing, numerous 'well filled plebeian churches,' would even this put an end to the distinction between the church and the world? Or, would the language of an Apostle no longer be applicable, if employed by Christians in our day, 'We know that 'we are born of God, and the whole world lieth in wickedness?' Alas! to what an extent not only in the establishment, but out of it, does religious destitution in this sense, prevail even among those who form the church-going population in our land? Who would think of building churches for all the rest 'lying in wicked-'ness,' as if the sight of the steeple, and the sound of 'the church-'going bell' would constrain them to come at once and hear, and be converted, and saved for ever? On this principle, the direction of infinite wisdom should not have been, 'Go and teach all nations;' but 'Go, and in the first instance, build churches in all nations; 'get them sufficiently endowed, that thus you may secure *pastoral* 'superintendence for those who as yet do not belong to the *flock;* 'and having collected them in this way within the structure reared 'for their accommodation, begin to teach them 'savingly and to 'profit.' But to be serious,—for who that has any sense of the

ludicrous, will not sometimes be obliged to laugh to scorn such extravagance and folly—the truth is, that the gospel, and the genuine religion which it engenders, has ever been like 'a light 'shining in a dark place:' and till the bright and blissful period of 'the latter days,' a large portion of moral darkness or religious destitution in this sense, will be found prevalent in every land.

But, if by *religious destitution*, be understood a want of the public means of promoting religion, then, we maintain, that except in rare and remote districts, the complaints so loudly made of late, and so shamefully reiterated *usque ad nauseam*, are without foundation. The means of religious instruction, such as they are, all must allow, are more abundant in Scotland, in proportion to its size, than in any other kingdom under heaven. Besides about eight hundred dissenting chapels, there is a church in every parish. There is, therefore, no want of the means of religious instruction; but we say again, *such as they are;* for it is but too true, that these ostensible means are, in many instances, of the worst possible description. As far as places of worship go, there is no destitution. In several of the parish churches, however, there are most inefficient ministers; some who cannot preach, because, they do not know the gospel; or some, whose people are necessarily ignorant and irreligious, while they are themselves 'accursed,' because they 'preach another gospel, which is not another, 'but a perversion of the gospel of Christ.' These are, after all, the places where the worst species of religious destitution prevails. New ministers, and not new churches are wanted. But give them, as is now so clamorously demanded additional churches, supplied with ministers endowed and established on the old plan, and what can be expected but the old results? The same causes would be in operation, which to use the words of Dr. Chalmers himself, have '*so severed the church from the common* '*people*, as to reduce to *naked architecture one half* of the costly 'apparatus reared by a former age for upholding the Christian 'worth and virtue of the commonwealth.' Nay, let the new churches and their pastors be even so numerous and so popular, as,—were that possible,—to supplant all the Dissenters in the country; and ere long the kingdom would be filled with religious destitution, and present one unbroken scene of moral darkness, desolation, and death.

We are free to declare that, in our opinion, there is generally speaking, no want of church accommodation. But this is fully proved by documentary evidence in the 'Reports of the Royal 'Commission of Religious Instruction,' as it respects the particular places to which these Reports refer; and to them we must now appeal. They are, however, ponderous volumes; and it would be tedious, and, indeed, alike impossible and unnecessary for us here to enter minutely into their very numerous, though

very important statistical details. The results, in as far as they are requisite for our immediate purpose, may be very shortly stated. As it respects EDINBURGH, then it appears, that the total number of sittings is—*in the Establishment*, 36,001; *among the Dissenters*, 42,005; that of these are let; *in the Establishment*, 20,995; *among the Dissenters*, 23,193. Free, *in the Establishment*, 1230; *among the Dissenters*, 7247. Otherwise allocated, *in the Establishment*, 3982; *among the Dissenters*, 205. NOT LET or allocated, *in the Establishment*, 9794; *among the Dissenters*, 11,360.

In regard to GLASGOW, the total number of sittings is; *in the Establishment*, 33,100; *among the Dissenters*, 48,230; of these are let, *in the Establishment*, 23,941; *among the Dissenters*, 28,948; specially set apart as free, *in the Establishment*, 153; *among the Dissenters*, 5005. Otherwise allocated, *in the Establishment*, 2407; *among the Dissenters*, 1223. UNLET, or allocated, *in the Establishment*, 6599; *among the Dissenters*, 13,047.

And now, taking Edinburgh and Glasgow; according to the doctrine propounded by Sir Robert Peel, and assented to by Lord John Russell, as affording a fair specimen of the state of matters throughout the towns of Scotland generally, what becomes of the piteous outcry about 'the neglected population, the religious des-'titution,' and 'the unexcavated heathenism of the city lanes?' And where, at any rate, is the want of church-accommodation, when in Edinburgh there are altogether of *unlet* sittings, in the different places of worship, 21,154; and in Glasgow, 19,646? Surely, it is not too much to characterize the rage for building more churches, with a compulsory endowment to each of them, in these cities, as the very height of madness. Of all sorts of Tory jobs, and of all specimens of Tory expenditure, numerous and repulsive as they have been, this would, in some respects, be the most extravagant and absurd.

We have, indeed, in estimating the amount of church-accommodation, like the royal commissioners, been assuming, that the dissenting places of worship must be taken into the account. But this the thorough-going church extensionists utterly disclaim. And it must be admitted, that in this, at least, they are entitled to the praise of consistency, in following out their grand principle to its legitimate results. They would unchurch all the Dissenters in the country, because their so-called churches are not established, nor their creed sanctioned, nor their very existence recognized by the law of the land. They, therefore, demand church-accommodation for the entire population, without any reference to dissenters whatever. Their real and undisguised sentiments on this point have recently been propounded by David Monypenny, Esq. (late Lord Pitmilly of the Court of Session) in a pamphlet, which, it is said, after having received

the *imprimatur* of Dr. Chalmers, was next recommended to public attention by his eloquence, in a most laudatory review, which appeared in the *Scottish Guardian*. This high legal authority does not mince matters. He rightly lays it down as undoubted *law*, that 'whenever a certain form of religion is adopted, and 'becomes the established religion of the country, it must be the 'aim and purpose of the state, to furnish this establishment with 'means sufficient for the instruction of the whole body of the 'people who are capable of receiving such knowledge.' Again, 'pur-'suing the same line of argument, we may inquire, what would be 'thought of a parish containing five or six thousand persons capa-'ble of attending church, but which should exhibit an inability 'to give seat-room to more than one thousand, and should thus 'tacitly acknowledge to four or five thousand of its parishioners, 'that they must either become Dissenters, or must absent them-'selves altogether from public worship?' And, again, 'accord-'ing to the strictly legal view of an ecclesiastical establishment, it 'ought to be capable of communicating religious and moral instruc-'tion, both in public and private, to the whole body of the people, 'with the exception only, in so far as it relates to the public ser-'vice of the church, of those who are unable to be present at 'public ordinances.'*

Such are the statements of this advocate for establishments on the pure principles of law; leaving the Bible, as he professedly does, altogether out of the question; and the following is part of a review, written evidently by some Tory churchman, in BLACKWOOD, in reference to these statements: 'The 'views which are here stated, we conceive to be of the highest 'importance in this question. Never, we trust, will the friends of 'our establishment take lower ground than this in the discussion of 'this question; for in abating one jot in this its just and rightful 'claims, we feel convinced that we are, in truth, giving up all for 'which our adversaries are contending. We think, the author 'demonstrates most triumphantly, that it is of the essence of a 'church establishment to endeavour to provide instruction for the '*whole* people; and that if nonconformity and the means of reli-'gious instruction which *it* may contribute were admitted as ele-'ments in the question, we should, in truth, go far to admit the 'soundness of the Voluntary principle.'† In the unquestionable truth of this statement we do most entirely concur; and just because this grasping and monopolizing character is 'of the essence 'of a church establishment,' we denounce such an institution as absurd and impracticable.

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* The claims of the Established Church of Scotland on the country to promote its extension, &c., pp. 6, 9, 12.

† Blackwood's Magazine, for September, 1837, p. 379.

We can easily understand why men like Lord Pitmilly and his reviewer should labour with all their might to uphold such a system. But, it does, we confess, puzzle us not a little to conceive how *Evangelical* ministers can dare to stigmatize as nonentities, or to reprobate as unchristian and wicked hundreds of churches, in which, all well-informed and candid men will admit, that so much has been done to maintain and promote vital religion in the land. Nor can we imagine, how upon any recognized principle of common sense or christian charity, they can feel warranted in refusing to acknowledge as the true servants of God, such a number of ministers, who, for talents, learning, piety, and usefulness, are most of them fully equal, and some of them far superior, to many of themselves. Who can but feel indignant to hear even Dr. Chalmers employ such senseless and calumnious language on the subject as the following: 'A dissenting place of 'worship, as it forms no guarantee, so it furnishes no index for the 'church-going habit of its contiguous families. It has but effected 'a transference, not a creation of worshippers. This last is the 'proper office of a territorial establishment; and if not furnished with 'the means for such a service in a sufficiency both of ministers and 'churches, then let '*the feeble supplement of sectarian chapels be* '*multiplied as they may—they are but signals of a great scarcity* '*instead of the symptoms of abundance, and we shall behold the* 'PROFLIGACY *and* IRRELIGION *of our land to be multiplied along* '*with them.*'—*Report for* 1835, p. 31.

Some, indeed, are for very shame obliged to admit, that those whom they tauntingly represent as 'unauthorized teachers,' or 'out-field labourers,' may be taken into account, together with their congregations, in estimating the amount of Christian instruction in the country. But then, they maintain, at the same time, that, reckoning all of them together, and thus allowing that there may, in some places, be vacant church-room, still owing to high-priced seat-rents, and other causes, there must be a want of church-accommodation for 'the poor and working classes. But this is a pretence fully as barefaced and untenable as the rest.

The poor and working classes form a very important class of the community; and that system which does not specially provide the means of promoting their instruction and salvation cannot be of God. The blessed Author of christianity held it out to the world as a proof of his divine mission, that 'to the poor the 'gospel was preached.' As might have been expected too, it is chiefly among this interesting class that the value of the gospel is duly appreciated, its divine testimony received, its sanctifying influence exemplified, and its blessed hopes cherished. 'Hearken, 'my beloved brethren,' said an apostle of Christ, 'hath not God 'chosen the poor of this world rich in faith, and heirs of the king-'dom which he hath promised to them that love him?' Is it then

for this description of the poor that further church-accommodation is sought? Assuredly not. All of *them* must, in some way, have obtained it already; and it is, indeed, to this that their piety is in a great measure to be ascribed. Those among them (and they form the great majority) who belong to dissenting churches, willingly contribute according to their means,—for the support of the gospel: and when they have no means, as appears from the uniform testimony of the dissenting ministers recorded in the Reports of the Royal Commissioners,—accommodation in their respective places of worship is gratuitously and most cheerfully furnished to them.'

But, surely, churchmen will not allow, that they are behind Dissenters in this respect. For, although, by their petitions in support of the corn-laws, to please the landlords and to augment their own stipends, they have rendered it very difficult for the poor to obtain bread for their bodies; unquestionably they will have taken care that the pious poor should have the means of obtaining the bread necessary for nourishing their souls to eternal life. But whatever they say to this, we are quite sure that, generally speaking, none will be found in Scotland, hungering for this bread, without the means of having it readily, and when necessary gratuitously, supplied.

We shall be told, however, that in many cases, it is necessary to create a spiritual appetite, where it is obviously and lamentably wanting, and that, indeed, this is the principal object which they have it in view to attain by the great, and till very lately the unheard of exertions, which they have seen it their duty to make. They are not the pious poor, but those sunk in ignorance and wickedness, forming such immense living masses of 'unexca-'vated heathenism,' who are now the great and almost the only objects of their new-born zeal and fervent charity. Would that they discovered any such anxiety about the salvation of the careless, the profane, and the perishing among the rich, with many of whom they meet much more frequently elsewhere than in the church! But while it were offensive to 'ears polite,' to rank them in any way among heathens, and while it would be very rude not to give them their own way as to attending on the ministrations of the gospel, whether they have an appetite for the spiritual provision it presents to them or not, there must be peculiar compassion shown to the poor, whose spiritual exigencies are known and acknowledged by all but themselves. And we are seriously told, that the only specific for their mortal disease is to build a great number of churches, so as to contain them all, that thus they may be healed and saved. But can it be necessary, with professions of equal seriousness, to attempt any refutation of a notion so obviously visionary, and so utterly absurd? It has already been proved by documentary evidence, that there is

abundance of room both in established and dissenting places of worship which these poor 'unexcavated heathens' refuse to occupy. It has also been established by the Reports of the Royal Commissioners, that while there are very many seats to be let at so low a rate as two shillings per year, those which are lowest priced are uniformly least in request. Will making more room for them act as a charm in curing the evil? It has been truly observed, that to suppose that the mere building and endowing of churches will insure the attendance of the great body of the ignorant, the careless, and the wicked among the poor, or nearly the entire adult population of any class, is one of the wildest notions that ever entered the minds of any calling themselves Christian men, while it is certainly at variance with the uniform experience and observation of all called Christian ministers.

We must not forget just to notice yet another pretence, by which the Church Extensionists urge the adoption of their scheme, foolish, in other respects, as we have seen it to be—it is, that thus there may be ensured to all the great benefit of 'pastoral superintendence.' It required, we should think, a greater share of unblushing hardihood than is common, to bring forward this as a reason for requiring more endowed ministers. It must truly have been a *dernier* resort. That there is a great, and all but universal want of 'pastoral superintendence' in the parishes committed to the care of the existing established clergymen in Scotland, is quite notorious. It was originally proposed that the inquiries of the Royal Commissioners should embrace this point. What a pity that it was not persisted in! But the *pastors* were well nigh 'frightened from their propriety' at the very mention of such a thing. As a friend of ours happily expressed it, 'the mere idea of having the question put, How 'often do you visit your parishes? seems to have thrown whole 'synods into tribulation, and is said, in some quarters, to have 'awakened a stir in the matter of pastoral superintendence which 'had scarcely been heard of before.' And yet these men have the intolerable presumption to demand, that the country should pay others for doing what, however well paid, they have uniformly neglected to do themselves! Will endowments, drawn from the Treasury, ensure, what endowments, drawn from the Teinds, has so long and so disgracefully failed to accomplish? Pastoral superintendence! Most people belonging to the Established churches would be inclined to ask, what it could mean; and all would ask, on what conceivable principle they were to expect under the new system, what, under the old, was reckoned unnecessary or impracticable!

The last Report of the Royal Commissioners is confined entirely to the subject of *teinds*, or tithes; and the conclusion from

it is, that even if more places of worship were wanted, and allowing the propriety of endowing them at the public expense, there are ample funds for the purpose, which, according to the existing law of the land, belong to the church herself, but which the heritors, or land-holders, were authorized to retain until her necessities should require them to be forthcoming. As the state of matters in this respect is in Scotland very different from the plan of supporting the Established church among ourselves, it may be necessary, for the sake of many of our readers, to give the following brief explanations from the luminous and admirable Report of the Royal Commissioners on the subject.

'Originally the property of the church consisted of lands which had been gifted or devised to it from time to time, and of teinds; the former being denominated the Temporality, and the latter the Spirituality of Benefices. The greater part of the Temporalities, consisting partly of lands and partly of the feu-duties of lands which had been feued out by bishops, parsons, and others, both prior and subsequent to the Reformation, are now in the possession, either of the crown, or of private proprietors, who, from time to time, obtained grants from the crown, or feus from the church.' 'Thus all lands in Scotland, with the exception of those held *cum decimis inclusis, et nunquam antea separatis*, are liable in payment of teinds; the heritable, or real rights to which, are now vested in the crown, in colleges, in pious foundations, in lay titulars, and in heritors. The teinds are held under the burden of payment of such stipends to the parish ministers, as have been, or may hereafter be, modified or awarded out of them.' 'While all teinds are subject to this general liability for stipend, they are localled on, or appropriated to this purpose, not equally, but according to a certain order. Originally the titular was entitled to allocate the stipend on the different teinds in the parish at his pleasure. The exercise of this power without restraint was liable to abuse; and certain rules were therefore gradually introduced, by which it was considerably restrained.' 'At length the matter was put upon its present footing by the Act of Parliament, 1707, c. 9, whereby the Court of Session was constituted a Commission or Court of Teinds, with all the powers of the previous Commissions, but under this important qualification, that parishes might not be disjoined or divided, except with the consent of three-fourths of the heritors, reckoning not by the number of the heritors, but by the amount of their valued rent within the parish. The exercise of the power of union and disjunction, it is evident, may materially affect the amount of payment made to the church out of the Teinds. By the union of parishes, the amount may be diminished, while by the disjunction, the number of Ministers being increased, the amount paid must, in almost all cases, be increased also. *There are very few instances of such disjunctions having been made since the date of this Act, although previous to it they had frequently occurred.*' 'It appears (from the tables annexed to the Report) that the value of the gross unappropriated teinds belonging to the crown is £15,741.

12s. 5d. This sum of unappropriated teinds, however, is at present subject to certain deductions, yet leaving a free surplus of £10,182. 4s. 8d. But owing to the system of management in regard to leases of teinds belonging to the crown, the sum annually realized by the crown has been very much less than this surplus. It also appears, that the annual value of the gross parsonage or greater teinds belonging to other persons than the crown is £281,384. 14s.; that the value of those at present appropriated to ministers' stipend is £146,942. 16s. 9d.; and that the value of the gross unappropriated teinds belonging to other persons than the crown, is £138,186. 17s. 6d.'—Third Report, pp. 1, 4, 5, 10.

Were it really proved, then, that more churches are wanted in Scotland, and were it divinely authorized and politically right to endow churches from any public fund, it is here proved beyond all controversy, that the most ample means, originally set apart, and still held in trust for such a purpose can easily be obtained, without having recourse to a Parliamentary grant of any kind. We maintain, indeed, in common with all Dissenters, and even with the Earl of Aberdeen, and other of their Conservative opponents, that what are called 'Bishops' teinds,' cannot thus be employed,—and indeed that the very proposal to appropriate them to such a purpose is a most glaring and miserable attempt to hoodwink the public, as if this were something very different from drawing at once on the consolidated fund. The 'Bishops' teinds' were long ago taken from the Church and given to the Crown; and more recently they were relinquished by the Crown to the public, for which the most ample compensation has been made by a corresponding addition to the Civil List. But, from what are called the 'unexhausted teinds,' belonging to others than the Crown, funds might be realized very nearly sufficient to endow as many additional Churches as there are old ones already existing in Scotland.

It is the more important to notice this, as the Ministerial scheme, so far as it has been developed, is, to take from this fund what is necessary for endowing the New Churches wanted, at least in those parishes where 'unexhausted teinds' are found to exist. This, indeed, upon their own principles, recognizing the necessity of having an endowed Establishment in what is called a Christian land, of which they profess to be the Christian Legislators—is really the wisest and the best course which they could have adopted. One evidence of this is, that the very mention of it instantly roused the wrath, and called forth the vituperations of the interested Grandees, who had so loudly clamoured for Church extension, so long as they hoped it might annihilate dissent, but without ever dreaming, that the expense was to be provided for out of their own pockets. This was anticipated, and indeed the certainty that the Ministerial measure now proposed,

must as a matter of course, be gone into, was distinctly suggested by some of the Scottish Dissenters, from the moment that the appointment of the Commission to inquire and report on the subject of the teinds, was announced.

But, though the Church extensionists are so importunate in their demands for additional endowments from the public treasury;—they are now enraged above measure at the proposal to draw such endowments from the source to which we allude. This is easily accounted for. Not only is it the proposal of a Government which they detest, and have so zealously exerted themselves to destroy, but it would give a triumph of a certain kind to the Dissenters whom they also 'hate with perfect hatred'—besides that it would require large disbursements from the most powerful of their Tory friends, and would for ever prevent the increase of their own stipends.

We have not a doubt that their ardent zeal for the spiritual welfare of 'the poor and working classes,' will, at length, be completely cooled by these carnal considerations; and that sooner than behold such consequences realized,—which would after all be but the native results of their own unspeakable folly,—they would be content to see all their new churches razed to the ground, and, of course, never even to breathe a wish to have other new erections for the accommodation of any 'unexcavated heathens,' whether perishing in 'our city lands, or enormous upland 'parishes.'

But they must, in the mean time, be reminded that the very principle on which the ministry propose to proceed, which, with whatever disgraceful inconsistency, they now join their parliamentary friends in denouncing as spoliation, was once, when they never dreamed either of the nature or extent of the perplexity and danger in which it would involve them, most solemnly, and with singular cordiality, recognized by themselves as being in accordance alike with the demands of equal justice, and the statutes of national law. In the General Assembly which met in May, 1820, the Rev. Mr. Fleming, of Neilston—a man, we may observe in passing, who, had his lot been cast south of the Tweed, would assuredly have been employed as a writer of Oxford Tracts; supported a motion, '*anent* Church accommodation,' which led him, in what Dr. Thompson characterised as 'a very excellent speech,' to throw out the following sentiments; and they were hailed no less by 'the highflyers,' than by the men fierce for moderation: he proved 'that a national fund was pro-'vided; that the heritors were only the trustees of that fund; 'that it was not their own; that it was destined for the support of 'religion, and could not be diverted from it, and that this fund was 'provided to give the great and the noble of the land church-'accommodation *gratis* as much as the poorest, and that, however,

'paradoxical it may appear, it was nevertheless true, that no man in 'Scotland paid one farthing for the support of religion: that the 'landholders received the tithes of their lands, on the implied and 'express condition of maintaining the established religion; and, 'that what was called a burden on their lands, was, in fact, no bur-'den, for *no* man in this country, when he purchased an estate, 'paid for the public burdens, but had these deducted to him; and 'that the fifth of the rental was as much by law the patrimony of 'the church, as the remainder was that of the proprietors. The 'country,' said the reverend gentleman, 'paid and supported the 'clergy, for the very purpose of giving to the people the adminis-'tration of the word and the sacraments; and yet, this end was 'defeated in not a few parishes, by the avarice of heritors not 'affording that legal church-accommodation which was necessary 'for the clergy to be useful and beneficial to the country. This 'he considered a scandal on the church, as a church, and inju-'rious to the interests of the state, for the promotion of which, it 'is at the expense of maintaining a clergy. He stated, that the 'activity of the human mind was such, that if it did not find men-'tal food in one place, it would seek for it in another; and that 'in this way, some part of the parishioners who could not find 'seats, and were not religiously inclined, might be driven to the 'new school of democracy, infidelity, and sedition!' &c. 'The 'reverend gentleman,' adds *the Christian Instructor*,* 'sat down 'amidst applause from both sides of the house.'

Here then are precisely the same principles pleaded for and sanctioned by all in the General Assembly, the mere mention of which as proposed to be brought into operation, caused such bursts of indignant feeling among the friends of the church in parliament, and has led ever since to the pitiable cuckoo cry of 'spoliation!' among Tory *lairds* and bigotted clergymen throughout the country. But it is evident, from what passed in the meeting just referred to, that the General Assembly cannot sympathize in all this, without throwing consistency to the winds, and even stultifying themselves in the most shameful manner ever known. It may, indeed, be alleged, that the foolish man, who made the speech from which we have quoted, had nothing farther in view than to reprobate the conduct of his own heritors, who had refused to give the enlarged accommodation, which he represented as being at that time necessary in *his* parish; and that eighteen years ago, the assembly which responded so complacently to his sentiments, had not then the slightest conception of church-accommodation being wanted to such an extent as has since been seen to be indispensable. But still the principle was

* Vol. XIX, pp. 363, 364.

sanctioned by them, as being both founded in equity and fixed by law; and, therefore, they, of all men, ought not to blame ministers for determining to follow it out. We earnestly beseech Dissenters both in England and Scotland, with all their might, to hold ministers to the determination, that, if the church is to get additional endowments at all, it shall be only from the funds which she calls her own. The proposal will, no doubt, be rejected with scorn. Tory landlords and Tory clergymen, loudly as they have bewailed the religious destitution of the land will be indignant, when it is proposed to supply that destitution at their expense. But so much the better: it will prevent endowments altogether, and cover with merited infamy the promoters of a scheme which has, we trust, been proved to the satisfaction of our readers, to be nothing else than a gross imposition.

Art. VIII. 1, *Jamaica under the Apprenticeship System.* By a Proprietor. London: Andrews, 167, New Bond-street. 1838.

2. *A Bill intituled an Act to amend the Act for the Abolition of Slavery in the* British *Colonies.*

3. *A Bill intituled an Act for putting an end to the Apprenticeship of those who were formerly Slaves in the* British *Colonies.* Presented by Lord Brougham and Vaux.

THE anti-slavery question has again reached a crisis. Every thing now depends, under God, upon the firmness and consistency with which those who conduct the present great effort maintain their principles and press their claims. All is within their reach. We cannot look abroad over the face of the country, and interrogate the countenances of men, without feeling a deep conviction of the irresistible moral strength of the anti-slavery party. There must, however, be no wavering; no compromise; no political expediency. Two bills are before the public. The one a cheat, a mockery, an unjust and impracticable measure. The other, a bill, for abolishing the apprenticeship on the 1st of August next. The former, must be rejected; the latter, supported and *carried.*

We have in former numbers condemned in unequivocal terms the policy of ministers upon the anti-slavery question, and recent events have afforded us no opportunity of changing the tone of our remarks. We are still constrained to censure, to condemn. They have not, in our opinion, discharged the sacred duties confided to them by the imperial act of abolition. The country has just ground of complaint against them; and, though, it might be difficult for the mere politician to bring himself to vote the administration guilty of culpable and criminal neglect, their delin-

quencies will not be the less obvious to those who have for years regarded the emancipation of the slaves as a religious object, and surrendered twenty millions of their money to appease the cravings of the tormentors of the species.

Without repeating our condemnation of the abolition act, let us inquire, what the country had a right to expect from the government charged with the execution of its provisions? The country had a right to expect the following things:—The reservation of the compensatory millions till the negro was free, or, at least, till laws *really* and not professedly adequate to the carrying out of the provisions of the imperial act were passed. The rigid examination of all colonial enactments, and the prompt and decisive rejection of such as were repugnant to the spirit of the English act. The judicious selection of men to fill the all-important stations of special justices, with such provisions and protections for them in the colonies, as would give them a chance of being able to do their duty. In the event of the death, removal, or dismissal of any special justice, the appointment of a man, in all respects, qualified to fill the vacancy. That in the event of a discovery of any gross abuse, the colonial secretary would go to the verge of his authority to correct it; and if then unable, come down to parliament for additional powers, or propose a bill to accomplish the object. That while well paid commissioners were sitting, to award millions of British money to a slave-holding oligarchy, men would be set apart to watch the progress of an experiment involving the freedom and happiness of the 800,000 negroes for whose special benefit the great measure of abolition had been passed. The scrupulous enforcement of the provisions of the imperial act, respecting registration and classification. The prevention of fraud and oppression in the appraisement of the unexpired term of the negro's apprenticeship. The interpretation according to its spirit and design of those portions of the imperial act, which refer to food, time, labour, and indulgencies. That the horrid rites of the treadmill; the flogging of women; the cutting off of their hair; and the foul practices of hospitals, would be put down as soon as known. That due care would be taken of the young, the aged, the infirm and the diseased; and, finally, that such steps should be taken as would have secured to the negroes during their apprenticeship the benefit of that preparatory education, the necessity of which was so loudly insisted on by the advocates of a transition state.

Have these just expectations been realized? We answer, without hesitation, 'No.' The twenty millions were distributed while the eyes of the Government were wide open to the most direct and flagitious violations of the spirit and letter of the imperial act. In the case of Mauritius two millions of money were paid as compensation, when the fact was fully known to the government, that

tens of thousands of the negroes in that island had been feloniously imported, were illegally held in bondage, and were entitled to unconditional freedom under the Slave Registration and the Consolidated Slave Trade Acts. To this hour, the negroes of Mauritius are deprived of the liberty to which they are entitled upon every principle of law and equity. With reference to the colonies at large, laws were declared 'adequate and satisfactory,' which placed the apprentice in a condition, in many respects, worse than his former state of slavery. The analysis of the laws of Jamaica before the Select Parliamentary Committee, the laws of the other chartered colonies, and the regulation of the Crown Colonies, abundantly demonstrate this. The selection of special justices, seems to have been regulated by a desire, that they should become the companions and servile tools of the masters, rather than the guardians of the rights of the apprentices. Half pay officers, inured to flogging, and accustomed to enforce the sternest discipline, were, in the first instance, sent out in large numbers; and as these died off, or quitted their new service in disgust, the governors were permitted to fill their places with plantation managers, mercantile clerks, discharged wharfingers, and men of notoriously depraved habits. Such are the men who under the imperial act have been vested with almost despotic power to coerce the negroes of the colonies. So far from the prompt correction of abuses, we find the colonial secretary speaking of the eight hours' system, by which the negro is robbed of the time necessary to grow his provisions as an '*inconvenience*,' in which it was 'more wise' to '*acquiesce silently*,' than run the risk of widening the breach between the planters and the colonial office: and we have the written declaration of the Marquis of Sligo, that in 1836, he sent home, in one dispatch, a statement of thirty cases of the flogging of females, and that no attention was paid to his represention by the colonial office. If the efforts of the governor of Jamaica, to awaken the concern of the officers of the crown in this country, were thus unavailing, we need not feel surprised at the indifference with which the untitled and unofficial friends of the negro have been treated in Downing-street. The proofs are at hand to show, that, while the paid agents of the planters have found ready and courteous audience of the colonial minister, and have even been caressed and loaded with assurances of confidence and friendship, the disinterested advocates of the negro have either been coldly entertained, or rudely repulsed. Appearances have justified the belief, that there has been a collusion between the colonial office and the West Indians, and that the feeling of the country in favour of emancipation, has been taken advantage of, to enrich the pockets, without diminishing the power of the slave-holders, and the abolitionist used as a cat's-paw to pick the pockets of a generous people.

Had the liberty of the negro been effected, we might have been contented to remain silent respecting the enormous sum of money transferred to the coffers of Planters, Proprietors, and Mortgagees; but, as the matter stands, justice to ourselves requires, that we state the object for which that money was voted, and that we claim the fulfilment, on the part of parliament, of that contract which has been so faithfully implemented by the people of this country. The money, then, was voted to purchase for ever from the planter, the right of oppressing his fellow-men, —to bestow upon the negro 'all the rights and privileges of a 'freeman.' It was paid that 'on the 1st of August, 1834, 'Slavery should be utterly and for ever abolished.' We quote the language of Lord Stanley, and the words of the Imperial Act. The money was placed at the disposal of the government, for the object stated, and one of our grounds of complaint is, that instead of being used as a means to effect the end proposed, it has contributed to make the condition of the negro worse than it was before. We cannot but think, that had the money part of the business been wisely (we speak of worldly wisdom only, denying altogether the right of the master of slaves to compensation) managed either by the parliament or the government, the negro might have been placed in a condition the very opposite to that in which we now find him. But instead of requiring, in the first place, satisfactory proof of loss sustained; and, in the next place, the delivery in good condition of the thing purchased, the compensation was awarded without a shadow of loss being proved, and before the negro was free from the dominion of his master. It is difficult to account for the infatuation of Government in this matter. Though dealing with a class of men who, through many generations, had been over-reaching the British people, and taxing their pockets for the maintenance of an inhuman system, the trustees of the nation's wealth paid down million after million, with an appearance of confidence seldom exhibited in pecuniary transactions with men of unimpeachable integrity. Instead of saying to the planters, 'If you will not follow the example of Antigua, but determine to have the apprenticeship, be it so; but we will keep the compensation money as long as you keep the apprenticeship, and eventually award it only 'for such of your negroes as are living proofs of a kind and mer-'ciful treatment;' it was paid down with pitiful credulity and unseemly haste, before one tangible proof had been furnished of fulfilling even the conditions of the apprenticeship clause, and the wretched negro was left in the hands of his tyrant, to be worked, fettered, scourged, and polluted, through six long years of unrequited and involuntary service. Thus has the nation been deluded and defrauded. No part of the twenty millions has been given for the purposes of education and training—none to

provide for the innocent and helpless children—none to succour the lame, and sightless, and strengthless amongst the negro population. No; the men, who with reckless prodigality distributed twenty millions amongst the magnificent white paupers of the Colonies, provided not a teacher for the ignorant, not a nurse for the infant, not a hospital for the diseased—gave not a pound or penny to feed the hungry, or clothe the naked, or rescue from starvation the fatherless or the widow. They passed by the poor, and gave to the rich. Our nation's treasure was given, not to make restitution to the plundered, but to compensate and gild the crimes of the plunderer.

If the language we have now used be deemed severe, we have only to refer to the work placed first at the head of this article, for the evidence of the justice of all that we have written.

We proceed to lay before our readers the testimony of one, who is every way entitled to credit and respect. We are not now about to incur the charge of retailing the stale calumnies of Aldermanbury, or the ravings of fanatical missionaries. We are about to review the evidence voluntarily given by an Ex-Governor of the island of Jamaica.

'Jamaica under the Apprenticeship System;' by a Proprietor, is the work of the Marquis of Sligo, and contains, as we are told in the introduction, 'the result of the experience acquired during 'a residence of some duration in that island.' His Lordship has arranged his facts and observations under the following heads, viz. Administration of Justice; Grand and Petit Juries; Gaols, Workhouses, &c.; Special Justices and their protection; Valuations; Hospital Abuses; Non-registration of Slaves; Opposition to Apprenticeship System by the House of Assembly; General Opposition to the New System; Working of the Apprenticeship System; Management of Estates.

We have met with no work on the system of Negro apprenticeship containing a more clear and temperate statement of facts, or furnishing more convincing evidence of the absolute necessity for abolishing the unnatural and cruel system called by that delusive name. We earnestly recommend it to the perusal of all who need an antidote to the sophistries and mis-statements of an insidious article in the January number of the Edinburgh Review, attributed to a gentleman filling a situation in the Colonial Office.

Several circumstances combine to invest the work before us with peculiar interest and importance. It is the production of a Nobleman and a Jamaica proprietor, who once filled the chair of the West India Association, and who cannot therefore be suspected of unfriendly feelings towards that body. It is the work of one, who having been the Governor of Jamaica for four months prior to the 1st of August, 1834, and for eighteen months subsequently, enjoyed unequalled opportunities of testing the value and prac-

ticability of the system of apprenticeship; and as a judicious and enlightened reformer of Colonial abuses, Lord Sligo ascertained to what extent it is possible to obtain the assistance of a Jamaica planting community, in originating and carrying on schemes of preparation for freedom. The work acquires additional value from the fact that, until very recently, its noble author was in favour of the continuance of the apprenticeship system under certain regulations.

The Marquis of Sligo commenced his administration of affairs upon the island of Jamaica, in the month of April, 1834.

'Considerable apprehension,' he says, 'was felt at that time, respecting the probable conduct of the negroes on the eventful 1st of August; a feeling, however, in which those who did not see how it could be the interest of the slaves to interfere with the progress of an enactment so manifestly for their benefit, did not participate.

'Anticipations of a general massacre of the whites were entertained by many alarmists; and, among the great majority of the planters, a deep-seated, but indefinite fear prevailed extensively.'

The following passages are sufficient to refute a volume of the calumnies which have been heaped upon the heads of the negroes, and contain a volume of arguments in favour of their immediate and entire emancipation. It should not be forgotten that the negroes entertained the belief that the 1st of August would introduce them to a condition of *freedom*—with those limitations only, which had been pointed out to them. Their joy, therefore, is to be estimated not by their subsequent actual sufferings, but by their previous high anticipations.

'The memorable 1st of August at length arrived, and instead of being marked by the flowing of blood, insurrection, and disturbance, as anticipated, it was celebrated and made memorable, by the most extraordinary, nay, the almost universal, attendance of the negroes at the different places of worship. The chapels of which are of considerable size, were opened for Divine Service five or six times during the day, and were each time crowded, to an inconvenience in such a climate, by a succession of negroes, till all present had been enabled to offer up their expressions of gratitude to the Supreme Being for their newly acquired privileges. It is said, and generally believed, that *not a single drunken man appeared during the whole of that day in the streets of any of the principal towns.* On the subsequent days, more particularly that on which they were to return to their work, no cause for complaint was given, excepting in one instance. In the parish of St. Anne's alone, was there exhibited any disposition on the part of the negroes to secede from their usual labours.

'It is curious to remark, that such a spirit of insubordination should have occurred nowhere excepting in a parish in which the resident

gentry had shown themselves previously to be the most opposed to the British views in Lord Mulgrave's time, and in which the 'Colonial Union' may be said to have originated.

'The terrors of the planters as to the conduct of the negroes having thus subsided, they postponed the period of their anticipated alarms till the Christmas holidays; but it appeared that in this respect they were again mistaken. The anniversary of the 1st of August was next fixed upon as the time of danger; subsequent events have shown how completely deceived in their calculations were these gentlemen, who silenced all who differed in opinion with them by saying, 'We, who have been so long in the island, must know its state better than you, who have so lately reached it;—you don't know the character of the negroes.''

Under the head of 'Administration of Justice,' Lord Sligo has laid bare the imperfections and iniquities of the existing system of jurisprudence, and demonstrated the necessity of a thorough change in the constitution of the local courts. He strikingly illustrates the gross partiality of the laws, and observes that where the laws profess to be equal in their application,

'*The spirit in which they are administered in* Jamaica gives them a totally different character:—the truth is, that there are no sympathies between the two classes—the magistrates, and those on whose conduct they have to adjudicate: and that, without imputing any corrupt motives to the one, the result is most unfavourable to the other.'

In proof of the truth of this assertion, he puts on record the following fact.

'In the act to establish regulations for the government of gaols and houses of correction, an especial clause was inserted to prevent the apprentice being exempted from the operation of any part of that law which equally affected all free people. No objection was taken to this clause when the bill was enacted, as nothing could be fairer on principle, or more beneficial in practice, if impartially administered. But how has it worked? Whether from no white or free people having committed any offence since it was passed, or from this generally received opinion, of which I especially complain, that it could not have been intended for them—not one person of that class has been placed on the treadmill, or in the penal gang, with the exception of policemen under sentence of a court-martial, or those sent there by the judge of assize. None have been committed by the local magistracy. This being the effect, it is a matter of utter indifference whether the cause be corruption, ignorance, or prejudice; the effect ought not to be permitted to exist; and it is for this very reason that it becomes so desirable that no additional power should be given to the magistrates, either individually or in a court of quarter-session assembled, until that body shall have been found to consist of persons brought up under a different system.'

On the subject of the Grand and Petit Juries we find the following remark.

'Without accusing the gentry, who generally form those bodies, of any intentional opposition to the law, there is no doubt that if any individual, professing opinions not in unison with their own, goes into a court of justice for relief, the chances against his success would greatly preponderate. In this belief, there are few of the gentlemen of the island who do not participate; but there is not one who would not *anticipate with certainty* a verdict, even in a doubtful case, in favour of those whose political sentiments coincided with their own.'

The following cases show the extent to which party-feeling and prejudice against the coloured population prevail in Jamaica.

'In the case of the indictment of the magistrates and supervisor of the workhouse of St. John's, (for a series of the grossest cruelties committed upon male and female apprentices,) it was proved that the grand jury of Middlesex threw out the bills without examining all the witnesses who were tendered to them for the prosecution; they might have been justified in finding the bills on the evidence of *one* witness; but surely they ought by no means to have ignored them without a close examination of *every* witness who could possibly have proved the facts alleged. It is somewhat singular, that money to any amount would have been wagered, on the day of the opening of the Supreme Court, that these bills would not be found; but there was so little difference of opinion on that point, that not a single bet was actually taken up.

'Phillips, the driver of St. Andrew's workhouse, was tried and found guilty of flogging a woman, Jane Henry, because she would not submit to his desires; it was then proved that this species of debauchery and punishment of females was of frequent occurrence. Yet the supervisor, who ought to have known the fact,—*who must have known of it*, —was kept in his office, as before, *and the custos even persuaded the parish to pay the expenses of his defence.* It might naturally have been supposed that the man would have been dismissed at once; and he would have been so, had not the custos and magistrates approved of his conduct.'

Speaking of the liabilities of the apprentices, Lord Sligo remarks:—

'An overseer, a book-keeper, a policeman, an estate constable, or even any idler riding out for amusement, sees a black man walking along the road with a bundle, or, what is most frequent, a basket of provisions on his head;—he stops him, questions him—and if the man does not give an explanation *satisfactory* to the inquirer,—if the negro does not succeed in giving *what he considers* to be sufficient explanation, —he takes him up, *for which he is entitled to a certain premium*, and brings him generally before the nearest *local* magistrate for examination; and in order to get the reward to which he is entitled for apprehending

a runaway, urges the man's committal to the workhouse. The man, generally, has not the means at hand of proving to the magistrate who and what he is; and that officer, naturally not wishing to let a runaway escape, commits him on suspicion. As soon as he reaches the workhouse, *he is at once chained to some other* fellow-prisoner by a collar round his neck, and he is *sent out, in* the penal, or chain gang, to clean the streets of the town, or do any other work, in which the parish penal gang happens to be employed. He is then, as the law directs, advertised for four successive weeks in the Colonial papers, for the purpose of being claimed; and, during all that time, works for the benefit of the parish, and perhaps at the end turns out to be a free person. In that case, he has undergone an unjust and severe punishment.'

Under the head of 'Gaols, Workhouses, &c.,' we are brought acquainted with scenes of the most revolting character. The whole West India system seems to have been invented for the purpose of torturing and polluting the black population. It is difficult to imagine what would be the state of things in Jamaica, were the whites permitted for a few years only to pursue unchecked their process of contamination.

'*Young girls, of premature age, and probably of excellent character, sent in on suspicion, or for some trifling indolence, or for turning out late to work, are seen working in chains in these penal gangs, cleaning the streets.* Thus any germ of modesty they might possess is destroyed. One of these girls is probably chained to a thief, or woman of infamous character; if she has been heretofore pure in her conduct, the chances are strongly in favour of her being corrupted by the vices of her companions. Once seen amongst the criminals in the streets, disgrace attaches to her name, though she has really been guilty of no offence, except one of the most trifling nature, proceeding from the carelessness of youth; and yet, for this cause, *she is made to associate with all the vilest criminals* of the chain gang. The strongest representations were made by the Governor to the different Custodes, informing them that he had been directed by the Secretary for the Colonies to call their attention to this circumstance, in the hope that they would except young females, of the above description, from this disgraceful punishment; *but it has never been asserted, that, in a single instance, the practice was in consequence abandoned.*'

'The custom of *cutting off the hair* of all female apprentices, has been lately adopted in these establishments, on the plea of health and cleanliness. During the time of slavery, when it was more the interest of the proprietor to take care of these people, than it is at present, it never was done; this, therefore, cannot be looked upon in any other light than *as a contrivance to make up for the other annoyances, which, owing to the Abolition Law, it is no* longer in their power to inflict on their apprentices. It is well known, that the hair of the negro is a close woolly oily substance, in no way resembling the hair of a white person. Cutting it off is a serious injury, *as it deprives the brain of its natural protection under a tropical sun.*'

'We now come to the worst feature of the workhouse system,—the most palpable and barefaced violation of the Abolition law; namely, *the flogging of females* within the walls of those establishments. The extent to which this was carried, and the number of cases which were discovered, and reported, by the Governor, in messages to the House of Assembly, were perfectly astonishing. No notice was, however, taken of them by that body, except appointing a committee to inquire into the truth of the statements. No remedy was even suggested. There cannot be the slightest doubt but that this abuse prevailed in every workhouse in Jamaica. *So large a proportion of the black population passes through these receptacles, that the moral effect of the process becomes an object of the highest importance.*'

Sickness in the West Indies is treated as a crime. The unfortunate creatures who are visited from God with painful and protracted diseases, instead of care and kindness, and the application of restoratives, and the privilege of repose and freedom from mental inquietude, are regarded as offenders of the worst class, and made to endure the added infliction of insult, imprisonment, separation from their relatives, and even coercion and starvation. We regret we have not room for the entire chapter under the head of 'Hospital Abuses.' The following extracts will however reveal scenes of atrocious cruelty which we cannot doubt will draw down upon the diabolical system of which they form a part, the destructive lightning of British indignation.

'Into these generally small buildings, males and females, lunatics, aged people, and those with contagious diseases, are all huddled together. There is generally no second room, or any other conveniency, such as health or even decency requires, for the diurnal necessities of its inmates. These poor creatures all sleep on a guard bed, which extends along one side of the room, without any bed-clothes whatever, though the land breeze is piercingly cold at night, and the blacks are peculiarly sensitive to its effects. To add to the misery of the place, the doors are generally kept locked,—always said to be so by the doctor's directions, in order to prevent its occupants from injuring their health by walking about. They are often kept thus locked up the whole of the twenty-four hours, with the exception of half an hour each morning and evening, when the doors are opened in order to allow the patients to receive from their friends their own provisions. There is much reason to fear that this species of confinement is frequently ordered, for the purpose of annoying and persecuting the poor unfortunate apprentices. The stocks are had recourse to, in addition, for the same purpose; people with sore legs are often placed in them, in order, as alleged, to prevent them from walking; when it must strike every person, that inflammation is much more likely to ensue, if the diseased limb is placed between thick boards, than if the individual were allowed to walk about the hospital room at his own discretion.

'In the case of Parsons, the overseer on the estate of Mr. Richard Barrett, it was proved that a poor woman, whose death was the subject of examination, was found by the magistrate, who made the discovery, lying on a heap of filth, occasioned by her own illness, which had never been removed since she was placed in a perfectly helpless state in that bed; also, that *her own daughter had sat for hours at the door, imploring in vain for permission to be locked in with her mother, in order to attend and clean her!!!*'

'On the exertions of Special Justices,' remarks Lord Sligo, '*depends the whole success* of the apprenticeship system.' Let us then see to what extent these '*exertions*' are likely to be put forth, and with what chance of 'success.'

'During the two first years of the apprenticeship, more than twenty Special Justices fell victims to the climate and to their own exertions, and many more resigned, from finding that the emolument was not sufficient for their support; or sickened by the opposition they met with from the planters; or in consequence of their bodily strength being unequal to the severe labour imposed on them.'

The salary given to a Special Justice, is, in the opinion of Lord Sligo, quite 'insufficient to meet his necessities.' Instead of £300 a year, the sum at first allowed, or even £450, the present salary, 'it ought not to be less than £700 a year.' Owing to the expenses inevitable on first landing in the West Indies, he

'Becomes embarrassed at the outset, and is obliged to pay a portion of his salary for the liquidation of his debt. If he has the misfortune, not uncommon, of losing one of his horses when on duty, he gets into difficulty still farther; and unless he has a private fortune, with which his expense as a Special Justice has nothing to do, he cannot long maintain his independence. The stipendiaries are compelled on this account, as well as in consequence of the scarcity of inns, to have recourse to the hospitality, so proverbial in Jamaica, of the planters, *and then it is difficult for him to do his duty honestly in a house where he has been received with kindness.*'

After describing the manner in which the magistrates are deprived of 8½ per cent. on their salaries, by the method adopted, of paying them through the Commissary, Lord Sligo adds:

'In addition to these various hardships, the manner in which they are regarded by the planters is another very serious cause of annoyance. Unless a magistrate be a notorious partizan of the planter, nothing is too bad for him: whereas, for those who are what are called 'Busha 'Magistrates,' that is, under the influence of the overseers, nothing is too good. Two magistrates have been dismissed, both of them accused of an improper administration of the Abolition Law: for both of these

a subscription w
sent of plate was made, and the
scription in money.'

His lordship proceeds to detail, at considerable length, a number of cases of flagrant injustice in the part of planters towards the more honest and humane among the stipendiary magistracy, amounting together to undeniable proof of the perfect impotency of the latter body, in the prevention of fraud and cruelty upon the negroes. The only good they can accomplish, being of a negative kind, when they refuse to gratify the malice or cupidity of the master, by inflicting the lash upon the bodies of their victims, or sentencing them to extra labour for the profit of the estate. Our readers must be contented with one specimen of the malignant and combined resistance offered to those who seek to discharge the duties of their responsible office.

'Another instance of persecution of the Special Justices which it will be necessary particularly to advert to, happened to fall to the lot of Mr. Baynes. From the time that he took an active part in trying to punish those gross and cruel violations of the law, which took place in the workhouse of the parish of St John's, it was determined that all means of annoyance should be put in force against him. His wife had been recently confined. His persecutors commenced their operations with the wet-nurse, who was an apprentice. Though earning excellent wages in his service, much to the advantage of the probably absentee owner, who knew nothing of the affair, she was suddenly withdrawn from his house. He was, in a similar manner, deprived of the services of his other servants, who were all of the same class. Finally, he was, by a general concerted plan, *refused a residence in the parish*, and is now actually compelled in consequence to live at a much greater expense, at great inconvenience to himself, and with great injury to the negroes, at Spanish Town, some miles away from his district.'

We have before us 'copies or extracts of correspondence between Lord Glenelg and Lord Sligo relative to the above case, in which Lord Sligo speaks of it as 'a part of a *systematic* attempt 'to resist the authority of the special justices, which had been 'brought into full play in the parish of St. Thomas in the Vale.' In the same despatch he speaks of '*one continuous system of oppo-* '*sition* to the efforts of special justices.' In the same parliamentary paper, we find a formal 'presentment of the grand inquest of 'the county of Middlesex,' Jamaica, in which the conduct of Mr. Baynes is denounced as 'a general nuisance!' And yet, 'on 'the exertions of Special Justices, depends the *whole success* of 'the apprenticeship system!!' Before we dismiss that part of the subject which has reference to the obstructions multiplied in the way of all who undertake to redress the grievances of the appren-

tice, we must notice an extraordinary circumstance mentioned by Lord Sligo. It appears that nineteen apprentices belonging to a planter of the name of Giles, in the parish of St. Thomas in the Vale,

'Came unexpectedly in a body to Spanish Town, twenty-one miles from their master's property, for the purpose of seeking protection against their master for several injuries received, and of having him bound over to keep the peace.'

They sought the advice of a humane solicitor in that town, of the name of Harvey.

'Affidavits were immediately taken, which disclosed circumstances of a serious nature on the part of Mr. G., as well as matter for numerous actions against him for injuries to his people and their stock. All that the solicitor could do, was to allay their fears, and prevent future injury by binding their master in sureties of peace. In this an unavoidable delay of five days was incurred by the refusal of the judges to interfere. A new commission to a magistrate was issued; whereupon the oaths were administered Mr. G. was ultimately bound over, and the people returned to their work.'

'By way of retaliation for this interference, proceedings against Mr. Harvey 'for harbouring' were issued before four local magistrates of the parish of St. Catherine, and he was fined 199*l.* 10*s.*'

His lordship's description of the Jamaica House of Assembly is highly instructive.

'The House of Assembly consists for the most part of men who have passed their lives surrounded by slavery, and have accumulated, under its influence, large fortunes from small beginnings.

'Let the whole of the proceeedings of the Assembly, since the 1st of August, 1834, be closely examined, and it will be seen, that in no one instance has that body passed an act in furtherance of the measure of abolition, until *compelled.*

'The assembly refused to contribute, by any local enactment, to prevent *the flogging of females* in the workhouses, and the cutting off their hair for purposes of annoyance. They, also, refused to pass the renewal of the first act in aid, in the original form, until their contumacy was punished by that law being passed in the imperial parliament.'

The following extract will show the amount of credit to be attached to the representations sent from the Assembly of Jamaica to this country.

'The incautiousness of the people of Jamaica, in hazarding the most hardy assertions, and thinking that they will be received as proof, has

een remarked before. Instances of the gross mistakes they have thereby ade have been given. What, however, must the House of Assem- ly think of that passage in their statement to Lord Glenelg, (Evi- lence, pages 302 and 303) wherein they say, 'That *the House repu- diates in the strongest terms they can find, the accusation, that whip- ping of females is practised in Jamaica?*' How can they reconcile hat part of their representation with the Report of Mr. Buxton's Committee, wherein it is specifically stated, that many instances of this ractice had been discovered by Lord Sligo?* They admitted its ccurrence in only two instances, though *proofs on oath, of more than orty, had been transmitted home by his lordship to Lord Glenelg, and* OPIES SENT TO THEM. It would seem, as if they had, by a kind of oluntary self-delusion, persuaded themselves of the truth of their own ssertions, and therefore refused to apply any remedy. At all events, *o remedy was applied.*

'Instead of the good opinion of the negroes having been conciliated, nd their dislike of their masters, whom they look on as oppressors, aving been diminished, a feeling of mutual distrust appears to gain orce daily.'

Lord Sligo, in his concluding remarks, states the following ob- jection to the immediate abolition of the present system in Jamaica. We notice it, because we have heard it frequently urged by others. Lord Sligo, we are happy to know, has aban- doned it.

'The anti-slavery party, who find that the law has been much abused, and that the humane intentions of the original promoters of this most benevolent measure have been defeated, cry out loudly for an immediate abolition of the apprenticeship. But it appears doubtful, if such a measure would in the end be advantageous to the negro. The success of immediate and total abolition in Antigua, has been quoted as an argument in its favour; but the cases are not parallel. Jamaica has thousands of acres of waste and unclaimed land, and every acre which is not actually kept in tillage, is soon covered with bush impene- trable to all except the negroes. Into these places, where food can be procured at the least possible expenditure of labour; where, as has been proved before the House of Lords, a man can provide a year's food for a reasonable family by twelve days' labour at his plantain ground, —where from the heat of climate no more clothes are necessary than what are required by decency—where the quantity of unclaimed wood, and of the thatch palm, enables the negro to erect a comfortable hut in a few hours,—into these places will he probably retire, and there lazily pass his life, never issuing from his recess until the want of some luxuries may lead him to bring produce to market, or, perhaps if the market is overstocked, may induce him to labour for a few hours.

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* One instance has recently occurred in Spanish Town, and two in the workhouse of the parish of St. David.

Under these circumstances no continued labour is to be expected from him. How is the case in Antigua? It is a small island, every acre of which is well known; in which it is said that there exists not a single spring of fresh water, and where the provisions are all imported; where there is no resource but work, with the produce of which the negro goes to market and purchases his daily bread. There the immediate emancipation was a wise measure; but in Jamaica more time is required to prepare the minds of the negroes for freedom.'

Let us see what this argument is worth. In the first place, not a tittle of proof is offered that the negroes, if set free from apprenticeship, would betake themselves to the 'waste and un-'claimed lands of Jamaica.' The fact is assumed without the slightest warrant. Secondly, it is not unreasonable to believe that, if they do not run away from apprenticeship, with its mockery of their hopes—its unpaid labour—its treadmills, and its thousand other horrors, they would not run away from liberty, with its wages, and privileges, and thousand blessings. Thirdly, if there be already a disposition to flee to the woods, to secure exemption from labour and oppression, and they are only restrained by the vigilance of their task masters, and the terrors of the law, that disposition is likely to be fostered and strengthened by the continuance and multiplication of their wrongs through two additional years. Fourthly, the argument, if it proves any thing, proves a great deal too much. If they would run away now, they would run away equally in 1840; and it will be necessary, therefore, to prepare to hedge them about by some new system of vassalage and vagrant laws, to prevent in 1840 what is dreaded in 1838. But admitting the force of the objection, we would ask if the negro is to be kept under a system so rigorous and inhuman as that which we have been contemplating, for no other reason than to secure to his tormentor the benefit of his uncompensated labour? Shall the man, from whose fierceness and fraud the negro waits the opportunity to flee, turn round upon us and say, 'You shall not redeem your pledge to the negro; you shall not have the thing you have paid for; you shall 'not vindicate the honour and sacredness of British law; you 'shall not stay the march of avarice, and lust, and murder; be-'cause I am likely to be inconvenienced?' If there be ought of mercy in British bosoms, or any self-respect remaining with those who have paid twenty millions of money, we shall no longer be prevented from fulfilling the claims of man, and obeying the laws of God, by being told that 'the interests of the planters' demand the continuance of the system. Rather let the cane-piece cease to bloom, and the verdure of the cotton-tree perish, and our country cease its commerce with the western isles, than that we should grind the faces of the poor, and practise daily a system of

antic robbery, and invoke the judgments of Him who hath
l, 'Vengeance is mine: I will repay, saith the Lord!'
If we would nurture the population of the Antilles into free,
opy, and loyal communities, we must adopt another and a better
tem. They must not be kept as nurseries for young noble-
n, or to furnish graves for our brave soldiers, or markets for
ves, or even as countries governed for the special benefit of
rchants and planters to emigrate to, and after growing sud-
nly rich to return from, leaving the active and permanent
abitants stationary in wealth, civilization, and political impor-
ce. We must ally them by affection and respect; by extend-
to them equal rights, and the protection of British law
hteously administered. We must win them, and keep
m, and regenerate them by acts of benevolence and
ty; or we shall not be long without examples of discontent
d rebellion, and successful resistance to our authority; nor
ll it be one colony alone that we shall lose. The lesson prac-
ed in one province will not be thrown away upon others; and
may be doomed to pay the forfeit of our richest and loveliest
pendencies to a heartless and cruel policy.

But we are told, 'In Jamaica *more time is required* to prepare
he minds of the negroes for freedom.' We turn to Lord
igo's book, and we ask if that system can prepare the negroes
freedom, which is fraught only with the seeds of demoraliza-
n and death? Whether that is a state of preparation, in
ich 'the feeling of mutual distrust appears to gain force
ily;'—in which the negro is doomed to hear himself 'cursed,
nd called 'a damned black rascal, on all occasions;'—in which
ll sense of morality and decency is outraged in the persons of
is wife and daughters;'—in which there is a systematic 'endea-
our to diminish the natural and legitimate influence of those
xcellent men the missionaries;'—in which honest and virtuous
en and women are sent to places of confinement and labour,
ere 'scenes of debauchery are of frequent occurrence;'—in
ich 'so large a portion of the black population pass through
hose loathsome receptacles of crime and cruelty, the gaols and
vorkhouses, that the *moral effect* becomes of the highest impor-
ance;'—in which daughters implore in vain permission to dis-
arge the claims of filial affection towards diseased and dying
others;—in which 'young girls of premature age are, on *sus-
icion of indolence*, chained to thieves and prostitutes,' to the
struction 'of any germ of modesty they may possess.' But
e forbear. The interests of humanity and religion, not less
an the dictates of justice, demand the extirpation of a system
hich has for four years legalized, under the name of *apprentice-
ip*, the abominations which were once execrated under the
ue name of *slavery*.

We commend Lord Sligo's pamphlet to the serious examination of all who seek for authentic information on the momentous question which agitates the country, and proceed to notice, very briefly, the Bill of the Colonial Secretary now before the House of Lords. It is not with that bill as a *theory* that we have to do, but as a practical measure, intended for a certain latitude, and for certain parties. In estimating its worth, we must be guided by the experience of the past, and our knowledge of the present character and capabilities of those to whom it is proposed to confide it. It is intended, like many previous measures, to benefit the negro. It is a bill to *amend* the abolition act of 1833—to secure to the apprenticed population of the colonies the liberty, exemptions, allowances, privileges, indulgences, and protection to which they are entitled under the Imperial Act. Where is the proof that the present bill will share a better fate than its predecessors! Is it likely to prove more acceptable to the irritable and contumacious despots of the colonies than former bills? Are its features so bland and captivating, that it is certain to find ready access to the confidence and co-operation of those, who have treated every former measure with insult, opposition, and defiance? Does not the bill itself involve the heaviest charges of criminality and incapacity, against the planters, and against official functionaries? Is it more likely to give satisfaction than the resolutions of Mr. Canning, or the act it seeks to amend, which was recommended to their favourable consideration by twenty millions of money? But we may be told, that the planters are not to be consulted—that the bill will depend for its efficiency, not upon the disposition of the masters and overseers, but upon the wisdom, firmness, and strict impartiality of the governors, and the vigilance, integrity, and independence of the Special Magistrates. Admirable safeguards of the rights and liberties of 800,000 British subjects! The Governors of West India Colonies, with some honourable exceptions, have felt compelled to compound for peace and popularity, by yielding to the wishes of the community around them; and in those instances where governors have, with decision and true British feeling, sought to do their duty, they have been driven home defeated and disgusted. If we have no confidence in the ability of governors to carry into effect palliative measures, neither have we any hope that special justices will be competent to effect such an object. When we look at the general character of these men—at their previous professions, their almost necessary dependence upon the planters, their inevitable partiality, their habitual harshness, their general subserviency, at the constitution of their courts, and the obligation which their brief continuance in office imposes upon them to make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, we tremble for the fate of those who have no better shield from persecution,

and arbitrary power, than the pity and prerogative of the stipendiary justice.

What has been the experience of such of the Special Justices as have made an honest attempt to do their duty? They have been discouraged by the power of men in similar situations; they have looked in vain for the support of the executive; they have found a want of sympathy, and a still greater want of energy, in the Home Government; they have been covered with the slander of a polluted and venal press; they have been called to endure privation, proscription, and insult; the presentments of grand juries, threats of personal injury, expensive actions, removals, suspensions, and dismissals. Is there a better lot in reserve for those who shall undertake to carry the *amendment* act of Lord Glenelg into execution? No. An act of entire freedom would, we believe, be less obnoxious than the bill before Parliament. Should it even go out to the Colonies, the planters will either contrive to render it null and void, by regulations and laws of their own, or bear down by persecution, or win over by bribery, those who are entrusted with its execution. But granting to the magistrates, and umpires, and inspectors the power to save the negro from gross outrage and fraud, is it not obviously beyond the power of the most keen-sighted and upright amongst them, to save the negro from those daily insults and acts of petty injustice, which are amply sufficient to render their victim unutterably miserable? Will not the negro be constantly reminded, that he is still the slave of the vile passions of a man from whose potent dominion it would be a crime to flee, and from whose systematic tyranny their is no appeal? Every hour the eye of heaven would be called to witness ten thousand acts of oppression, unpunished, and unknown on earth save to the perpetrators and the sufferers. One fact will illustrate this. Lord Sligo was, for upwards of twelve months, ignorant of the daily practice of flogging females in the house of correction, at Spanish Town (the seat of the executive government), though the building in which those enormities were committed was within three hundred yards of the Governor's residence. We denounce the bill, not only because we believe it to be utterly impracticable—a mockery of the negroes' hopes—but because it seeks to regulate a system essentially and incurably unjust. The West India system is an outrage upon the rights of mankind; a high-handed violation of all the precepts of Christianity; a gigantic robbery upon the industry of the poor; a wicked denial of the blessings of the British Constitution to unoffending, loyal, and grateful subjects. And shall such a system—all attempts to modify or mitigate which have been worse than useless—shall such a system again be made the subject of experiment? Shall another attempt be made to change the spots

of the leopard, and teach those to do good who have been ever accustomed to do evil? Yet such an attempt is proposed in the bill of Lord Glenelg. He recommends palliatives which can never execute themselves. There is but one measure that can carry with it from this country an executory principle; a measure proclaiming the negro free to change his master; a measure annihilating, at once and for ever, the unrighteous dominion of the white man over the black man. Such a measure is that proposed by Lord Brougham—a measure 'for putting an end to the 'apprenticeship of those who were formerly (we say are still) 'slaves in the British Colonies.' The friends of immediate emancipation must be watchful and determined. They must set their faces like flint against the wretched attempt of the Government, to patch up an unholy and anti-Christian system. They must sanction no more waste of legislation—no trusting of power or discretion to the planter. What is done must be done decisively and irrevocably. Otherwise, three years from this time we may be again summoned to leave our homes and occupations, required to put other great measures in abeyance, to reconstruct again the costly machinery of enlightenment and agitation, to effect that which may be now attained, if there be a judicious and uncompromising employment of the moral agency, placed at the disposal of those who have the conduct of the present movement.

We are aware it is contended by many that we are under a contract to give the West Indians the remaining two years of the apprenticeship; and that to disturb the present arrangement would be to violate a national engagement. This opinion we believe to be founded upon an erroneous view of the nature of the arrangement, and the prerogatives of Parliament. The Act of Abolition was a measure demanded by the nation, under a deep religious conviction of the radical injustice and cruelty of the system of colonial slavery, and it was finally determined, that whatever the loss or inconvenience to be incurred, that system should be utterly abolished. The Legislature, without asking the consent of the master, proceeded to legislate for the freedom of the slave, and decreed that, on the 1st of August, 1834, he should be absolutely and for ever manumitted. Taking, however, the circumstances of all parties into consideration, they resolved to set apart twenty millions, under the name of a compensation fund, to indemnify the owners of slaves for any loss they might sustain, and to apprentice the negro for four or six years, according to his previous occupation, to promote thereby his industry, good conduct, and education. Let it never be forgotten that the entire movement was for the benefit of the negro, and that any sacrifice of wealth on the part of the nation, was a sacrifice *voluntarily* made to promote that object. The Parliament,

whether giving twenty millions to the master, or enacting the apprenticeship for the slave, were contracting with no party. They were proceeding upon certain independent views of expediency, and did what they did of their own accord and sovereign pleasure. How stands the case now? The money paid to the proprietors of slaves, they find was paid under a mistake; for no loss has been sustained, but, on the contrary, great gains realized, as is proved by the effects of freedom in Antigua. They find, also, that the apprenticeship was wholly unnecessary, and that, with great safety, and immediate advantage to all parties, the negroes might have been made free at once. Lastly, they discover that the system, which was intended to promote the good conduct of the negro, has placed him in a condition of aggravated suffering; and that, if they would vindicate the honour of the British nation, and fulfil the hopes, and maintain the rights of the negro, they must proceed to repeal the apprenticeship clause of the act, and abbreviate its duration by two years.

Can it be successfully argued that the power that at first decreed the extinction of slavery, and *made* the apprenticeship, is not fully competent to carry its own decree into fulfilment, or *unmake* that which is found to be equally unjust in principle, needless in policy, and oppressive in operation? But admitting, for a moment, that the Imperial Act is to be viewed in the light of a contract, just in principle, apparently sound in policy, and having a righteous object in view; yet if it be found, on experiment, not to secure its object, but to work out results the very opposite to those designed, it becomes the immediate duty of its originators to pronounce it null and void, and to substitute such other enactments as the justice and necessity of the case require. We, however, take higher ground. We hold it to be the duty of the British Parliament, in the sight of God, to cease at once from the crime of continuing the negro in a state of unnecessary restraint and uncompensated toil, exposed to the fury of unreasonable and wicked men—to deliver, by the power confided to them, the oppressed out of the hands of the spoiler—to be held back by no contracts, written or implied, which contravene the laws of God, and deprive men of their sacred and inalienable rights. We have noticed the supposed argument of a contract, because we have reason to believe it has presented a difficulty to the minds of some who are influenced by the loftiest principles, but were, notwithstanding, entangled in the meshes of West Indian sophistry.

The present aspect of the anti-slavery question is most encouraging. During the last month there has been a rapid advance of public feeling upon the subject. The magnificent speeches of Lord Brougham have been carried into every corner of the kingdom, and have enlightened and stimulated tens of thousands

who were previously ignorant, and therefore indifferent. Petitions in unprecedented numbers have been nightly presented to both Houses of Parliament. The work of conversion has been proceeding both amongst peers and commoners; and many distinguished men, including several right rev. prelates, have declared their conviction of the necessity of terminating the apprenticeship, and their intention to vote and speak in its behalf. The Marquis of Sligo, with a disinterestedness and magnanimity, which have already won for him the admiration of every British abolitionist, and will not fail to secure for him the blessing of the negro, has nobly resolved to declare his apprentices free on the 1st of August next. The island of Montserrat has resolved to do its duty. Both branches of the legislature have unanimously decided in favour of entire freedom on the 1st of August. The news from Barbadoes justifies the hope that that colony will not refuse to follow the example thus honourably presented.

The attendance at the great meetings recently held at Exeter Hall, afforded occular demonstration the most convincing, of the unparalleled interest awakened by the renewed discussion of the question of negro freedom. While we write four hundred anti-slavery delegates, assembled from all parts of the United kingdom are sitting in solemn deliberation at Exeter Hall. They are of one heart, and of one mind; and when they present themselves before the first lord of the Treasury and the chief Colonial Secretary as they will do this day, (the 28th) we trust they will not hesitate to utter the sentiments of the great nation whose awakened humanity and unquenchable hatred of African oppression they are appointed to represent. We are unfeignedly happy to find that the great leaders of the cause in previous struggles, have at last fully united with the parties who have recently been so honourably conspicuous in rousing the country, and bringing matters into their present cheering position. Mr. Buxton and Mr. Macaulay yesterday put their names to a petition for the immediate extinction of the apprenticeship. The venerable Thomas Clarkson has forwarded petitions to both Houses in his individual capacity. Dr. Lushington has visited and inspirited the delegates, and announced his intention of supporting Sir George Strickland's motion. To humbler names, however, belongs the credit of arousing and gathering and directing the omnipotent moral energy of the country. Counselled against agitating for the immediate extinction of the apprenticeship—warned of the total impracticability of their measures—denied the countenance and support of the men standing high in influence and station—their motives not unfrequently arraigned—opposed by the force of those opinions which had been given against them, and which were industriously proclaimed throughout the land—frowned upon by the members of the cabinet, and made the objects of ridicule by time-serving and callous-

hearted politicians, the cry of 'division in the camp,' 'Mr. Buxton is against you,' exciting them at every step, they nevertheless went forth to proclaim aloud the wrongs of the captive, and summon the piety and humanity of their countrymen and countrywomen to the work of undoing the heavy burdens and letting the oppressed go free. Their call was answered. Every where the friends of human rights enrolled themselves under their banners. What money they wanted they obtained. Public meetings never before equalled in numbers, respectability, enthusiasm, and a union of otherwise conflicting parties, were held in every direction. They appealed to the women of Great Britain, and six hundred and thirty thousand stood at the foot of the throne to intercede for mercy to their manacled sisters in the British Colonies. Verily they have their reward. Four short months only have elapsed since the sound went forth, and now these same men sit surrounded by the wise and good of the land—their principles espoused, their plans adopted, and their triumph at hand. We regard the extraordinary effects which have followed the labours of the Central Emancipation Committee and their supporters in the country, as additional proofs of what may be effected by plain and humble men, energetically engaged in a good cause. Though scorned by the proud, forsaken by the timid, chided by the prudent, and reviled by the envious, their success is certain. And whenever that success is achieved, then shall they find themselves surrounded and applauded by those who will embark

> On the smooth surface of a summer's sea
> When gentle zephyrs play with prosperous gales,
> And fortune's favours swell the spreading sails;
> But would forsake the ship and make the shore,
> Should the winds whistle, and the tempests roar.

We await with anxiety the result of the motion to be brought forward by Sir George Strickland. We have heard a rumour that men in high places mean to try their strength with the petitioners for immediate emancipation—to nail their colours to the mast—and stand or fall by their darling bill. Let them beware! One of two destinies awaits them. Should the Queen's ministers despise a nation's prayer, and mock a fettered race, and deprive their royal mistress of the imperishable glory she would acquire by the great act of righteousness and mercy now called for by the noblest and best of her subjects; should they refuse to listen to the dictates of a generous patriotism, and determine upon consulting the wishes and 'interests of the planters,' should they persevere in their scheme of delusion and disappointment and delay, then let them prepare to read their dooms in the frown of an insulted and indignant nation; let them set their house in order, and make ready to

bid 'a long farewell to all their greatness,' and to retire from that power they have so ignobly exercised, disgraced beyond any of their predecessors. Should they however awake to righteousness and though late determine upon granting a full measure of justice to the negro, they may yet regain the confidence they have sacrificed, and establish themselves in the power they have endangered. A few hours will show. Our prayer is that her Majesty's ministers may yield to the importunity of the friends of the oppressed—may place themselves at the head of the present great movement, and ere they gather round England's Queen to see the sceptre of dominion over these and distant isles placed in her hand, afford her an opportunity of doing a great act of national justice. Let them not enthrone her *the Queen of* SLAVES—rather let them enable her, when looking back upon a long reign of peace and prosperity to say, 'When the ear heard me, then it 'blessed me; and when the eye saw me, it gave witness to me: 'because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and 'him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was 'ready to perish came upon me; and I caused the widow's heart to 'sing for joy. I put on righteousness, and it clothed me: my 'judgment was a robe and a diadem.'

Art. IX. *The Record Newspaper:* Dec. 4th, 1837; Feb. 5th, and Feb. 22nd, 1838.*

THE author of a recent article in this Review, on *Athens and the Athenians*, by *Mr. Edward L. Bulwer*, has had his attention called to sundry and successive attacks upon it, in the Record newspaper. These would have long ago been noticed, once for all, had he been aware of their existence; but not taking in, or habitually reading the Record, they remained unknown to him. He further finds, that the Editor of the Patriot most kindly vo-

* The Editor inserts this communication at the request of his respected correspondent. Its admirable spirit contrasts most honourably with the violence, acrimony, and false statements of the Record; while its mildness and courtesy are characteristic both of the gentleman and Christian. It was not the intention of the Editor to take any notice of the attacks on his Journal, made by the invisible conductors of the Record. When controversialists so systematically violate the courtesies of life and the obligations of truth, they are utterly unworthy of notice or reply. The Record has gained for itself an unenviable notoriety in this way. Loud in its professions of religious zeal and fierce in its denunciations of the lukewarmness and heresy of others, it has done more than any other journal of the day to make our holy faith a by-word and reproach among the ungodly. So far as the Eclectic is concerned, nothing is to be feared from its attacks; but alas for the state-church, when its advocates fight with such weapons.

unteered an explanation; for which the very cordial thanks of the assailed party are hereby respectfully tendered.

The facts of the case are simply these. Mr. Bulwer published a moiety of his intended work, and the Reviewer contributed to the Eclectic an article distinctly describing itself as limited to a 'rapid glance at the events prior to the Peloponnesian war,' with an express reservation of those criticisms 'upon the literature and social life of the Athenians,' under which, remarks upon the religious or irreligious tendencies of the entire publication would naturally occur.

The Editor of the Record, on the 22nd of February, declares that the review was *obviously completed* according to the plan and intention of the Reviewer! He even proceeds to assert, that 'it was not till repeated censures had awakened a feeling of shame in the Eclectic, that a promise was given of a continuation of the Review.' Now let any reader refer to the number of the Eclectic in question, and satisfy himself about the matter. Only half the work of Bulwer, it must be remembered, was then out; nor has the other half, so far as the Reviewer knows, even as yet appeared. How can any candid person decide conclusively upon opinions, whether they are religious or irreligious, before in their entirety they are apparent? The Record may do so; but the Eclectic never will!

The article nevertheless animadverted, in a courteous manner, upon symptoms of opinion, such as were disapproved of by its writer;—but which, as must be again observed, he could not publicly condemn *in toto*, until they were *coram judice*. Let any six literary and pious persons, unbiassed by the sectarianism of the Record, go through the article, and ascertain whether the statements now made are fair ones, or otherwise. After a careful perusal, let them report, whether the Record be equally just and candid:—whether that journal has not dovetailed together certain extracts, unfairly detached from their contexts, in order to make the mosaic-work a foundation for its atrocious charges. The last objective is used advisedly by the individual attacked, who is now held up to the Christian public 'as probably himself an unbeliever;' as 'apologizing for a blasphemous impeachment on the words of the Holy Ghost,' and so forth. See the Record, 4th Dec. 1837.

True it is, that the obnoxious Reviewer admires the genius and talents of Mr. Bulwer, as he would the eye of an eagle, or the goodly feathers of a peacock; but any unfriendliness, not to say hostility, towards the religion of Jesus Christ, he abhors, and always intended to denounce, wherever it might occur, when such irreligion should have appeared in a palpable,—proved,—and indictable form. This is affirmed upon the honour of a gentleman,—or as the writer would fain hope, upon the faith of a Christian.

The Reviewer happens to be a warmly attached member of the church of England; holding moreover, although doubtless with much human infirmity, those views of her doctrines and discipline, which, to avoid a periphrasis, are usually denominated evangelical. He wishes indeed to see his church separated from the state; but solely from his believing the connexion between them to be anti-scriptural,—injurious to Christendom at large,—and to the peculiar interests of that church herself. He claims no infallibility for his opinions; but they are conscientiously entertained, after deep deliberation, and much fervent prayer for direction on the subject. He is indeed neither a frequent reader, nor an admirer of the Record,—because he is thoroughly acquainted from circumstances, with the real history of that newspaper; with its extreme exclusiveness, its proved habits of systematic misrepresentation, and the fearful acrimony of its spirit. He knows some of its contributors, and many,—many of its subscribers. He knows, that its professions of holiness are high and loud: what its practice is, let any one, who can count five on his fingers, or peruse its columns, declare;—if they are disposed to do so.

The Reviewer, surely, need not be afraid of the Record: and he *is* not. He courts no man's smile; but he fears no man's frown. Let it not be imagined then, that his present tone and language are the results of trepidation. Without meaning to obtrude his faith or his feelings upon an indulgent public, he would merely forbear any return of 'railing for railing.' Being accused unjustly, he would attempt to explain himself, as he has now done: being reviled, he would bless; being persecuted, he would suffer it; being defamed, he would entreat. There was indeed a time, when his conduct might have been of another kind; when, perhaps, he would have taken the Record, or any other assailant, by the horns, and impaled so defective a reasoner on the broken point of his own argument. But a change, it is to be trusted, has come over his inner man: and without any compromise of attachment to the Episcopal Church, he has left the company of those, who are the reverse of its real friends. Many of them, however, he will never forget to pray for; and some of them he must always honour. But even when the voice is Jacob's voice while the hands are the hands of Esau,—although, like one of old, he may for that party's own sake, *tremble exceedingly*,—he will never render evil for evil, nor be provoked to uncover the nakedness of an enemy. Alas! how easily it might be done: *Haud ignota loquitur!* May the writer, and his assailant, be brought more and more into communion with One, 'whom having not seen we love; in whom, 'though now we see Him not, yet believing, we rejoice 'with joy unspeakable, and full of glory.'

In parting from the Record, an extract shall here be inserted of its recent language towards certain clergymen, and other

members of its own communion, on the fifth of February last. It is as follows:—'That this explicit statement of facts will stop 'the mouths of propagators of falsehoods, we do not believe; but 'we make it, knowing that *lies continually repeated*, presently, if 'uncontradicted, assume the appearance of truth.' Out of its own lips, and from its own pen, have fallen these veritable words; and barring the use of a term or two, banished we had conceived from the intercommunications of gentlemen, these lines may revolve, we fear, like a double-edged sword, against their author, and his friends. They may rest assured finally, that, it is the Reviewer's intention never again to rejoin to the assailing journalist; however submissive may be his apologies, however offensive his violence, or however blighting the mildew of his insinuations. No ebullition of pride or contempt is hereby intended towards any part of the daily, weekly, monthly, or quarterly press. The hint of the Record, that the Eclectic has now a limited circulation, can no longer apply: and the sarcasm drops, therefore, as a *telum imbelle sine ictu*, to be returned with a smile. But the Reviewer has no taste for controversy: if continued, it would infringe upon his engagements, and, perhaps, impair his peace of mind. Henceforward then, so far as he at least is individually concerned, the Editor or Editors of the Record, for it would seem that there is a legion, must magnanimously beat the air! The writer of the article on Bulwer, grievously misrepresented as he has been, hereby gives his adversaries a *carte-blanche* for all transgressions, past, present, and to come. He may still be spoken against, or ridiculed; but he will turn from the reproaches of the creature to the cross of the Saviour; there to learn obedience to the new commandment, and heap coals of fire upon the heads of persecutors and slanderers. He would exclaim with the pious and pensive Cowper,

> 'Since the dear hour, that brought me to thy foot,
> And cut up all my follies by the root,
> I never trusted in an arm but thine,
> Nor hop'd but in thy righteousness divine:—
> Cast at thy glorious feet, mine only plea
> Is what it was, dependence upon Thee:
> While struggling in the vale of tears below,
> That never failed, nor shall it fail me now.'

Art. X. BRIEF NOTICES.

The Poetical Works of Robert Southey, collected by himself. In Ten Volumes. Vol. I. to V. Longman and Co. 1837.

We duly announced the *commencement* of this publication; and we now, as it is half finished, beg to remind our readers of its *progress*,

reserving till its *conclusion* a more extended notice of the whole. The four volumes last published, fully deserve all the praise which we bestowed on the first. They have been edited and got up with the utmost taste and elegance; and, when completed, the work will well deserve a place beside the popular editions of Byron and others.

A History of British Reptiles. By THOMAS BELL, F.R.S., F.L.S., Professor of Zoology in King's College, London. Illustrated by a Wood-cut of each Species, with some of the Varieties, and numerous Vignettes. Part. I. 8vo. London: John Van Voorst. 1838.

Little need be said in recommendation of this work. It is enough to refer the intelligent reader to Professor Bell's History of British Quadrupeds, and to say that his present undertaking is commenced in the same style, and promises an equally successful result. The habits of British Reptiles are but little known; and several species are, in consequence, shunned and destroyed without provocation or offence. 'The elucidation of their habits, the distinctive description of the 'species, their geographical distribution, and the history of the trans-'formation of all the amphibious forms,' are the topics to which Professor Bell's attention will be directed; and we doubt not that his work will constitute a highly important addition to the natural history of our country. The beauty of the typography, and wood-cuts, is in happy keeping with the literary character of the work.

ART. XI. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Just Published.

Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans, with Remarks on the Commentaries of Dr. Macknight, Professor Tholuck, and Professor Moses Stuart. By Robert Haldane, Esq. Vol. II.

Scandinavia, Ancient and Modern; being a History of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway: comprehending a Description of these Countries, &c. By Andrew Chrichton, LL.D., and Henry Wheaton, LL.D. 2 Vols. (Edinburgh Cabinet Library.)

The Beast and his Image; or the Pope and the Council of Trent. With the Number, Name, and Mark of the Pope; and the Mark of his name in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, being a Commentary upon Revelation XIII. By Richard Fysh, A.M.

British Colonization and Coloured Tribes. By S. Bannister, late Attorney-General of New South Wales.

Queen Elizabeth and her Times; a Series of Original Letters, selected from the inedited Private Correspondence of Lord Burghley, the Earl of Leicester, the Secretaries Walsingham and Smith, &c. Edited by Thomas Wright, M.A.

Historical Memoirs of the Queens of England, from the twelfth century. By Hannah Lawrance.

Lectures on Revivals of Religion. By Charles G. Finney.

Lectures, illustrating the Contrast between True Christianity and various other Systems. By W. B. Sprague, D.D.

The Little Sanctuary. A Series of Domestic Prayers, for Morning and Evening, during Four Weeks: to which are added, Offices for Special Occasions. By the Rev. Richard Winter Hamilton.

Lectures on Rhetoric and Criticism, and on Subjects introductory to the Critical Study of the Scriptures. By the Rev. S. Macgill, D.D.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR MAY, 1838.

Art. I. *The Life of Sir Edward Coke, Lord Chief Justice of England in the reign of James the First: with Memoirs of his Contemporaries.* By CUTHBERT WILLIAM JOHNSON, Esq., of Gray's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 2 vols. London: Henry Colburn. 1837.

IN glancing at the biography of our country, from the Reformation to the Revolution, the names of two individuals stand out with remarkable prominence; those of Lord Bacon and Sir Edward Coke. The former indeed in part eclipses the latter; having effected more or less directly such changes in philosophy and science, as to secure veneration in every civilized land. His rival, although neither so great in mind, nor so distinguished in his circumstances, was nevertheless superior to him in virtue, and altogether an extraordinary personage. He will never fail to command a certain degree of attention, whilst our laws and constitution endure; and we may well wonder, that hitherto so little has been known respecting the details of his public and private life. We shall attempt a sketch of both; letting in the lights of contemporary history upon them, as we proceed; and concluding with a very few observations on his works, as well as on the volumes now before us.

Sir Edward Coke was born just about the middle of the sixteenth century, either on the 1st of February, 1551, or late in the previous year, at the seat of his father, who died eleven years after the event; leaving this only son, and seven daughters, surviving him. He had been a gentleman of competent estate, and ancient family; residing in the parish of Mileham, near East Dereham, in the county of Norfolk. His lady was a worthy, wealthy, and well-born woman, named Winifred Knightley.

Sitting by her parlour fire-side, unexpected pains of parturition overtook her; and before she could be carried up stairs, the future Lord Chief Justice of England made his appearance. At ten years old he went to the Grammar school at Norwich, where he continued seven years, before his guardians removed him to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1567. Yet upon the whole, next to nothing is to be gathered respecting him, from his infancy to manhood; except that it does not appear he ever graduated, although remaining at the University through the usual period. In the library at Holkham, 'there are many law authorities contain-'ing his autographs and notes, dated at a very early time of his 'life.' If the evidence be satisfactory, that these have an origin prior to his removal to the metropolis, we may fairly imagine him to have possessed habits of application almost premature. Some of the books thus illustrated are said to be 'of a nature which 'would defy the mental digestion of a modern student.' The flowery fields of Contingent Remainders must indeed in those days have seemed even far less attractive than at present. Our ancestors thought proper to veil their legal wisdom in the barbarisms of a foreign idiom. Fleta, Britton, Hengham, and Littleton, under the hirsute, though venerable garb of black-letter, frowned away all, but the diligent, from any study of law and jurisprudence. Ability and poverty seemed equally necessary to reconcile young men to the Reports of Plowden and Dyer. But as every rule has its exceptions, we find Edward Coke, notwithstanding his ample inheritance, transferring himself at twenty, from the allurements of Alma Mater, to Clifford's Inn, London; and in the ensuing spring of 1572, becoming a student in the Temple. He was admitted to the bar in his twenty-seventh year, much sooner than was then customary; since eight or nine years of probation elapsed in ordinary cases. But the benchers had already noticed him; and he experienced the truth of the inspired proverb, 'That in all labour there is profit.' His practice of getting up at three o'clock in the morning, which is affirmed upon the testimony of a grandson, must have secured him a double life for his pursuits. The courts then seldom sat later than noon; so that the business of a barrister, however burthened with briefs, would still leave sufficient leisure for careful and extended researches. In Trinity Term, 1578, Coke pleaded his maiden cause; and he soon received the appointment of Reader to Lyons Inn,—a situation which he filled with the highest credit. He began to rise in general estimation, enlarging at the same time both his connexions and his property. Pleasure rarely succeeded in tempting him from the thickets and briars of a laborious profession; even after he had improved and engrafted them by his perseverance and industry, so as to metamorphose the wilderness into a vineyard. He was never suspected of the least tendency

to licentious conduct: pride, reserve, love of distinction, and fondness perhaps for money as the means of obtaining it, were rather his striking characteristics. As to his person, great neatness of dress was combined with close economy in his expenses. In fact, his successors have reason to be thankful for his carefulness. The paternal domains widened under his thrifty management. He kept what worldlings call the main chance in view, with a step as steady as time, and an appetite as keen as death: laying house to house, and field to field, after the most admired fashion. Enormous and numerous manors, in Essex and Dorsetshire, were gradually added to the estates of Titleshall Austens and Castle Acre Priory, in his own county. James I. once told him on the purchase of the Priory, that he had already as much land as it was decent in a subject to possess; to which Sir Edward quaintly replied, 'Then, please your Majesty, I will only add 'this one *Acre* more to my property.' Yet had so shrewd and successful a lawyer done nothing else than enable a descendant to found the splendours of Holkham, we question whether Lord Leicester himself would have gloried, as he may now do, in his descent from such an ancestor.

It has been justly remarked, that the thirty years, spent by Coke at the bar, were the happiest of his life. Culminating in fame, he enjoyed daily intercourse with Egerton, Croke, Grimstone, Yelverton, Tanfield, and even his great antagonist Francis Bacon. He could not have been deficient in classical knowledge; whilst in the statute and common law, few if any were his equals. His recorded speeches are replete with erudition; unadorned with beauties of imagination; but evincing close adherence to the facts of the matter in hand. There were no good reporters; not, had there been, would he have found favour in their sight; since neither polished manners, nor humility of demeanour, permitted him to conciliate his inferiors. One feels a little curious to compare the emoluments of the long robe, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with those of a more golden period. Sir Thomas More, who is said to have had a first-rate practice, made only four hundred pounds per annum. Bacon derived six thousand from his office of Attorney General; and Coke seven thousand, including ordinary and extraordinary fees. Salaries were then miserably small; so that the labourer, instead of being deemed worthy of his wages, had no other course left open to the cravings of ambition or covetousness, than to enrich himself with chips and perquisites. Even under James II., at the trial of the Seven Bishops, the highest fees to counsel did not exceed twenty pounds: nor is the gross amount of them, as disbursed on that solemn occasion, announced to have gone beyond two hundred and fifty pounds. Things had been still worse, if we may credit a memorandum of the churchwardens for St. Margaret, West-

minster, in 1476; whereby it appears, that 'one Roger Fylpott, 'a learned counsellor,' was remunerated for his services, with the overwhelming allowance of three shillings and eight pence, besides a groat for his dinner! Taking all the difference of relative values into the comparison, Edward Coke therefore must have been an envied advocate. The court smiled upon his rugged energies. Mammon had taken him by the right hand. He became lecturer to the Temple, a Bencher, Recorder of Norwich, Coventry, and London successively, a Member of Parliament, and Solicitor General,—with marvellous rapidity and facility. The Speakership of the House of Commons, to which he was elected in 1592, placed him in a situation the most delicate imaginable. Between his stern sense of what was due to that assembly and the people, and the awe with which every rank and class, except the puritans, quailed before their Amazonian Queen, would have sorely embarrassed a less experienced mind. He emerged, however, unscathed from the fiery trial. Yelverton, his successor, strove in vain to avoid the invidious honour; and in his singular remonstrance, has drawn without design a personal, as well as an intellectual portraiture of Edward Coke: 'He that 'supplieth this place ought to be a man big and comely,—stately 'and well spoken; his voice great, his courage majestical, his na- 'ture haughty, and his purse plentiful and heavy: but contrarily, 'the stature of my body is small, myself not so well spoken, my 'voice low, my carriage of the common fashion, my nature soft 'and bashful, my purse thin, light, and never yet plentiful.' Yet Yelverton turned out a capital Speaker; while Coke, being appointed Attorney General, a post involving at that time real and close attendance upon the House of Lords, instead of the nominal summons now deemed sufficient, mounted the ladder of opulence and society, with less consideration and more arrogance, than might have been expected from his wisdom and learning.

His first marriage, in 1582, to the young, discreet, and beautiful Bridget Paston, whose lovely picture by Casati, representing her seated at a table with a flower in her hand, adorns the yellow dressing-room at Holkham, enriched him with a large share of domestic happiness, very valuable connexions, a fortune of thirty thousand pounds, a noble family of children, and the possession of Huntingfield Hall, in Suffolk. This fine old mansion no longer exists; but great was its notoriety under the Tudors. The late rector of Onehouse, in that county, describes it with the zest of an accomplished antiquary; and sets before our eyes, as in an old engraving, the habitation of the jurisconsult:

'The Queen's Oak, at Huntingfield, is situated in a park of the Lord Hunsdon, about two bow-shots distant from the old mansion house of Huntingfield Hall, where Elizabeth is said to have been en-

tertained by this nobleman, and to have enjoyed the pleasures of the chase, in a kind of rural majesty. The approach to the hall was by a bridge over an arm of the river Blythe, and if I remember rightly, through three square courts. A gallery was continued the whole length of the building, which, opening with a balcony over the porch, gave an air of grandeur, with some variety to the front. The great hall was built round six massy oaks! which originally supported the roof, *as they grew.* Upon these, the foresters, and yeomen of the guard, used to hang their nets, cross-bows, hunting-poles, saddles, calivers, and belts. The roots of them had been long decayed when I visited this romantic building; and the shafts, sawn off at the bottom, were supported either by irregular logs of wood driven under them, or by masonry. Part of the long gallery, where the queen and her attendants used to divert themselves, was converted into an immense cheese-chamber; and upon my first looking into it in the dusk of a summer's evening, when a number of those huge circular things were scattered on the floor, it struck me, that the maids of honour had just slipt off their fardingales to prepare for a general romping. The oak is still standing,—a most magnificent relic. The trunk, a mere shell, is about thirty-three feet in circumference, and still supporting branches widely extended in all directions, clothed in beautiful foliage.' —Vol. I., pp. 121, 122.

It was here, that for seventeen years Sir Edward Coke retired for recreation; or for deeper studies, than the bustle of a metropolis allowed him opportunities to enjoy. His first lady died in 1598. He affectionately mentions her in his private journal, as 'a most beloved and most excellent wife, who lived well and 'happily, and fell asleep as a true hand-maid of the Lord, with 'whom she went to live and reign in heaven.' Her surviving children were ten in number, and perhaps seemed so many reasons for not wasting any protracted interval in attempts to supply her place. Lord Burleigh had always been his patron; and the grand-daughter of that minister, Lady Elizabeth Hatton, the youthful and opulent widow of Sir William Hatton, became the immediate object of his ambition. By a singular coincidence, there appeared no less a rival in the field of love, as well as of fame, than his constant antagonist, Francis Bacon. The Cecils supported Coke; and the powerful Lord Essex, Bacon. Heiresses or rich widows were considered then, as now, legitimate game for knaves, fortune-hunters, and nobles. Coke bore away the prize, as he triumphantly imagined: although the loser, in the end, found by far the best grounds for congratulation. No nuptials could have proved more unfortunate. The bridegroom, in his forty-ninth year, with all the formal habits of his profession, had bound himself for life, to a haughty and ill-tempered woman, as athirst for distinction as himself, and very clever into the bargain. She was moreover one of the court beauties; herself barely of

age, on laying aside the weeds of widowhood. The delight of her whole soul consisted in festivals, plays, masques, and every variety of revelry; whilst her new partner gave but few large entertainments, took no pleasure in festivities, studied hard and unceasingly, went to bed with the sun, and rose at three o'clock in the morning. Their connubial infelicity may be conceived from a humorous accident, which occurred some time afterwards. During the trials, before the Lord Chief Justice, of the Somerset murderers, it came out in evidence, that one Foreman, a conjurer of Lambeth, was frequently consulted by ladies and other females, to inform them, whether they should bury their present husbands, and who would be their successors. Before the gipsey, however, would tell any thing, he extorted their autograph signatures in what he termed his Alphabetical Book; which, falling into the hands of the prosecutors, was produced in court. Coke gruffly ordered it to be read aloud; when to the rich amusement of the audience, on the very first leaf, his lordship's ears were greeted with the name of his own gentle spouse, amidst sensations more difficult to describe than easy to imagine. In the manor of Corfe Castle, the mansion and estate of Stoke Pogis, in Buckinghamshire, and Hatton House, in Holborne, he acquired a life interest by this second marriage; and within eight years after its occurrence, he became Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; whence he was advanced to the King's Bench, in 1613, by James I.

Yet two or three circumstances should be previously noticed, before we contemplate his conduct on the bench; both as illustrating the state of society, and as bearing upon his own history. Oddly enough, although he then filled one of the highest law-offices under the crown, he nevertheless permitted his union with Lady Elizabeth to be illegally solemnized. Whitgift at that time wielded the crozier of Canterbury, a severe and narrow-minded churchman, who is supposed to have been Master of Trinity, when Coke was a member of that college at Cambridge. A comparison of dates demonstrates this to have been improbable; but true it is, that on the queen appointing the latter to his post of Attorney General, the prelate presented him with a Greek Testament, accompanying it with the fatherly admonition, 'that he 'had studied the laws of man in sufficient measure, and that 'henceforth, he would have him study the laws of God.' Nearly equivalent, however, to these, in the Archbishop's estimation, were the laws of the Church of England: as whose metropolitan, he had just issued a Declaration, that all persons offending against the canons, by marrying otherwise than by banns or license, or infringing their enactments as to form, time, or place, should be prosecuted with the utmost diligence. The Attorney General had either failed to remember the ecclesiastical ordinances, or

counted upon his rank and connexions for an exemption. The result showed, that he had reckoned without his host. Coke and Lady Hatton had plighted their sacred vows in a private house, without either banns or license; and Whitgift lost not a moment in citing them before his tribunal. Few things manifest more strongly the fearful manner, in which minds of pride and mettle then trembled before lawn-sleeves and a mitre. Through their proxies, the high contracting parties, together with the officiating clergyman, and all others present at the ceremonial, prostrated themselves in abject and respectful submission, for the mercy of the Protestant Hildebrand; too happy to have thereby escaped the greater excommunication. It had not long been settled, when the trials of Lords Essex and Southampton, for high treason in Westminster Hall, exhibited the melancholy fact, that if Coke had been recently trampled upon himself, he knew also how to trample in his turn. Yet it should never be forgotten, that throughout the reigns of the Tudors and Stuarts, there existed not a court in the realm, which was not rather a den of infamy, than a seat of justice. Tenderness towards a prisoner seemed as unknown as delicacy of carriage in common life. Jurisprudence and equity, in practice if not in theory, were exactly personified in the sovereign virago, whom the Cecils and Pophams, the lawyers, bishops, warriors, statesmen, poets, and courtiers, unanimously flattered, inflamed, and worshipped. Coke had no bowels, as a counsel, whatever sternness of integrity he might subsequently develope as a judge. Pleading for the crown, in February, 1600, before the House of Lords, we are disgusted and sickened with such adulation as the following: 'Although I can-'not speak without reverend commendations of her majesty's 'most honourable justice, yet I think her overmuch clemency to 'some persons turneth to overmuch cruelty for herself; for, al-'though the rebellious attempts made lately were so exceeding 'heinous, yet out of her princely mercy, no man was *racked, tor-'tured, or pressed to speak* any thing further than of their own 'accord and willing minds, so that to see the mercy of God, that 'will have the truth known, is admirable beyond the conceit of 'man's capacity!' Well might such favours, as not to be agonized upon suspicion through the boots or thumb-screw, have roused the patriots and puritans! Coke and Bacon were on the same side in this affair of Essex, which, though not creditable to either, was the extreme of infamy to Bacon. The future author of the Novum Organum had experienced unparalleled patronage from that unfortunate leader, whom he now pursued to the death. Little could the gallant suitor of Elizabeth have conceived, when he was stretching an influence with his mistress in its very nature so precarious, that the idol of his admiring efforts would be an adder in the path, biting the horse's heels, so that his rider should

fall backward. As to all that constitutes honesty of character, there can exist scarcely a comparison between the jurisconsult and the philosopher. Each of them indeed prowled about the palaces of the powerful, like a cat creeping over the tiles from a lower roof to a higher one: yet so did every courtier of their acquaintance. Royal favour was literally to them the breath of their nostrils; as a notorious bishop once avowed to king James. The latter prince, on succeeding his kinswoman, was suffocated with the fumes of his reception. The following is an extract from one of his own speeches to the two Houses of Parliament: 'Shall it ever be blotted out of my mind, how at my first entry 'into this my kingdom, the people of all sorts, rid and ran, nay, 'rather flew to meet me? Their eyes flaming nothing but 'sparkles of affection; their mouths and tongues uttering nothing 'but sounds of joy; their hands, feet, and all the rest of their 'members, in their gestures discovering a passionate longing and 'earnestness to meet and embrace their new sovereign!' We have no reason for imagining that the Attorney-General loitered in the political scramble. He was allowed to retain his office, with the additional dignity of Knighthood; which the monarch conferred upon him at Greenwich. This quickened the tide of his outrageous loyalty; as became disgracefully manifest, when in the next November, he had to conduct the case against Sir Walter Raleigh. His display of brutalism on the occasion must be familiar to every reader. He appeared to much greater advantage in the Gunpowder Plot; shortly after which he was appointed Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas.

Here we enter upon that chapter of his biography which exhibits him among the illustrious of the earth. In days when Chancellors defiled their hands with bribes, his worth and integrity remained almost alone unsullied. He struggled manfully, and not always unsuccessfully, with the crown itself, at whose arbitrary will he held the scales of justice. He had resolved that their impartiality should be maintained; and he unerringly kept his resolution. No suitor could complain of delay, or deflection from righteousness, in his decisions. He heard—weighed—and gave judgment. His charges to juries, tedious, and overladen with legal lore, as well as encrusted with the inaccuracies of reporters, are nevertheless full of good sense and patriotism. The present of Archbishop Whitgift had not been forgotten. Infirmities of temper form the staple of the few whining accusations brought against him by his bitterest adversaries. Upon his promotion to the Pleas, Sir Henry Hobart succeeded him as Attorney; while the gifted Bacon became Solicitor General. Sir Edward, as might be imagined, had always withstood his rival's advancement; and even once addressed him in open court with this astounding objurgation: 'Sir, if you have any tooth against

'me, pluck it out; for it will do you more hurt than all the teeth 'in your head will do you good!' It was from the same bitter fountain, no doubt, that queen Elizabeth derived her opinion communicated to Lord Essex, that his client 'had a great wit, 'and an excellent gift of speech, and much other good learning; 'but in law, she rather thought, he could make show to the utter-'most of his knowledge, than that he was really deep.' Of course, hostilities waxed warmer than ever, between the Chief Justice and the Solicitor, under such circumstances. The one could admire, and sometimes did so, the inflexible uprightness of the other, which unhappily he failed to imitate; whilst as to genius, the father of our common law was like an owl with the eagle, by the side of the restorer of science. His substantial fame may fairly repose upon his possessing a monopoly of honesty amidst a generation of hypocrites and scoundrels. Had Diogenes entered England, with his lantern, there were weary years when he must have gone down to Westminster for the object of his search. The finger of the Cynic would have pointed to a stern and frowning dispenser of the laws, robed in scarlet and ermine, with thoughtful features and an elevated forehead, mingling some terror with many dignified adjudications, after the manner of Minos or Rhadamanthus:

> Ενθ' ητοι Μινωα ιδον Διος αγλαον υιον
> Χρυσεον σκηπτρον εχοντα, θεμιστευοντα νεκυεσσιν
> Ημενον-οι δε μιν αμφι δικας ειροντο ανακτα
> Ημενοι, εσταοτες τε, κατ' ευρυπολες Αϊδος δω!

James had clearly no discernment into character, or he would never have employed, and much less elevated to the Bench, a lawyer, who scrupled not to serve the prerogative of the Lord's Anointed, as Buchanan, in earlier days, had every now and then served his person. When the autocratic pedant expected him to bow down to the golden image, as well as others, it turned out that he had mistaken his man. In the instance of Marmaduke Langdale, the lords of the council had called the judges before them to answer for their conduct. Coke nobly, yet respectfully expostulated. Again; it had been the custom of the crown to consult the justices in all the courts, as to causes which were afterwards to be submitted to them. Coke, abhorring what he termed 'an auricular taking of opinions,' forthwith opposed and denounced the practice, as being not more disgraceful than it was illegal. Tests, however, of his integrity, still more decisive, were yet to be given. On the 20th of September, 1610, he was questioned, as to the authority that might be claimed by the monarch for his innumerable proclamations; whether, in fact, they should have equal force of law with Acts of Parliament. Lord

Chancellor Ellesmere enjoined him to uphold what his Majesty desired, and 'wherever there was no precedent, to leave it to the 'king, to order it according to his wisdom, and the good of his 'subjects; for otherwise the king of these kingdoms would be no 'better off than a Doge of Venice:' to which Sir Edward thus magnanimously replied: 'I answered, that where authority and 'precedent are wanting, there is need of great consideration, be-'fore any thing of novelty be established; and to provide that 'this be not against the law of the land: for,' I said, 'the king 'cannot change any part of the common law, nor create any 'offence by his proclamation, which was not an offence before, '*without Parliament:* and that an indictment includes offences '*contra leges et statuta;* but that I never heard of one concluding '*contra regiam proclamationem!*' This was surely, for that time of day, the severity of wisdom, and plain dealing. Nor should it be forgotten, when freedom walks abroad, as it now does in silver slippers, that words, such as these, were spoken in the very mouth of the lion. Another example of his legal patriotism should here be mentioned. The High Commission was an arbitrary conclave, whose decrees soared far superior to any revision whatsoever, and were daily multiplying against the liberties and properties of the people. None either peeped, or muttered, or moved a wing, in high places, towards abolishing or even resisting so enormous a grievance. The new judge alone expressed his jealousy of it from the commencement of his judicial duties. He saw, that it more and more infringed upon the right of the subject to a trial by his equals; and therefore, when nominated with his learned brethren amongst the High Commissioners, he refused at once to sit, and exhorted others to do the same. Gall and wormwood would have been about as agreeable both to church and state, as this sort of uncompromising intrepidity. Archbishop Abbott, who had succeeded Whitgift, delivered an oration in vain, 'on the care and providence of the sovereign,' desirous as he was, according to his grace, *to proceed summarily* against the schisms, factions, and blasphemies, each day augmenting in abundance. The Chief Justice only answered by his deeds. Sir William Chancey had been committed by the ecclesiastical commission for sundry transgressions; and was brought up at the bar of the Common Pleas, by writ of habeas corpus. Lord Coke and his colleagues set him at large on bail, until the next term; when a conference took place between the high commissioners and the twelve judges. James, backed by his bishops, moved heaven and earth in the business; not less to demolish the effect of Coke's sound exposition of his own views, than to frighten down all these combinations amongst the sages of the law against his arbitrary proceedings. Menaces, for once, seemed insufficient for their purpose; a circumstance altogether due to the firmness and tact

of the leading judge. Secret consultations, besides summonses before the Privy Council, all terminated in storm and vapour. James ultimately felt compelled to declare and promise, that he would 'reform the high commission in divers points and particulars; and reduce it to certain spiritual causes.' True it is, that like earlier and later professions, the pledge of the crown proved as hollow as a cracked bell: yet it is equally true, that a vigorous stand was thus made and supported by Coke, which had no adequate parallel, until the memorable non-payment by Hampden of twenty shillings for ship-money. We may imagine the flutter and agitation, produced among the reverend dignitaries of mother church, through the invasion of their rookeries, by the audacious obstinacy of the judges. Loud and prodigious was the clamour. The lord treasurer said, 'that the principal feathers had been 'plucked from the high commissioners, and that nothing but 'stumps remained:' just as in our own times, whenever clerical pretensions have been checked,—or the circle enlarged, within which Christians of all denominations may expatiate and enjoy themselves, the cry of 'the Temple of the Lord—the Temple of 'the Lord,' is immediately raised; while the wailings of bigotry reverberate from Exeter to Durham, through the heart-strings of every dean, archdeacon, and prebendary, in the United Kingdom!

In 1613, a vacancy having occurred in the Chief Justiceship of the King's Bench, Sir Edward Coke was promoted to fill it, on the 25th of October; and on the 4th of the following November, he was also sworn in as a Privy Councillor. Bacon at first opposed, and afterwards favoured this elevation; which moreover raised himself a step in the scale of legal honours. His reasons for both courses of conduct were supremely mean and selfish. He thought, that by acting out the old parable of the sun and the wind, his stiff-necked competitor might be induced to surrender his resolution; or in other words, that his inconvenient patriotism would thaw under the beams of royal favour. The great office too, although higher in rank, afforded less emolument to the holder, than its correspondent place in the court of Common Pleas; which, as Bacon observed to the king, might serve as 'a 'kind of discipline to him for withstanding his majesty's causes; 'example whereof would contain others in more awe!' And as if this were not enough, in the way of uncovering his own nakedness and shame, Sir Francis thus proceeds in his memorial on the subject; one word being for his master and two for himself: 'The late Attorney General Hobart,' says he, 'sorteth not so 'well with his present situation, being a man timid and scrupulous 'both in parliament and other business; and in fact, one that was 'made for the bent of the late Lord Treasurer, which was to do 'little with much formality and protestation; whereas, the now

'Solicitor General,' (that is *myself*,) 'going more roundly to 'work, and being of a quicker and more earnest temper, and 'more effected in that he dealeth in, is like to recover that 'strength to the king's prerogative, which it hath had in times 'past, and *which is due to it!*' We again call upon the reader, in considering the characters of Coke and his gifted antagonist, to look on this picture,—and to look on that. Without quoting the trite antithesis of Alexander Pope, it may be averred, that had Sir Edward held the pen on this occasion, posterity would have scouted the supposed defamation. Alas! alas! for the weakness of mere unconsecrated intellectualism, in purifying the heart, or overcoming the world. At the bar, Coke was a bully, like his fellows. On the bench he had cast his old skin; and though still stern and domineering, held fast his integrity in the face of deposition and death. It has been well observed, that his offences, if they were not rather virtues, were committed against the high and mighty of the land,—against those who had made him Lord Chief Justice of England, and who had the power also to unmake him at any time. The groans of the oppressed, the sighs of the orphan, or the tears of the widow, formed no part of the requiem which consigned his name to an honourable record amongst the worthies of his country. It is pretty plain also, that his recent advancement was not agreeable to him, since it rendered his position more marked in opposing the prerogative. Lord Bacon, in his apothegms, tells an anecdote, implying that he had penetrated into the motives of those who had been foremost managers in the affair: 'After a few days, the Lord Coke, 'meeting me the Attorney, said, 'This is all your doing; it is 'you that have made this stir.' I answered, 'Ah! my lord, 'your lordship all this while hath grown in breadth; you must 'needs now grow in height, or else you would be a monster!'

He was hardly warm in his new seat, when in the case of Peacham, he encountered the thickest of the fight against the encroachments of the crown. Edmund Peacham was a clergyman in Somersetshire. A sermon had been discovered amongst his papers, never intended to be preached, but containing expressions, construed by the spies and agents of the court into no less a crime than that of high treason. The writer was arrested,—thrown into a dungeon in the Tower,—and there subjected to the torture; in order that sufficient evidence from his own confessions, thus procured, might be gathered up against him. Upwards of sixty years old, he yet found no mercy, on the score either of his physical infirmities, or reverend character. Twelve villanous interrogatories were drawn up by Bacon, respecting which the prisoner was examined on the rack, for the purpose just mentioned: and what flesh and blood could escape a snare contrived by so acute a mind? To the copy of these arbitrary

questions there is appended, in the hand-writing of Secretary Winwood, the result of the horrible transaction, described in a style suitably laconic and official perhaps, but diabolically appalling: 'The culprit was examined upon the interrogatories, this 'day, before torture—in torture—between torture—and after tor-'ture! Notwithstanding nothing could be drawn from him, he 'still persisting in his obstinate and insensible denials, and former 'answers.' To this paper, dated 19th of January, 1614, are annexed the signatures of Bacon, Winwood, Montague, Yelverton, and four others. The unfortunate sufferer remained in London eighteen months longer, and was then sent down for trial at the July Taunton Assizes. He had, however, again been submitted to the torture in the presence of Bacon and his fellow-inquisitors; although with no better success than before. Sir Francis thus addressed the king: 'Your majesty will perceive, 'that this miscreant wretch yet goeth back, and denieth his hand, 'and all.' Verily the heart of the politician-philosopher must have been harder than the nether mill-stone: but the grand point had all along been his attempt to tamper with the judges. The whole prosecution he knew to be both an infamous and weak one *ab initio usque in finem*: yet the honour of the crown, he conceived, ought to be saved harmless at any rate. Therefore it was, that he had undertaken to ascertain the probabilities of a conviction beforehand. Coke was of course the grand impediment in the way. His wily rival waited on him twice, flattered his pride, plied him with the most plausible arguments, ably insinuated the proper plan to be pursued, waited in vain for some encouraging answers,—and yet had to depart without accomplishing his purpose. The Lord Chief Justice loved himself; but he loathed iniquity. He continued coldly civil throughout these interviews; penned several notes of what occurred; and at length promised his opinion or rejoinder in writing. It proved far wide of what the ingenious Attorney-General had hoped for. Lord Coke indeed remained alone in his glory: his colleagues forsook him without an exception; for James composed and transmitted them a lengthy paper of his own veritable composition, in which he pressed poor Peacham, on behalf of his accursed prerogative, with all the zeal of an Old Bailey advocate. He termed his suffering subject, as yet be it remembered untried, 'an infamous 'delinquent, who kept his treasonable papers in an open house 'and *lidless* casket;' so that the very air might get polluted with 'the ghost and shadow of his venom;' concluding with this flash of lightning, for the especial benefit of their lordships the judges,—that if they caring more for the safety of such a prodigy of guiltiness 'than the preservation of a crown in all ages fol-'lowing, whereupon depended the lives of many millions, happy 'then were all desperate and seditious knaves, but the fortune of

'the crown was more than miserable:—Quod Deus avertat!' It need scarcely be added that the prisoner could have no chance at Taunton. He defended himself, according to the testimony of an eye-witness, 'very simply, yet with sufficient pertinacity, and 'even doggedness.' The verdict went against him on the entire charge; and he received sentence after the customary form. Such nevertheless had been the effect produced by the notorious opinion, and honest conduct of Lord Coke, that the court paused, before proceeding to execution. Meanwhile, Peacham died in confinement, leaving behind him, as memorialists tell us, 'a most wicked 'and desperate writing, worse than that he was convicted for.' The Chief Justice had clearly come off conqueror; although to his own cost; for the Stuarts never forgave him.

In 1614, he was elected High Steward of the University of Cambridge. About the same time, he contributed two thousand pounds towards a Benevolence, against the legality of which he is said at first to have delivered a strong opinion; which he afterwards retracted. Its name was a gross misnomer; yet in the twelfth book of his Reports, he adheres openly and manfully to what he considers to have been the law on the subject. His liberality must have appeared at a very seasonable juncture; for the other judges were more tender of their own purses, than careful to preserve faithfully the guardianship of popular privileges. They paid their shares with so ill a grace, that as compared with their flexibility in weightier matters, the king could not help expressing his dissatisfaction. Indeed James might have pleaded the proverb of Franklin, that 'it was hard to make an empty 'bag stand upright.' His necessities and follies mutually reacted upon each other. Had not a dastardly spirit cowed the strength and senses of society, the Revolution might have been easily anticipated. Not that idolaters of mammon and monarchy were weeded out of the land; but their harvest-moon had waned away with the last of the Tudors. Puritanism also had plentifully sown its seed; to ripen in the fulness of time: and notwithstanding a few mistakes amongst its labourers, how many prosperous millions of their descendants are reaping the fruits of their toil. The sovereign, moreover, appears to us by no means below the average standard of morals amongst the upper classes of his subjects. Abominations every where abounded. 'His court,' says Hallam, upon excellent authority, 'was incomparably the most disgraceful 'scene of profligacy which this country has ever witnessed; equal 'to that of Charles the Second, in the laxity of female virtue, 'without any sort of parallel in some other respects. Gross 'drunkenness is imputed even to some of the ladies who acted 'in the royal pageants.' * The same author observes, that

* Const. Hist. Eng. Vol. i., chap. vi., p. 452.

rly Reviewers, to which we may add high churchmen, bsolutely enamoured with this age and its manners, made prodigality and licentiousness. Where in the pages of history is there a fouler story, than the murder of Sir s Overbury, in all its ramifications of the blackness of ss, even as yet unexplored, or at least unexplained? Not s before the grand Apocalypse of all things will it be , whether Lord Somerset's secret involved the participa- a father in poisoning his own son! Certain alone it is, mes exhausted every expedient of his darling state-craft to pe in clouds of mystery that which, on the hypothesis of fect innocence, it was no less his wisdom than his interest e cleared up. The Chief Justice let fall several strange sions; nor did he spare the earl and countess,—the princi- this infamous conspiracy. Roger Coke, his grandson, some curious particulars as to the arrest of the royal te:

e king at that time was gone to hunt at Royston, and Somerset im—when Sir Ralph Winwood came, and acquainted the king hat he had discovered about the murder. The king was sur- herewith, and posted away a messenger to Sir Edward Coke, to end the earl. Sir Edward lay then at the Temple, and mea- ut his time at regular hours, two whereof were to go to bed at clock, and rise again at three. At this time, Sir Edward's son, ne others, were in his lodgings, but not in bed, when the mes- , about one in the morning, knocked at the door, when the son d knew him: says he, 'I come from the king, and must imme- speak with your father.' He answered, 'If you come from gs, you shall not; for I know my father's disposition to be such, he be disturbed in his sleep, he will not be fit for any business; you will do as we do, you shall be welcome, and about two ience, my father will rise, and you may then do as you please,' h he assented.

three, Sir Edward Coke rang a little bell, to give notice to his to come to him; and then the messenger went to him, and im the king's letter, and Sir Edward immediately made a war- apprehend Somerset, and sent to the king, that he would wait im that day. The messenger went back post to Royston, and there about ten o'clock in the morning; the king had a loath- ay of lolling his arms about his favourite's necks, and kissing and in this posture the messenger found the king with Somer- ring, 'When shall I see thee again?' Somerset then designing ndon—when he was arrested by Sir Edward Coke's warrant! set exclaimed that never was such an affront offered to a peer of d in the presence of the king. 'Nay, man,' said the king, 'if end for me, I must go;'—and when he was gone, 'Now the go with thee,' said the king, 'for I will never see thy face

'About three in the afternoon, the Chief Justice came to Royston, and so soon as he had seen the king, the king told him, that he was acquainted with the most wicked murder, by Somerset and his wife, upon Sir Thomas Overbury, that ever was perpetrated, and that they had made him a pimp to carry on their lewdness and *murder*, and therefore commanded the Chief Justice, with all the scrutiny possible, to search into the bottom of the conspiracy, and to spare no man how great soever, concluding, 'God's curse be upon you and yours if you spare any of them, and God's curse be upon me and mine if I pardon any of them.'—ib., pp. 264—266.

Yet he did pardon both Lord and Lady Somerset; and the reader must decide how far his execration on himself was realized in the shape of even temporal retribution. That these right honourable wretches were in possession of some secret, which James dreaded they might divulge, is apparent. Every endeavour was used to induce them to plead guilty; and every assurance was offered them, that their lives should be spared, if they would thus comply with the royal wish, and avoid the chance of an exposure. The king was full of anxiety, until the trial was over. Somerset was repeatedly warned *not to accuse or taxe* the sovereign. In a memorial of Lord Bacon on the subject are the following suggestions, which betray fearful apprehensions: 'It 'were good, after Somerset is come into the Hall, so that he may 'perceive he must go to trial, and shall be retired into the place 'appointed till the court call for him; that then the lieutenant 'shall tell him roundly, that if in his speeches he shall tax the 'king, that the justice of England is, that he shall be taken away, 'and that the evidence shall go on without him; and then all the 'people will cry, *Away with him;* and then it shall not be in the 'king's will to save his life, the people will be so set on fire.' Coke was heard to say that he had not taken less than three hundred examinations in this business. A few brief extracts from his address, when passing sentence upon Hollis, Wentworth, and Lumsden, in the Star-chamber, will give some idea of his manner on such occasions.

'He would say of his dealings in the matter, as Abimelech said of himself, Thou knowest, Lord, what I have done in simplicity of heart and cleanness of hands, and therefore I would boldly affirm that there were none brought into question of this great business of poison, but such as in his own soul and conscience were apparently guilty. *Afflictio dat intellectum:* let your affliction now give you sense, and a feeling of your sins; your service of a pander is to be shown you by a letter under my lord of Somerset's own hand; and your answer to it. Let it then enter your heart and soul, to assure yourself that there is now no safety, protection, or assurance, but under a religious faith in Jesus Christ; and that *Radix justitiæ est pietas*—the foundation

and root of justice (or rather righteousness) is piety. I confess I had a great suspicion, out of whose quiver the murder came first; but because I had no certain proofs, I would never question them.'

ib., pp. 274–277.

'Peradventure, Sir John Hollis thinks, as some have thought, all this business is but a conspiracy against the Earl of Somerset. He saith he hath been, since the death of Prince Henry, like a fish out of the water. I know not what he means. I have heard that, *Clericus in oppido, tanquam piscis in arido*, a clerk in the town is like a fish upon dry land. He is a justice of the peace, a commissioner of oyer and terminer, a man of fair hands,* fifteen hundred per annum at the least. This money is enough to be a Privy Councillor; and yet Sir John is like a fish out of the water. I know he hath travelled many countries, speaks many languages, hath seen many customs, and knows much of foreign nations; yet a little knowledge of the common law of this land would have been better for him than all these; it would have kept him from asking questions, and counselling in scandal of religion and justice, two of the main pillars of the kingdom,—and that too in cold blood.

'Evidence is above eloquence: the party lately executed, himself acknowledged that he died justly: and those that saw him, say, he died penitently.

'To conclude; as it was said of Rome, *Et quæ tanta fuit Romam tibi causa videndi;* I might now very well say of the going of Sir John Hollis to Tyburn, with a little alteration of the words, *Et quæ tanta fuit Tyburn tibi causa videndi.*'—ib., pp. 279, 280.

While these State trials proceeded, the health of Egerton, Lord Ellesmere, declined rapidly; and Bacon lost not a moment in endeavouring to secure for himself, to the exclusion of Coke, the splendid preferment which would soon become vacant. Let the reader hear him canting to the king on the 12th of February, 1615: 'Your worthy Chancellor, *I fear*, goeth his last day. God 'hath hitherto used to weed out such servants as grow not fit for 'your majesty; but now he hath gathered to himself one of the 'choicer plants, a true *sage* or *salvia*, out of the garden; but 'your majesty's service must not be mortal!' He then ventured to advise, with all humility, that none of the judges should succeed to the office, and least of all, 'my Lord Chief Justice of the 'King's Bench, who, if appointed, would prove an overruling 'nature in an overruling place; besides, that *popular men were* '*no sure mounters for his majesty's saddle.*' He further suggested, that the chancellorship would as admirably suit himself, the Attorney General, as he the Attorney General would suit the chancellorship:—and the next year, he succeeded accordingly.

* Query—lands?

We feel obliged to pass over the celebrated dispute between the Courts of King's Bench and Chancery, touching the superior jurisdiction claimed over the former by the latter, even to the reversal of its judgments; in which, although Coke displayed profound knowledge of the constitution, as well as the most consummate ability, he proved finally unsuccessful. But the grand case of Commendams, which occurred almost immediately afterwards, displayed all his wonted honesty in contesting the mere mandates of despotism. It arose out of an argument raised by Serjeant Chibborn in the Common Pleas, wherein he maintained that the translations of prelates had no sanction in law; whilst with regard to the Commendams, or permissions from the crown to retain more sees than one, the crown had no power to grant them. Such bold assertions found a bird of the air, to carry the matter, in one Doctor Bilson, Bishop of Winchester; who first poured into the lengthy and astounded ears of James these blasphemous assaults upon his prerogative. Full of fury, he transmitted, through the Attorney General, his pleasure to the judges, that they should not proceed to hear the arguments on the subject, until they had previously consulted his majesty. A day, however, had been already appointed: and Lord Coke resolved to pay no attention whatever to the royal message, before the full determination of the affair by himself and his colleagues. He then drew up a loyal remonstrance in their joint names; in which, alluding to what had happened, as also to a letter respecting it from Bacon, he thus delivers himself: 'We hold it therefore our duty to inform your majesty, that our oath is in these express words: that in case any letter come unto us contrary to law, that we do nothing by such letters, but certify your majesty thereof, and go forth to do the law, notwithstanding the same letters. We have advisedly considered of the messages, and said letter of the Attorney General, and with one consent do hold the same to be contrary to law, and such as we could not yield to by our oaths; assuredly persuading ourselves that your majesty being truly informed, that it standeth not with your royal and just pleasure, that we should give way to them.' All remained firm, for a short time, to this magnanimous and yet temperate address, through the exertions of their leader. It received the signatures of the three Chief Justices and the nine puisne judges. But how was an Ethiopian to change his colour, or the leopard his spots? James rejoined, like a thorough tyrant: and on his return to London, summoned the twelve remonstrants before him. He told them that their recent memorial to him was 'couched indecently;' and that 'it was always proper and adviseable to consult him, wherever the crown was, or might be concerned.' They fell upon their knees, and eleven of them solicited pardon: yet Coke, with regard to the facts of

the case, manfully kept his ground; contending with profound respect, but with equal courage, that any royal precept to stay proceedings constituted a delay of justice, was contrary to law, and invaded the sanctity of their oaths. James then required the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere (for he had not yet resigned) to declare whether the king or the judges best understood the law, and the oath of a justice. The old courtier quailed under the agony of the dilemma. On one side stood his master and selfishness: on the other simple conviction, with the ermined magistracy of the land. He was also about to leave the scene, having one foot in the grave. His character, however, was only that of *almost* an upright man: and so instead of answering the king's requisition, as the keeper of his conscience ought to have done, he referred the knotty point to Bacon. He, with the seals glittering before his gaze, had no diffidence or difficulty in declaring forthwith in favour of the modern Solomon! He even dared to ask the judges, whether their refusal to gratify the monarch did not involve a wider violation of their engagements than that which they desired to avoid,—'since they were sworn to counsel the 'king; and therefore not to give him counsel until the business 'had terminated, was in effect not to give it at all.' Coke instantly baffled this flimsy sophism, and rebuked its author; reminding him that the bar might plead before the bench, but not against it. His antagonist replied in terms of similar energy, appealing to James in person, with whom Coke very wisely declined any verbal contention. The frightened chancellor at length decided, that his majesty was really in the right; upon which the Privy Council questioned the judges in these terms: 'In cases, 'where the king believed his prerogative or interest concerned, 'and required them to attend him for their advice,—ought they 'not to stay proceedings until his majesty had consulted them?' All the judges, alarmed like Ellesmere at the growing dangers of their position, meanly answered, 'Yes;' except the undaunted Coke, whose guarded reply was that, 'Whenever the case hap-'pened, he should do that which it would be fit for a judge to 'do.'

Ten years had now elapsed, during which he had presided over two of the highest courts in the country: and it had become clear to both James and his favorites, that neither menaces nor promotion could warp this inflexible lawyer. His deposition, therefore, was necessary for their wicked purposes. The trumpery charges brought against him, such as having described himself in the title-page of his publications as Lord Chief Justice of England, which it turned out he was fully entitled to do, as also that his coachman had been suffered by him to ride bareheaded before the lord treasurer, have justly been thought beneath the further notice of his biographers. Before the Privy Council, he was accused of

having concealed, as trustee, certain bonds of Sir Christopher Hatton; an allegation, which he met, and annihilated to the utter confusion of all its parties. It was said, also, that he had dropped expressions on the bench, unsatisfactory to his majesty, of which there could be no doubt: but an investigation of them only covers him with nobler honours, than a peerage could have done, in the estimation of posterity. On the 30th of June 1616, he was sequestered from the council-chamber, forbidden to go the summer-circuit, and commanded to review his book of reports, wherein 'his majesty had been informed there were many extra-'vagant and exorbitant opinions set down and published for good 'and positive law.' The venerable victim had no course open to him, but to submit. A paper in the Harleian Miscellany records the real sentiments of the king; who mentioned, after many fruitless consultations with this refractory patriot, 'that for 'things past, he had noted in him a perpetual turbulent carriage 'towards the church and state ecclesiastical,—towards his prero-'gative royal, and the branches thereof,—and likewise towards all 'the settled jurisdiction of the other royal courts, the high com-'mission, the star chamber, the chancery, the provincial council, 'the admiralty, the duchy, the court of requests, the commission of 'inquiry, and the new boroughs in Ireland; in all which he had 'raised troubles and new questions; and lastly, in that which might 'concern the safety of his royal person, by his exposition of the 'laws, in cases of high treason.' For these reasons, therefore, amongst others so glorious to Sir Edward Coke, his judicial career was suspended, and, in fact, terminated. There was, nevertheless, a minor wheel within the larger one,—a yet more disgraceful, because more paltry intrigue, which beyond a question accelerated his fall. He had formerly assented to an assignment of the head clerkship in his court, for the benefit of Carr, earl of Somerset. Through the crimes of that nobleman, the affair had remained in abeyance; but when Buckingham, the new favourite, grasped at this sinecure preferment, Coke, being under neither promise nor obligation to him, very properly proposed, that its ample emoluments should go towards augmenting the small salaries then paid to the judges. Bacon again appears in the most disgraceful light imaginable. He condescended to be the completest cat's-paw for a rotten hot chesnut, which any royal monkey ever handled. After vain endeavours to guide the Chief Justice into the pit-fall of a compromise, he hastened to execute the directions, in case of his failure, of those who had employed him;—and so prepared the necessary Supersedeas for removing his rival. Coke received it under date of the 16th of November, 1616; and it is said, that he shed tears on the occasion. Whether they fell from him, through indignation at his own wrongs, or those of his country, cannot, perhaps, be ascertained. The author

of the 'Curiosities of Literature' gloats over them, as showing, in his opinion, 'that the thunderbolt of disgrace overthrew this 'haughty lawyer to the roots.' We confess ourselves at a loss to perceive any other degradation in the matter, than that which has been deemed the righteous portion of his oppressors and persecutors by an enlightened posterity. It is better to be the aggrieved, than the aggressor, under any circumstances whatever. Sir Edward Coke retained his superiority, as a legal oracle, unimpaired. Both the Queen and Prince of Wales expressed their high respect for him. James, himself, when announcing his intentions of dismissal in council, could not avoid allowing, 'that he 'thought him in no ways corrupt, but a good justice,—with so 'many other good words, as if he meant to hang him with a 'silken halter.' We must admire, moreover, an answer given by him to Sir Henry Montague, his successor; who having sent him a messenger, for the rather indelicate purpose of purchasing his collar of S.S., was informed that 'he would part with it on no account, 'but leave it unto his descendants, that they might one day know, 'that they had a chief justice to their ancestor.' It is evident, that he might have preserved his place by the sacrifice of his principles. Lady Elizabeth Hatton told Bishop Hackett, that 'the ministers offered him his post again, if he would agree to 'bind himself with a golden chain:' but adds the bishop, 'he stood 'upon a rule made by his own wisdom, that a judge must not pay 'a bribe, nor take a bribe.'

Yet let not our readers suppose, that the subject of this article was above the infirmities, or even the meannesses of humanity. As the world then went, he appears a pillar of virtue in a crooked and perverse generation. But with regard to the inner man, he was little more than any other unconverted person. Posterity has enjoyed the benefit of his patriotism, and owes him the debt of honour and gratitude, which it now cheerfully pays. It would be, at the same time, most unreasonable to expect grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles. His motives of action were after all so low, that although he had resigned his rank and £4,000 per annum, rather than violate conscience to please a profligate court; the smiles of that court still possessed such value in his estimation, that to recover them, he risked every remnant of his domestic comfort. In those days, little else was necessary, within the purlieus of the palace, than to cringe and be caressed; —to pay, and have. Buckingham monopolized, or scantily dispensed, the perilous favours of the crown; and to his elder brother, Sir John Villiers, Coke sacrificed a daughter only fourteen years of age, together with an enormous dowry. Lady Elizabeth Hatton hated her husband, and with some reason. She would never even assume his name; whilst, in temper, she seemed a sort of cross between Satan and Xantippe. As the

mother of the young victim, both nature and the spirit within her, protested against the conduct of Sir Edward. His interests could never be very dear to her; and thus to advance them, afforded plausible justification for almost any measures. In fine, she carried off her poor child, the lady Frances; but had scarcely secreted her in a house of Lord Argyle, when Coke, like a raging bear, scented her retreat, burst open several doors, and violently recovered the intended bride. He had already applied to the privy council for a warrant: and his wife now followed his example; grounding her accusation and request upon his recent outrage. Bacon, too, was not behindhand: for discerning from afar the hold that might be secured upon the Villiers family, through an advantageous marriage, he encouraged Yelverton, as attorney-general, to file an information against the late lord chief justice in the star chamber. A wretched scuffle ensued. Mutual recriminations embittered both parties. King and courtiers, all more or less interfered. A conjugal squabble expanded into the importance of a political and momentous question. Just ridicule attached to the mercenary father: but his rival literally rolled himself in the mire. He was now Chancellor, and as we have seen had opposed the match: his eloquence and abilities were taxed in carrying forward a protracted correspondence against it; yet, no sooner did he find his master and Buckingham bent upon it, than he veered round with the wind, and devoured whatever had been voided, with the most vigorous alacrity. There is a letter on the affair, in the fifth volume of his works, which wrings the heart either to read, or remember. A veil may well be thrown over the prostitution of such gifts as can have no parallel; upon altercations, such as would have shortened the existence of those possessing nerves or natural affections; as well as over the results, in their detail at least, of the unfortunate union. It was consummated in splendour, and terminated in misery. The groom lived to be Viscount Purbeck, and an exile: his partner to be half-starved,—to wander about as an adulteress, in male attire,—to be imprisoned in the Gatehouse, at Lambeth,—to leave a spurious offspring as a source of vexation to the House of Lords,—and to perform, in the chronicles of scandal, a public penance for her crimes. The white sheet, worn on the occasion, should have been a shroud for her covetous parent: who did not, indeed, escape unpunished. He reaped as he had sown. He had married a second time for noble blood and ample lands;—and peace never returned to his hearthstone, to gild or cheer the troubles of accumulating years. The haughty widow of Sir Thomas Hatton plagued him at every point. She survived also to rejoice over his grave: after having proved a shirt of sackcloth, and a scourge of scorpions, through nearly the latter moiety of his lengthened life. It is further remarkable, that all the ambi-

tious hopes he had built upon the nuptials of his daughter, vanished into air. James pocketed £10,000, for his share in the infamous transaction. Every desire of his minions received the fullest gratification. Yet, in the end, Sir Edward found that he had thoroughly over-reached himself. He was restored in about three years to the privy-council, where he had the satisfaction of voting for an enormous penalty of £30,000 (which had his resentment been gratified, would have been £100,000), levied on his enemy the Earl of Suffolk, late lord-treasurer, who was convicted of the grossest embezzlement. Yet the sweetness of this revenge was all his wretched reward. The wicked magnates were ready and willing to take his money, or appropriate his estates: but the dread of his talents and political integrity for ever debarred him from any real restoration to their good graces. Happily there are far more instructive passages in his history.

By the loss of the chief-justiceship, he again became eligible to a seat in the House of Commons; and when James, after an interval of six years, at last summoned the parliament of 1620, Sir Edward Coke was duly returned for the borough of Liskeard in Cornwall. This occurred in the teeth of the royal proclamation, which had ventured to put the electors of England on their guard, as it said, 'against wrangling lawyers* seeking reputa-'tion by a stir about needless questions.' The chancellor, moreover, vigilant as ever in his enmity, had recommended that 'some 'round caveat should be given him from the king to checkmate 'him.' A single speech, imperfectly reported, alone remains of his efforts previous to the dissolution. On the 5th of February, 1621, he finely observed, that 'the privileges of the house con-'cerned the whole kingdom, which like a great circle, ended 'where it began. No proclamation could be of force against an 'act of parliament. In the time of Edward the Third, a parlia-'ment was held every year, that the people might complain of 'grievances. If a proclamation be issued contrary to the law, the 'law is to be obeyed, and not the proclamation.' Bacon and James might well wish for their caveat. Through Coke's exertions, the Commons kept their attention steadily fixed upon the question of grievances, respecting which, with Sir Edward at their head, they had several important conferences with the Lords: nor did they cease, although granting a subsidy, until they had impeached the great chancellor himself, for corruption in the administration of his office. Coke sat as one of his accusers upon the memorable trial; whilst, in refraining from any prominent part in its proceedings, he manifested marvellous self-command, as well as an appropriate forbearance towards the wounded Phœnix

* Bacon calls them the *litera vocales* of the House! Hallam, vol. i. p. 461.

of the age. He gave his opinion merely upon a point of evidence, with much terseness; but without suffering the slightest symptom of passion to deduct from its genuine dignity. The issue, painful as it must have been, was a just one. Bacon pleaded guilty. As compared with his competitor, the judicial character of this wonderful man went down behind the dark mountains; amidst the sorrow and condolence of thousands, among his ablest contemporaries, who could discern a bow of promise, shining through clouds, for the world of science, like an angel enthroned upon the storm. His sovereign, then at Newmarket, enacted the vain wrath and recklessness of a bullock unaccustomed to the yoke. He had about this time, when waited upon by a deputation of twelve members, desired, that twelve chairs might be set for their reception, 'for there were so many kings coming!' The parliament, foreseeing that their existence would be brief, entered on their journals an able and energetic protest, in vindication of their rights and privileges; which the mad monarch afterwards tore out,* with his own hand, before the privy council. During the next year, he and his court subsisted upon their means; or rather upon the means of others; that is upon benevolences, forced loans, and all manner of illegal expedients. Meanwhile, necessity, in the shape of the wolf, howled at the palace gate: and by advice of Lord Carlisle, another parliament was summoned for the 12th of February, 1623. Coke got returned for Coventry, of which he still continued recorder. Subsequently to the last dissolution, he had paid a visit to the Tower; besides having his papers seized, and his chambers, both in the Temple and the city, sealed up. These must have been the halcyon days of conservatism; when prisons gaped for patriots, at a nod from the crown; and the gag silenced Reform. So aware were the Stuarts, that Sir Edward Coke gave irresistible weight, by his character and countenance, to the friends of freedom, that he was even to be excluded from any pardon, which the court in its mercy might bestow upon those, who had been guilty of such heinous crimes, as remonstrances! James had the further malignity to sue him for £30,000,—a pretended debt from Sir William Hatton to Queen Elizabeth: when so barefaced appeared the iniquity, that Sir John Walter returned his brief with an imprecation, that this 'tongue might cleave to the roof of his mouth, if he ever 'opened it against the late lord chief-justice of the King's 'Bench.' When the houses met, it seemed that age and ill-usage had impaired neither the physical nor the mental vigour of the

* According to D'Israeli, he sent for the Commons, and tore in pieces all their bills before their own faces in the banqueting-house, at Whitehall. Char. of James, p. 158.

man, whom Buckingham and his creatures delighted to dishonour. In his seventy-fourth year, Coke managed the famous impeachment of Lord Middlesex, with equal ability and less coarseness, than had distinguished him in middle life. He told the lords, as some apology for an enumeration of details, which might be tedious, touching the charges of bribery, that 'circumstances to 'things were like shadows to pictures, to set them out in fuller 'representation.' The earl was found guilty; thus illustrating a favourite axiom of his prosecutor, that 'no subject, ever so subtle, 'had confronted or jostled with the law of England, but the same 'proved too strong for him, and, in the end, infallibly broke his 'neck.' Sir Edward sat for Norfolk, his native county, in the first parliament of Charles, assembled on the 18th of June, 1625.

On the 5th of August, the Commons being engaged in debating a supply for his Majesty, Coke reminded them that there was 'a 'leak in the government, of which, such as these were the causes: 'frauds in the customs; treating about the Spanish match; new 'invented offices with large fees; old unprofitable offices, which 'the king might justly take away with law, love of his people, and 'his own honour. There were the presidentships of York and 'Wales; a multiplicity of offices in one man. Every man ought 'to live on his own office.'—Again, 'the king's household is out of 'order. New tables kept there,—all which might make the 'leakage the greater, and many voluntary annuities or pensions, 'which ought to be stopped till the king is out of debt:' and five days afterwards he reiterated his opinions, that 'such leaks would 'drown any ship; and that an evil king and bad councils were 'bottomless pits of perdition.' His energies rose as the Court raved. The king now pricked him as sheriff for Buckinghamshire, after the dissolution, that he might be rendered ineligible to the ensuing parliament. He struggled hard, together with several others in similar circumstances, against the compulsory appointment; though in vain. Yet his soul and spirit animated such country members, as had escaped being thus dishonestly excluded. Impeachment followed impeachment, like claps of thunder: for the spell was broken, and tempests were abroad. Charles waved his sceptre, with the presumption of an insane Prospero, as if the tumult would subside at his impotent command. Threats, exclusions, incarcerations, collusive and punitive nominations failed in their object; or inflamed the general exasperation. He at length dissolved once more; summoning in March a third parliament, for which both Suffolk and Bucks returned Sir Edward, amidst all imaginable triumph. The hoary patriot selected the last; and within five days, delivered as the Nestor of the senate, these magnanimous sentiments:

'*Dum tempus habemus bonum operemur,*' he exclaimed; 'I am for giving a supply to his Majesty, yet with some caution. I will not

tell you of foreign dangers and inbred evils. The state is inclining to a consumption, yet not incurable. I fear not foreign enemies, if God sends us peace at home: for this I will propound remedies. Who will give subsidies, if the king may impose what he will?—and if after parliament, the king may impose what he pleaseth, I know the king will not do it. I know he is a religious king, free from personal vices; but he deals with other men's hands, and sees with other men's eyes. The king cannot lawfully tax any one by way of loans. I will begin with a noble record: it cheers me to think of it: 26. Edward III. It is worthy to be written in letters of gold. 'Loans against the will of the subject, are against reason, and the *franchise* of the land, and they desire restitution.' What a word is that *franchise?* The lord may tax his villain high or low; but it is against the franchises of the land, for *freemen to be taxed but by their consent in Parliament!*"

—Vol. II., pp. 176, 177.

The whole passage is a literal transcript from Rushworth, a manuscript in the Harleian library, and the Parliamentary History. It is notorious that Coke contrived, amidst conflicting difficulties, to steer *inter Scyllamque Charibdim.* Knowing well the nature of the constitution, under which he lived, he always avoided any compromise of his loyalty. In his patriotism, he could demonstrate, without violating his fealty, that the crown had usurped innumerable powers, under the pretext of defending its prerogative. Hence his arguments fell with the more force upon conscientious minds. Yet his moderation never degenerated into cowardice; nor his firmness into obstinacy. Within less than a fortnight after the address just quoted, he observed, before the House, in answer to insinuations that the course pursued might leave the kingdom unprotected,—'We are united in our duty to 'the king. It shall never be said, that we deny all supply. I 'think myself bound, where there is common danger, that there 'must be common assistance.' In other words, he was a practical reformer; anxious not to destroy, but to restore; desirous of rendering to all what was due to them; resolved that freedom should be safe from infringement, and the sovereign continue to be respected. He formed one of the committee of four, including himself, Selden, Digges, and Littleton, appointed by the Commons to confer with the Lords on the 2nd of April, 1627, respecting the illegal commitment by the Privy Council of several members of the lower House, without specifying their offence. On that occasion he seems to have exceeded his usual style: 'He held it 'an unreasonable thing that a man had a remedy for his horse or 'cattle, if detained, and none for his body thus indefinitely im-'prisoned; for a prison, without a prefixed time, is a kind of hell. 'Festus conceived it an absurd and unreasonable thing to send a 'prisoner to a Roman Emperor, and not to write along with him 'the cause alleged against him: send therefore no man a prisoner,

'without his causes along with him. Such commitments will 'destroy the endeavours of all men. Who will employ himself 'in any profession either of war, merchandise, or any liberal 'knowledge, if he be but a tenant at will of his liberty? For no 'tenant at will will support or improve any thing, because he hath 'no certain estate; therefore to make men tenants at will of their 'liberties destroys all industry and endeavours whatsoever.' He concluded with affirming that their lordships were involved in the same danger: that *commune periculum commune requiret auxilium;* and that such further course should be taken, as would secure themselves and their posterity in the full enjoyment of their ancient, undoubted, and fundamental liberties.

Sir Robert Heath replied to this harangue, with considerable ingenuity, and an eloquence worthy a better cause. He had even succeeded in raking up a few cases in point from the earlier judgments of Sir Edward Coke himself; implying that where the Privy Council committed a man to prison, he was not bailable by any court in England; nor was the warrant insufficient where no cause was expressed, since the *arcana imperii* were not to be disclosed! The only explanation that can be given of such inconsistency, is that *nemo mortalium omnibus horis sapit;* that as the learned judge studied more, reflected more, and saw more into the perils to which popular rights were becoming exposed, he grew wiser with his age and experience. He candidly acknowledged that 'he had misgrounded his former opinion upon 'a precedent which he afterwards ascertained to be nothing to the 'purpose; and that therefore he now felt assured that such opinion 'was erroneous.' It must never be forgotten, that when his sincerity was thrown into the crucible, it stood the fire. He had descended from one of the most venerable tribunals in the world, as the price of acting up to his deeper and deliberate convictions. When, after this affair, the King's Bench refused to bail the incarcerated members, he quietly remarked before the peers, 'that "for a freeman to be tenant at will for his liberty was a tenure 'that could not be found in all Littleton!' On the 17th of May, he observed on the lords' amendment to the petition of right, which related to *leaving entire his majesty's sovereign power,*—

'This turns all about again. I know that prerogative is a part of the law, but *sovereign power* is no parliamentary word. In my opinion it weakens Magna Charta and all the statutes, for they are absolute, without any saving of sovereign power. And should we now add it, we shall weaken the foundation of law, and then the building must needs fall. Take heed what we yield unto; Magna Charta is such a fellow, that he will have no sovereign. I wonder that this sovereign was not in Magna Charta, or in the confirmations of it. If we grant this by implication, we give a sovereign power above all laws. Power, in law, is taken for a power with force. The sheriff shall take the

power of the country;—what it means here, in this amendment, God only knows. It is repugnant to our petition, that is a petition of right, grounded on acts of parliament. Our predecessors would never endure a *salvo jure suo*, no more than the kings of old could endure for the Church, *salvo honore Dei et Ecclesiæ*. We must not admit of it, and to qualify it is impossible. Let us hold our privileges according to the law: that power that is above this, is not fit for the king to have it disputed further.'—Vol. II., pp. 237, 238.

We have now reached the close of his parliamentary and public career. Upon the dissolution in 1628, after which there were no more parliaments until 1640, he removed to his house at Stoke Pogis, where amidst the respect and veneration of the whole county of Buckingham, his five remaining years were terminated. We are informed by David Lloyd, that the old gentleman used to give solemn thanks to God for three things:—namely, that he never gave his body to physic, his heart to cruelty, nor his hand to corruption. It was perhaps after a slight fit of the gout, that some friend sent him two or three doctors, for a consultation on the state of his health. He received them courteously, informed them that since his birth he had swallowed no medicine, and would not now begin: and then mentioned, that his present disease was one which 'neither the drugs of Asia, nor the gold of 'Africa, nor the doctors of Europe could cure,—since it was no 'other than old age!' He then dismissed them with thanks, and the handsome present of twenty pieces each. The aspersions of Bacon as to his parsimony appear far more acrimonious than accurate. Common prudence would pass for penuriousness in the opinion of so hostile an observer, whose own habits of expense were beyond measure extravagant; and who therefore lived and died in embarrassments. Lord B. tells us, that he was wont to say, when any great man came to dinner with him, without letting him know before-hand, 'Sir, since you sent me no notice of 'your coming, you must dine with me; but had I known of it in 'due time, I would have dined with you.' A single instance of this would have been amply sufficient to have fastened on him the odium of inhospitality for ever. There was indeed one thing of which he seemed always avaricious; and that was *time*: 'he loved 'too,' says Collins, 'modesty and sobriety, lodging within their 'boundaries, hinting often, that if a river swells beyond its banks, 'it loseth its channel.' Yet he charitably relieved the poor of his neighbourhood with constant alms. Sutton's Hospital would have been ruined, had he not interfered for its preservation: nor are other instances wanting with regard to his pecuniary liberality. Even for his conduct towards Lady Elizabeth Hatton, there is much to be said in extenuation. Notwithstanding all her objurgatory complaints of poverty, the scale and style of her living in

exceeded that of her husband: and she died in very opulent circumstances. The general impression, except amongst his personal enemies, was that he was more sinned against, than sinning; whilst of her customary failure in courtesy towards others, a curious instance is related by Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador. Poor Lady Purbeck had evidently the greatest horror of falling into her mother's custody, rather than that of her father. The latter became reconciled to his erring daughter not long before his death; and afforded her the only asylum she could ever enjoy, under his own roof. His memory also has been embalmed by the approbation of Camden, Spelman, Croke, and a cloud of witnesses, from amongst the most eminent sages of the law. His personal appearance is thus quaintly described by an early biographer: 'The jewel of his mind was put into a fair case, a 'beautiful body with comely countenance; a case which he did 'wipe and keep clean; delighting in good cloathes, well worn, 'being wont to remark, that the outward neatness of our bodies 'should be a monitor of purity to our souls.' He avoided all dissipation, and almost recreation; except an occasional game at bowls. Six hours sleep sufficed him, from nine in the evening to three in the morning, as we have seen; though probably later infirmities a little modified the plan. Years and wealth were carefully managed in such hands; perhaps 'the fine gold' too much so. Yet when laying up corruptible treasures for his grandchildren, a severe fall from his horse reminded him of that inheritance which alone is durable, as well as of the frailty of his human frame: 'By the providence of Almighty God,' he says in the last record of his memorandum-book, 'though I was in the 'greatest danger, yet I had not the least hurt—nay, no hurt at all. 'For Almighty God saith by his prophet David, the angel of the 'Lord tarrieth round about them that fear him, and delivereth 'them, *et nomen domini benedictum*, for it was his work.' The pious reader will gratefully hail this devout language: trusting that Sir Edward's knowledge of the scriptures might, under the influences of the Holy Spirit, have brought his mind into that path, which is 'of the just, shining more and more unto the perfect day.' His characteristic love of order, equity, and propriety attended him throughout. He fell asleep peacefully in the 83rd year of his age, on the 3rd of September, 1633; the solemn supplication 'Thy kingdom come,—thy will be done,' being the final words he was heard to utter. On the 4th of October, in the secluded church of Tittleshall, the grave closed over his remains; and still groans under one of those monstrous monuments, which mock the memory of the departed.

We have far too little space left, to attempt giving an account of those great works, whereby he has been best known to posterity. His thirteen Books of Determined Cases under Elizabeth

and James enjoy the honourable distinction of being called THE REPORTS; instead of his name being attached to them in common parlance, as occurs in the instance of other similar authors. The first part appeared in the year 1600, when he was Attorney-General. His love of the common law may be supposed to have been extraordinary, since he would fain deduce its origin from Brutus, the primæval king of England, who eleven centuries before Christ, propounded a Greek code compiled from the earlier labours of Trojan lawyers! Thus deriving its sources from mythology, as the ancients did the fountains of their favorite rivers, he manifested on all occasions an admiration for it thoroughly superstitious, if not positively idolatrous. Any proposed alterations he considered fraught with impiety, and pregnant with danger. In the fifth book, he takes occasion to give a long and learned dissertation upon Ecclesiastical law, of no slight value in that day; and to which Parsons the Jesuit published a reply. Coke noticed it, and also denounced the numerous legal heresies which the Catholics were then producing in constant abundance. 'These volumes,' says he, 'have glorious and godly titles, promising directions for the conscience, and remedies for the soul: 'but *mors in olla*,—there is death in the pot;' which he politely likens to the boxes of apothecaries, always estimated by Sir Edward, as just so much poison. The Reports came out in successive portions, with prefaces to each, evincing from time to time his parental anxiety for their reception in the world. He insists upon his having avoided, as far as possible, obscurity, ambiguity, jeopardy, novelty, and prolixity! With regard to the last, our lawyers must certainly entertain very singular ideas; and whenever we hear them admiring their own brevity, it reminds us of the barber at Bagdat, who surnamed himself *silent*, because his tongue only ran volubly through sixteen hours out of the four-and-twenty! In the ninth year of James, when the eighth book appeared, Sir Edward Coke pleads more strenuously than ever for the antiquity of that darling object of his study,—the common law. Tracing it with success beyond the Norman Conquest, he becomes almost poetical as he ascends: 'I have of purpose,' says he, 'done as plainly as I could, and as briefly; for the laws are 'not like those things of nature, which shine much brighter 'through chrystal or amber, than if they are beheld naked; nor 'like to pictures, that ever delight most, when garnished with 'fresh and lively colours, or graced by artificial shadows.' The following passage is really beautiful, as descriptive of his fervid patriotism, when sixty years of age, and editing his eighth volume:

'Whether it be in respect of the matter, or my years going fast on, being now in the sixtieth year of mine age, or for what other respect soever it be, sure I am, I have felt this eighth work much more painful

than any of the others have been to me. And yet has Almighty God of his great goodness, amidst my public employments, enabled me hereunto. And as the naturalists say, that there is no kind of bird or fowl of the wood, or of the plain, that doth not bring somewhat to the building and garnishing of the eagle's nest, some cinnamon and other things of price and value, and some juniper, and such like of less value, every one according to their quality, power, and ability; so ought every man according to his power, place, and capacity, to bring somewhat not only to the profit and adorning of our dear country, (our great eagle's nest) but therein also, as much as such mean instruments can, to express their inward intention and desire to honour the peaceable days of his Majesty's happy and blessed government to all posterity.'
—ib., p. 420.

This was written in 1611; soon after which, he began to hold other opinions with regard to the government of his pedantic and arbitrary sovereign! Sometimes he breaks out into a religious apostrophe, as in 1613; when styling himself Chief Justice d'Engleterre, his pen thus proceeds:

'Deo patriæ tibi. At my times of leisure, after my public services, (cheerfully taking industry, my old acquaintance, for my consort) and aiming at the good of my dear country, for my comfort, beginning with this continual and fervent prayer—'The glorious Majesty of the Lord our God be upon us! Oh prosper thou the works of our hands upon us! Oh prosper thou our handy work:' I have by the most gracious direction and assistance of the Almighty, brought forth and published this tenth book.'—ib., p. 422.

His description of truth is also too excellent to be omitted: 'It 'is lost,' he says, 'by too much altercation. It takes small delight 'in varnish of words, or garnish of flowers, for *simplex est servio* 'veritas. The place of truth being between the heart and the 'head, doth participate of them both: of the head for judgment; 'and of the heart for simplicity.' The Eleventh Book was the last printed in his lifetime in 1615; which he concludes by an allusion to the 'tempest of difficulties,' in which he then found himself; yet that his real object was, 'that God might be glorified, 'his Majesty honoured, the common good increased, the learned 'confirmed, and the student instructed.' The Twelfth and Thirteenth Books were published in 1655 and 1658 respectively. His biographer rightly tells us that the entire work comprehends 'an immense mass of decisions, in cases in which the ablest lawyers 'pleaded, the greatest judges presided, and which the greatest 'lawyer of his age reported; and that too with an industry that 'never wearied, and an accuracy which hardly ever failed.' Even Lord Bacon allowed that had it not been for these unparalleled reports, 'the law would have been like a ship without ballast,' and that in future ages, there would be no question, whatever might

then be thought, who was the noblest man in this respect amongst all his contemporaries.

The Institutes astonished Westminster Hall, when their author verged rapidly towards fourscore! He informs us, that before commencing them, he 'directed his humble suit and prayer to the 'Giver of all goodness and knowledge as follows: Oh! Father 'and God of mercy, give me wisdom, the assistant of thy seats;— 'Oh! send her out of the holy heavens, and from the presence of 'thy greatness, that she may be always with me, and labour with 'me, that I may know what is well-pleasing unto thee—Amen!' He only lived to see the first volume out; the three remaining ones being edited long after his decease. This arose from the iniquitous seizure of his papers, by the Privy Council, when he lay on his dying bed: nor was it until the lapse of seven years had rendered the Long Parliament paramount, that Charles was requested by the House of Commons to restore them to his family. His will never could be recovered; but all beside, including the second, third, and fourth volumes of the Institutes, and fifty-one minor manuscripts, found their way back to his representatives. The Treatise on Bail and Mainprize,—his Complete Copyholder,—Book of Entries, together with sundry charges to juries, we can hardly be expected to notice. Sir Edward Coke revelled in all such subjects; his memory being a perfect encyclopædia of precedents and authorities. The late Charles Butler considered him as the centre of modern and ancient law; the latter commencing with Henry the Eighth, but assuming its present shape chiefly from the reign of Charles the Second; when alterations become apparent, through the introduction of recoveries, (recently abolished), conveyances to uses, testamentary dispositions by wills, extinction of military tenures, the statute of frauds and perjuries, the establishment of a regular system of equitable jurisdiction, the discontinuance of real actions, and the mode of trying titles to landed property by ejectment. A thorough acquaintance with former modes being essential to the modern barrister, Butler deemed the Commentary upon Littleton, as an immense repository of every thing most useful or interesting in the legal learning of bygone times. A perpetual recognition of Divine providence by the Chief Justice, in his various undertakings, may give a useful hint to the members of our own liberal professions. 'The hand of the diligent maketh rich;' and so does 'the blessing of the Lord;' with this boon moreover into the bargain, that 'it addeth no sorrow thereunto.' In finally summing up the character of Sir Edward Coke, if we cannot altogether say that he was *longe pulcherrimum veræ christianæ tum vitæ*, we may at least with greater safety intimate both to the Bench and the Bar, that *tum mortis exemplum in hoc homine cunctis propositum fuisse, quod tam facile sit calumniari, quam difficile fuit emulari.*

But a few remarks are now due to the publication inscribed at the head of this article. Sincerely do we wish, that with justice to ourselves and the public, our impressions could be the reverse of what they are. Having known something previously of the amiable and respectable biographer, a little honest laudation of his labours would have been vastly agreeable to our feelings. The misfortune is, that if this were afforded, it would *not* be honest. Our duty therefore must be done. That industry has been exhibited in the compilation, we are ready for the sake of 'auld lang syne,' not strenuously to deny; nor will we quarrel with the assertion. should any newspaper feel disposed to make it, that some of the characters are sketched *currente calamo*, with fluency and ease, sufficiently tolerable for an album or an annual. Yet every one of them might have been executed, without other materials, than a pretty copious biographical dictionary. The bones and body of the book are all second-hand; being transcriptions to the letter from Rushworth, Lord Bacon, the Parliamentary History, the State Trials, and the Harleian Miscellany. We by no means desire to insinuate that Mr. Johnson has copied without acknowledgments; very far from it. Yet a sharp pair of scissors, or a clever chancery clerk could have put together an enormous proportion of the pages; and the matter would have been turned out of hand more correctly too. The worthy compiler never loses sight of the shore, for the length of a cable, or the twinkling of an eye. He has not furnished us with five original ideas, or independent paragraphs, or sound solid reflections,—such as might fairly be expected to fall in common conversation, from a gentleman of his age and attainments,—throughout two volumes containing upwards of sixty sheets in octavo, or nine hundred and fifty pages, with no unreasonable meadow of margin,—and costing to the purchaser a sovereign and a shilling of his money! The style is unaffected enough; if slip slop is to pass for an absence of affectation. Let us open the work at random, and take a specimen:

'These two princes, Charles and James, thus far differed widely; they were both, however, unlucky fellows; the one embroiled in a civil war, which ended in his death on the scaffold, and the other escaping on one or two great occasions, from being murdered, with considerable difficulty. Both his parents perished untimely, one murdered, and the other beheaded.'—ib., p. 298.

Liable to similar animadversion is such a passage as the following, also selected accidentally, *ad aperturam libri:*

'Essex at length relented; himself humbled at court; but was appointed to his Irish expedition, but failed in its execution; was again in disgrace; and was admitted to Egerton's custody, who again befriended him.'—Vol. I., p. 39.

We think that no classical writer would permit such expressions to escape his pen, as 'fortune's persevering frowns' in any serious, or elaborate piece of biography; with many others far too numerous to note down; and which indeed it would seem captious to mention. With regard, however, to adverbial limitations, the words 'probably'—'perhaps'—or now and then 'perhaps in some measure,' occur so often, that in the earlier chapters, hardly any certainties are left for the understanding to rest upon. So again as to '*talented*,' an able observer, in a recent number of the Edinburgh Review, declares that whoever is guilty of using it, may be deemed incurable for life; or something to that effect. What then would he say to our author, with whom it certainly occurs *ad nauseam;* and sometimes twice in a few lines: see Vol. II., p. 106? Indeed the tautologies and reiterations generally, both as to phrases and even circumstantial details, are most painful. The parentage of Lady Hatton; the character of Buckingham; the stale story of Queen Elizabeth threatening 'to unfrock' a bishop, for the sake of Ely Garden; the intemperance of Clement Coke in the House of Commons; the death of Sir Edward himself;—are all more or less repeated twice with a carelessness almost inconceivable, on the hypothesis of the same person editing the two volumes. There are passages and anecdotes, which occur three times; and one vulgar saying of king James, if our memory be correct, no less than four! The grammatical errors in Vol. I., pp. 206, 244, may no doubt have been faults of the press; yet throughout, there is a failure in those minute accuracies, attention to which must be habitual, if it exist at all; and which is the result only of the clearest apprehensions of the beautiful. Our censures must also extend to certain delinquencies of a graver kind. The dates present in many instances,—a full dozen at least,—what we can only describe as a chaos of contrarieties. But little better are the statements as to numbers and places: see for example the division against Lord Middlesex; Vol. II., p. 138; or the return of the deposed Chief Justice to Parliament, for one seat instead of another. The great subject of the Memoir is moreover pourtrayed as an *elderly* personage at the age of *forty-eight*, in the very act of marrying a widow! For this heinous offence, our indignation can devise no severer sentence, than commending Cuthbert William Johnson, Esquire, of Gray's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, to the tender mercies of all comely sexagenarians in the kingdom; especially such as may be contemplating the holy state of matrimony, a first, second, or third time! What—a gentleman in high health, and on the eve of a wedding, *elderly at forty-eight!* We shall not of course inform the world, how respectable a complement of summers may have passed over our own forehead, to qualify us for the chair of criticism; but this we will vouchsafe to say, that

although here and there a silvery curl, or the symptom possibly of an approaching snow-wreath, may be visible to very searching eyes, we still consider ourselves on the sunny side of sixty, and running no immediate risk of being enrolled amongst elderly persons. We venture to indulge a little in this innocent banter, that we may not appear to be too angry in what we have already written, or are now about to observe. To speak seriously then, we must mention, that when our biographer alludes to the *consummation* of the Spanish match, which never was consummated; —to the *opulent* treasuries of Elizabeth and James;—to the omnipotence of the Popes of Rome a century after the Reformation; or when he sneers at the 'hypocrisy' of the Puritans, their want of 'respectability,' their 'pretences of patriotism,'—as contrasted with the greatness and goodness of Whitgift, Laud, and Strafford, or the 'high-mindedness' of the profligate Henrietta; —he betrays an ignorance of history, which is becoming every day more and more rare. We protest also against the irrelevant recommendation of a certain Life of Selden, by his younger brother; a work which we have not seen, but which we hope is of another sort, as to solid merit, than the Siamese Twins before us. It is not customary, we believe, for modest persons to draw bills of fame upon public favour, payable at sight in this way, to the credit and profit of near relations. See Vol. II., pp. 122, 183, 295. We could also have well spared the thousand times told history of Mary Queen of Scots; the unnecessary dissertation on the Civil Wars; the tedious siege of Corfe Castle, and the defence of Caldecott Manor House; the long catalogues of trunks, books, and papers; the description of Hempstead church, and Hervey's discovery of the circulation of the blood, the last being 'known to St. Ambrose;' the account of Stone, the Mason, and Tom Raby, the Parish-clerk or Sexton at Tittleshall; with the dull pilgrimage thither by our author, and his gift so touchingly intimated, rather than recorded, of 'a valedictory half-crown.' Most of these matters have about as much connexion with Sir Edward Coke's real life and character, as the man in the moon. Delineations of notorieties and trifles, foreign altogether to the subject, or at all events lugged in by the neck and shoulders, wear the aspect of cockneyism and book-making. The present publication might easily be compressed into a neat seven and sixpenny post-octavo, by Mr. Johnson himself; and in a spirit of sincere friendliness, we recommend this course to him, should a second edition be called for.

Art. II. *The Life and Times of the Rev. George Whitefield, M.A.* By Robert Philip. 8vo. London.

'WE are warranted to affirm,' said a revered minister of the Church of England, contemporary with him,* 'that scarce 'any one of Christ's ministers, since the apostles' days, has ex-'ceeded, scarce any one has equalled, Whitefield.' To this testimony, which is quoted by our author, p. 543, we shall add that of his still more celebrated contemporary, Toplady.

'It will not be saying too much, if I term him the Apostle of the English Empire, in point of zeal for God, a long course of indefatigable and incessant labours, unparalleled disinterestedness, and astonishingly extensive usefulness.

* * * *

'If the absolute command over the passions of immense auditories be the mark of a consummate orator, he was the greatest of the age. If the strongest good sense, the most generous expansions of heart, the most artless but captivating affability, the brightest cheerfulness, and the promptest wit, enter into the composition of social excellence, he was one of the best companions in the world.

'If to be steadfast, immoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord; if a union of the most brilliant with the most solid ministerial gifts, ballasted by a deep and humbling experience of grace, and crowned with the most extended success in the conversion of sinners and edification of saints, be signatures of a commission from heaven, George Whitefield cannot but stand highest on the modern list of Christian ministers.

'England has had the honour of producing the greatest men, in almost every walk of useful knowledge. At the head of these are—Archbishop Bradwardin, the prince of divines; Milton, the prince of poets; Newton, the prince of philosophers; Whitefield, the prince of preachers.'—Philip, p. 548.

Of a similar tenor, and of a tone scarcely less impassioned, is the *universal* testimony of Whitefield's evangelical contemporaries; while those who despised his religion, including persons of the highest eminence in their day, not less universally attest his exalted excellence as a man, and his unequalled power as a speaker. That there must have been a great charm in his preaching is manifest alike from the kind, the extent, and the duration of his popularity. It commenced with his very first services, when he was raw from college, without any training for the pulpit, and with very imperfect theological views. And it never

* Venn.

left him—for we do not reckon the momentary interruption of it which arose from his rupture with the Wesleys—through a prolonged ministry of thirty-four years. It followed him everywhere; in villages, in towns, in the metropolis, in England, in Wales, in Scotland, in Ireland, in America. It involved persons of all ranks and characters. 'The common people heard him gladly,' and not they only, but the learned and the noble too; philosophers, infidels, and courtiers, extolling the preacher, if they did not obey the Gospel. It bore down all opposition; and this, in his case, was of universal magnitude and variety. But it was of no consequence. Whether bishops frowned, or more regular brethren kept aloof, or mobs assaulted, or fools played harlequin, all was but as the foam of the waves, through which the unimpeded vessel was passing gallantly. It affected multitudes without precedent. The inadequacy of the largest churches drove him to the fields; and where other preachers have gathered a few hundreds, he was attended by multitudes, very often amounting to ten, twenty, and even thirty thousand. In the course of thirty years his visits to the same parts were frequent; yet to the last his popularity was not only undiminished, but augmenting.

It has been a difficult problem to account for the unexampled popularity of Whitefield. There was nothing in his youth that gave any promise, either of talent or usefulness. No process of education through which he went was adapted to prepare him for the course he ran. None of his productions give any indication of great, or even of considerable intellectual power. He was not eminent, either for beauty of style, for strength of argument, or for depth of divinity. From whence then his popularity? If we say it arose from the times in which he lived, why did not the same times give it to his contemporaries? There lived at the same period many men greater in intellect, more powerful with the pen—men who, by their writings, occupy now a much larger space in the public mind than Whitefield does; but none of them had his popularity. Whence, then, did it arise? The question is an interesting one, especially as it affects the present and future generations of preachers of the Gospel, to whom it must be a matter of unmeasurable importance, if it be possible, to attain a similar power over the human mind. And, although we shall not pretend, any more than others who have written on the subject, to answer the question completely, we shall yet throw out such thoughts on it as have been suggested by reading the very interesting and able volume before us.

There seems reason to believe, then, in the outset, that Whitefield possessed, in a very large degree, the *natural* attributes of an effective speaker. The graceful dignity of his person amounted even to 'majesty;' while it seems difficult for any thing to have

exceeded the courteousness and simple affability of his manners. His voice must have had an amazing power and compass, to have been capable of a *melodious* utterance so loud and vehement as the control of twenty or thirty thousand people implies. His delivery was singularly easy, unconstrained, and natural, ever varying with his topics, and never less natural when most impassioned; while his countenance and gestures were strikingly in keeping, and powerfully contributed, both to the full expression of his sentiments, and the deep emotions of his auditory.

We have erred, perhaps, in classing all these particulars under the *natural* attributes of an effective speaker; and we the rather make this concession, since it may be hastily assumed, that excellencies, because they are sometimes natural, are incapable of being acquired. But of this more presently. Whitefield *paid great attention to his delivery*, and he made no secret of his doing so. His habit (a proper and inevitable habit in an itinerant) of preaching the same sermons over again, gave an opportunity of tracing this in a singular manner.

'He left nothing to accident that he could regulate by care, in his delivery. Hence practised speakers and shrewd observers could tell at once, whenever he delivered a sermon for the *first* time. Foote and Garrick maintained that his oratory was not at its full height, until he had repeated a discourse forty times. Franklin says, 'By hearing him often, I came to distinguish easily between sermons newly composed, and those he had preached often in the course of his travels. His delivery of the latter, was so improved by frequent repetition, that every accent, every emphasis, every modulation of voice, was so perfectly tuned and well placed, that, *without* being interested in the subject, one could not help being pleased with the discourse.''

—pp. 558, 559.

In this respect, at all events, it is *possible* to imitate him. We will explicitly state our conviction that it is highly *important* to do so. We fully concur in the following spirited remarks of our author on this subject:

'He 'sought out acceptable' tones, and gestures, and looks, as well as 'acceptable words.' *Was Whitefield right?* Then how many, like myself, are far wrong! Let the rising ministry take warning! Awkwardness in the pulpit is a sin; monotony a sin; dulness a sin; and all of them sins against the welfare of immortal souls. These, be it ever remembered, invent too many excuses already for evading the claims of the Gospel; do not, therefore, place *yourself*, STUDENT, among their reasons for rejecting it. It is as easy to be graceful in gesture, and natural in tone, as to be grammatical. You would not dare to violate grammar; dare not to be vulgar or rapid in manner. Your spirituality of mind is too low, and your communion with God too slight, and your love of the truth too cold, if

they can be endangered by cultivating an eloquence worthy of the pulpit.'—pp. 560, 561.

It may seem questionable, perhaps, whether, according to our author in this extract, 'it is *as easy* to be graceful in gesture, 'and natural in tone, as to be grammatical:' but we are persuaded that it would be as effectually attained, if *half* the pains were taken to secure it. At all events, if the success were but small, every preacher might, like Whitefield, *pay attention* to his delivery. How small a number do so may be gathered by the reader, if he will ask himself, how many preachers would go on *improving* the delivery of a discourse, if they should preach it forty times in succession. The majority, we suspect, would deform it on the fortieth occasion with the same defects amidst which it was ushered into the world.

We wish to say a word, however, respecting the very *resigned* feeling prevalent with most speakers, as to the permanent absence of those oratorical qualifications which they have not been born with. It may be admitted, indeed, that no man can give himself a loud and melodious voice, or an aspect of courteous majesty. These are *native*, and distinguish the highly favoured individuals who possess them. So far is true; but it does not therefore follow, as seems to be too generally supposed, that less favoured individuals are doomed to antagonist defects *without remedy*. There are ways by which the power of the voice may be very much improved, of which Demosthenes declaiming at the sea-side is a familiar example; and the art of managing the voice may be improved still more. And if we cannot acquire a strictly native charm of deportment, we may at least, by avoiding slovenliness, rudeness, and other unpleasant qualities, approach to the same effect. Even Whitefield's loveliness, indeed, seems to have been set off by the extreme and uniform neatness of his person.

If Whitefield paid great attention to his delivery, he probably paid scarcely less to his style. We say *probably* rather than *certainly*, because there is no *appearance* of pains in his style, and because no intimation is given that he bestowed labour upon it. The probability, however, amounts in our judgment to a certainty; since it is incredible that a speaker who, for the sake of effect, paid so much attention to one method of producing it, should have been negligent of another of at least equal value—and since it is hardly possible that he could have fallen upon such a style as he habitually maintained, in any way of carelessness or accident. It is characterized by a uniform, noble, and beautiful simplicity, which must have been as much aimed at as the 'naturalness' (to use our author's not very graceful, but scarcely avoidable term) of his manner; and if it was cultivated by him with such complete care as to conceal the effort, this only increases

our idea both of his pains and his success. To those who are acquainted with Whitefield's style, it may perhaps seem strange that we should thus eulogize it; the feeling primarily resulting from an examination of it being that it is no way remarkable. But its being no way remarkable is the very perfection we admire. It is in consequence of this, that it so admirably exhibits his subject, permitting it to appear, not only distinctly, but exclusively, before the minds of his hearers, without any low qualities on the one hand to disgust, or any fine ones on the other to excite admiration. It is light through a perfectly achromatic lens; it is nourishment in a perfectly tasteless vehicle. For the illustration of our remarks, we will give a short extract, taken at random from the volume before us; recommending to the notice of our readers the choice of good old English words, and the entire subordination of the composition to the sentiment which it is to convey.

'If you say you are the chief of sinners, I am sure, that will be no hinderance to your salvation; indeed it will not, if you lay hold on him by faith. Read the evangelists, and see how kindly he behaved to his disciples, who fled from him, and denied him. 'Go, tell my brethren,' says he. He did not say, Go, tell those traitors; but, 'Go, tell my brethren, and *Peter*;' as though he said, Go, tell my brethren in general, and poor *Peter* in particular, 'that I am risen.' O comfort his poor drooping heart; tell him I am reconciled to him; bid him weep no more so bitterly: for, though with oaths and curses he thrice denied me, yet I have died for his sins, I am risen again for his justification; I freely forgive him all. Thus slow to anger, and of great kindness, was our all-merciful High Priest. And do you think he has changed his nature, and forgets poor sinners, now he is exalted at the right hand of God? No; he is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever; and sitteth there only to make intercession for us. Come, then, ye harlots; come, ye publicans; come, ye most abandoned of sinners; come, and believe on Jesus Christ.'—p. 580.

Little as there is remarkable in this kind of style, its entire freedom from improprieties is *very* remarkable; especially when we recollect how uniformly this quality characterized his preaching in all places and circumstances, from the commencement to the end of his ministry. It harmonizes beautifully with the careful neatness of his person and courteousness of his manners; and must have contributed powerfully, we think, to his success. He could thus be understood by all, without offending any; and he was prepared to be equally at home among the rabble at Moorfields, and the nobility at Lady Huntingdon's. The style of Whitefield stands in most instructive and advantageous contrast with the ambitious composition of most modern preachers; and we should rejoice to see it taken as a model.

If it was Whitefield's first maxim that his manner should be natural, and his second that his style should be simple, it was his third that his utterance should be impassioned. He admired the character given of a German reformer, who, as a preacher, was *vividus vultus, vividi oculi, vividæ manus, denique omnia vivida.* Accordingly, his own oratory was instinct with life.

'Every accent of his voice spoke to the ear; every feature of his face, every motion of his hands, every gesture, spoke to the eye; so that the most dissipated and thoughtless found their attention involuntarily fixed.'—p. 558.

We must go further, and say, that Whitefield felt it his *duty* to obey the commands given to some of the prophets—to smite with the hand, stamp with the foot, and lift up the voice like a trumpet, as well as to beseech with tears. Winter says of him, 'this freedom 'in the use of his passions often put my pride to the trial. I 'could hardly bear such unreserved use of tears, and the scope 'he gave to his feelings; for sometimes he exceedingly wept, stamped 'loudly and passionately, and was frequently so overcome, that for 'a few seconds, you would suspect he never could recover; and, 'when he did, nature required some little time to compose herself.'

'I have known him avail himself of the formality of the judge putting on his black cap, to pronounce sentence. With his eyes full of tears, and his heart almost too big to admit of speech, he would say, after a momentary pause, 'I am now going to put on my condemning cap. Sinner, I MUST do it! I *must* pronounce sentence!' Then, in a strain of tremendous eloquence, he would repeat our Lord's words, 'Depart, ye cursed,' and not without a very powerful description of the nature of that curse. But it was only by hearing him, and by beholding his attitude and tears, that a person could well conceive the effect.'
—pp. 557, 558.

We confess that the reading of this passage has stirred in us as it doubtless has in many of our readers, some feelings akin to Cornelius Winter's. It 'puts our pride to the trial,' to think that human kind, and we ourselves among them, are to be moved by such a process as this. It is our boast, that we are *reasonable* creatures, and we challenge a greater regard to the understanding. We want more argument, more thought, more mind. *This* is treating us as children. But there is no disputing against facts. And the broad fact stands out beyond controversy, that this preaching attracted multitudes, and (under a divine blessing) converted multitudes, while preachers of far higher intellectual power have not achieved a thousandth part of Whitefield's acceptance or success. The fact seems to us to be unanswerable. We are not going to commit ourselves to the recommendation of particular

expedients—the condemning-cap for example; but we do think the whole case is eminently instructive. It teaches us that *it is* pride which revolts at the employment of impassioned oratory in the pulpit; that, as subjected to the influence of a public speaker, in spite of our boasted reason, *we are* children; and that he is the most eloquent man who has courage enough to treat us as such. Even Cornelius Winter might well have exchanged all his judiciousness for a tithe of his master's triumphs.

A part of the difficulty felt on this subject might be got over, perhaps, if a distinction were strongly made between writing and speaking, and the style and method proper to each. The observation of not a few years has forced a conviction very deeply into our minds, that admirable written discourses are not fit to be spoken, and that admirable spoken discourses are not fit to be written. Not that a well-written discourse will fail to be appreciated as such by an intelligent audience; but it never can produce the effect which a spoken discourse ought to produce. The style in which, and in which alone, it is fit to write, is not adapted to the orator. He must employ more freedom, more expansion, more familiarity, more point, than we can bear to see upon paper. We can hear with pleasure, what we could not read without disgust. And not without reason. The state and occupation of the mind in the two cases are widely different. The attention we pay in reading is more close and scrutinizing than what we commonly pay to a speaker; while our mental calmness, with the liberty of pausing and pondering, and reviewing what we have read, not only allows, but requires the thought to be close, the argument secure, the manner compact, and the style condensed. It is far otherwise when we are hearing. Then our attention is slightly engaged, until the speaker can succeed in riveting it; and when he does so, it is by awakening our feelings, and so destroying at once the inward calm of a reader. The attention he obtains is in important respects of a different kind from that which we apply to a book. In reading we exert ourselves; in hearing we allow ourselves to be led by another. In the latter case we are less active, and require more stimulus. And, as the speaker hurries on in his course, allowing us no time to pause or to deliberate, his thoughts ought to be fewer than would be comprised in as many pages of good writing as could be read in the same time—spread over a larger space, presented to the eye in various forms, and pressed in various ways on the heart.

If our remarks on this subject are just, they will supply a sufficient reason why Whitefield's Sermons, although noble specimens of spoken discourses, are nothing as written compositions. They could not have been good writing, without becoming bad oratory. It will be easily seen, also, w[illegible]pinion of the habit of writing sermons for the pulpit, and [illegible]ill worse habit

of reading them there. But on this matter, as we fear strong feelings may be against us in some quarters, we will fortify ourselves with the opinion of Dr. Southey, on Whitefield's preaching, quoted by Mr. Philip. Referring to the improved delivery of his old sermons, he says—

'It was a great advantage, but it was not the only one, nor the greatest, which he derived from repeating his discourses, and reciting instead of reading them. Had they been delivered from a written copy, one delivery would have been like the last: the paper would have operated as a *spell*, from which he could not depart;—invention sleeping, while the utterance followed the eye. But, when he had nothing before him except the audience whom he was addressing, the judgment and the imagination, as well as the memory, were called forth. Those parts were omitted which had been felt to come feebly from the tongue, or to fall heavily on the ear; and their place was supplied by matter newly *laid in* in the course of his studies, or fresh from the feeling of the moment. They who lived with him could trace him, in his sermons, to the book which he had last been reading, or the subject which had recently taken his attention. But the radiant points of his oratory were not *prepared* passages—they were bursts of passion, like jets of a GEYSER, when the spring is in full play.'—p. 559.

We respectfully commend these remarks to those ministers of the present day whom they may concern. If they have any wish to be Whitefields—and they ought to have—they must throw away their crutches.

Whitefield's design in adopting an impassioned oratory, was, of course, to kindle the passions of his hearers. As conducive to the same end, he made—if we may be allowed the expression—great use of *the pencil*. He *painted* the scenes which he wished his hearers to feel; such as Abraham's sacrifice of his son, or the sufferings of Christ. A fine and vigorous imagination eminently qualified him for this. But, if few preachers can do it so well as he did, all should do it as well as they can. Effective oratory may justly be said to be painting for the ear. Some living preachers are magnificent instances of the power of this art; and every preacher should set it down among the necessary elements of his professional wisdom, and do his best at it.

The constituents of Whitefield's eloquence of which we have hitherto spoken, must be considered as forming only its mechanical parts. The soul of it was his own deep and elevated piety. His fervent spirituality of mind, and continual rejoicing in God, were still more extraordinary than his natural endowments. Hence an inexhaustible impulse, not only to preach, but to preach well; and hence too the glowing passions which were always blazing in himself, and kindled in others. Upon this subject we trans-

cribe with great pleasure, and entire concurrence, the following remarks of Mr. Philip.

'After all, the grand secret of Whitefield's power, was his *devotional* spirit. Had he been less prayerful, he would have been less powerful. He was the prince of preachers *without* the veil, because he was a Jacob 'within the veil.' His face shone when he came down from the mount, because he had been *long* alone with God upon the mount. It was this won for him the title *seraphic;* not in the scholastic, but in the angelic sense of the term. But he was a *human* seraph; and thus burnt out in the blaze of his own fire. What then?—he often ascended in it, as the angel of the covenant did in the flame of Manoah's sacrifice; and always 'did wondrously' when he descended. He was so often at the throne, and always so near it, that, like the apocalyptic angel, he came down, 'clothed with its rainbow.'—p. 565.

And yet, had Whitefield been *only* seraphic, he had not been a powerful preacher. It will no more do to separate the spirit of eloquence from its mechanism, than its mechanism from its spirit. If we would speak well on religion, we must be very pious; but, if we are ever so pious, we must try to speak well. That good speaking, even when no interest is felt in the subject, has a powerful influence, we know, from the history of theatrical performances; and the idea might be further confirmed, by the anecdote of the young infidel, who, getting up to mimic Whitefield for amusement, spoke to his own conversion, and the dismay of his companions. It is not too much to say, therefore, that, if any one could preach like Whitefield, even without piety, he would preach powerfully. Eloquence has its adaptation to human nature, and will have its effect and its reward, apart from the character of him who uses it. And to the production of its appropriate effect it is indispensable. We wish all preachers to remember this; not, assuredly, for the sake of making them regardless of piety, without which no man ever can preach like Whitefield, or even ought to preach the gospel at all; but for the sake of prevailing with them to join eloquence with piety, and not, under a false notion of the exclusive importance of personal religion in a minister, to separate the most powerful elements in existence for the moving of the world, from the only machinery by which the motion can be communicated.

In bringing our remarks on this volume to a close, we should apologize to the author and the public, perhaps, for having devoted so little attention, either to the Life, or the Times, of Whitefield. We have not avoided these subjects because we thought them uninviting, or barren of interest. On the contrary, they are interesting in the highest degree, and are admirably treated in the volume before us. But they defy compression. And while we hope the topics which we have taken occasion to handle will not

be without their use and fruitfulness, we must warmly recommend the entire work to perusal. Mr. Philip has done a valuable service to the religious public by his labours; and his book can scarcely be read without great instruction, entertainment, and profit. We feel tempted to close this article with the following short extract.

'It will surprise and grieve not a few on both sides of the Atlantic, when I tell them that the bones of Whitefield are not entire. Part of his right arm was sent to this country. I hope it is not here still. If I thought it were not returned, I should feel inclined to tell the American Ambassador where to find it, and urge him to claim it in the name of his country.

'About two years ago, a visitor in London invited me to see 'a curiosity, sure to *gratify* me.' He mistook my taste. I went, and he placed on the table a long narrow box; defying me to guess its contents. I had no need to guess, or hesitate. I said, 'It contains the right arm of George Whitefield, and I could *name* both the thief and the receiver. I have known for ten years that it was in your possession: but my organ of *veneration* is larger than that of my curiosity, and therefore I never hinted at my knowledge, although I have often visited you on the banks of the Thames, and seen all your other memorials of Whitefield, and reciprocated all your other feelings towards him.' I owe it to my friend to add, that, if the *relic* be still in England, it could not be in better hands than those it was first committed to. Still I would, if I could, 'give *commandment* concerning the bones,' as solemnly and authoritatively as dying Joseph. One thing I promise; I will conceal the name of the spoiler, (for I have read his letter) if the spoil should be returned.'—p. 550, 551.

Art. III. *The Life of Thomas Chatterton, including his Unpublished Poems and Correspondence.* By JOHN DIX. 12mo. pp. 336. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

IF the eager press and crowded driving course of our literature, so fast reducing to comparative insignificance many names, and works, and questions, which were of great excitement in their day, in an age gone by, will allow a fair chance to a publication recalling attention to Chatterton, it must be to a book of the modest dimensions and price of this volume. It is probably the last time of repeating his history at any considerable length. It is the last, we should think, that so nearly extinct an interest concerning him can call for; and not unlikely, as being at once the latest and most commodious for satisfying a very limited curiosity, to be almost the only one in which the readers of a new generation will seek and find all they may wish to know of Chatterton. And those of them who shall be of so benevolent

a disposition as to desire to find in a biographer a warm and partial apologist, vindicator, and eulogist, will be gratified by the spirit of this memoir.

In reverting to the period when he raised such a commotion among the literati, secular and consecrated, one is tempted to grow cynical, and to wonder a little how it happened that there should be such a deficiency of important matters for the employment and passionate zeal of scholars, critics, journalists, and grave ecclesiastical dignitaries. It seems somewhat ludicrous that a boy, of ingenious but perverted parts, should be able to kindle a mighty combustion in the literary world; should summon forth to play his game, should set a-fighting, should cast into parties, under confronted colours and denominations, Rowleian and Chattertonian, so many persons figuring in learning, talent, and station. Had he lived a little longer, what a gratification it would have been to his contemptuous and sarcastic spirit to see them thus, under the power of his spell, disturbed from their equanimity, with hazard to their literary friendships; forced to suspend their accustomed studies or professional employments; sent back to work amidst the dust of obsolete lore; busied in research for parallel forms of phrase or thought to test the age of literary mushrooms; elaborating bulky volumes of grave and earnest disquisition; sounding out loud invocations to public opinion; briskening the then dull tenour of periodical criticism; multiplying personal invectives, vindications, rejoinders, and reduplications; and appealing to posterity for a just decision of so important a controversy.

But the controversy fell to the ground before it could come down to posterity. And both the question and the decision, together with the personal history of the originator of so much learned confusion and strife, have long since gone out of what may be called the living interest of literature. These later times have been invaded by elements of excitement, which have superannuated those things of a former age which had not an intrinsic, but only an accidental and factitious importance. A great and manifold innovation in the spirit of our literature, corresponding to the movement in the general mind, and the portentous career of events, has wrought a strange contrast between the magnitude in which temporary novelties appeared sixty years since, and the diminutiveness to which they are reduced in present account. Matters which could then set in earnest action the faculties, and even the passions, of the most cultivated part of society, are consigned to occupy now and henceforward a narrow space among the curiosities of literature.

In the case of Chatterton there is much to preclude or repress the sentiments, with which we cherish the lingering reminiscence of some few unfortunate men of genius, mingling a tone of kind-

less and partial complacency with our regrets, and our censure of their faults; dwelling indulgently on amiable and perhaps generous qualities perceptible or conspicuous amidst their errors. We cannot, indeed, withhold from him a measure of condolence on the unfavourable circumstances of his early life, his being denied the advantage of paternal control (his birth was posthumous); the straitened condition, the poverty of his family; the miserably narrow scope of education in the school in which he spent several years; and his destination to an employment very irksome to a mind like his. But, all this duly considered in mitigation, the character is still presented under an aspect that chills our sympathies. The first marked manifestations of his precocious faculties were deliberate acts of imposition, accompanied by whatever artifices of falsehood were necessary for passing them off successfully on the ignorance of his fellow-citizens, or on the silly vanity of individuals toward whom he put on a semblance of friendship; despising at the same time, no doubt, the stupidity that made them his dupes; yet resentful at the parsimonious reward dribbled in shillings or half-crowns in return for gratification imparted to them by the inventions with which he was flattering and gulling them.

His propensity to the practice of imposition, confirmed by the success of the first experiments, grew into a systematic purpose and method; prosecuted with assiduity and a wonderful creation of resources; resulting in a succession of poetical fabrications, produced occasionally to his acquaintance, and ultimately to come before the public, as having been found among a mass of forgotten parchments in an old chest in a lumber-room of Redcliff Church, in Bristol; and purporting to have been, with a great deal more, written in the 15th century, by a monk of the name of Rowley. He constantly affirmed that they were so obtained; devised means to give a darkened hue to such pieces of parchment as he chose to show; learned to imitate the antique character of writing; and was indignant when scepticism questioned, or practised criticism denied, the productions being any thing else than what he was conscious they were.

In the republic of letters, as it used to be denominated, the laws have been conventially so lax, so much license has been taken and conceded for fictitious statements respecting the authorship, the long neglect or suppression, the accidental discovery, &c., of writings at length produced to the public, that it would seem harsh to lay any hard stress of condemnation on the freak of mocking the curious and credulous with a quantity of sham-antique poetry pretendedly detected in an old oaken repository. But a settled complicated *system* of deception, carried into effect in a variety of ways, with a determination, in all appearance, to continue it as long as the practice could be maintained, with false

asseverations never spared, and in a temper to regard suspicion and interrogation as a wrong and an insult, must be held, after every allowance pleaded in excuse or mitigation, to have betrayed at the least a great indifference to the moral principle. The same non-intervention of conscience is apparent in the last stage of his deplorable history, when he betook himself to writing in the political journals of the time. Like so many since, and so many now, he appears to have done it in the character and on the calculation of a mere literary adventurer; a partisan, if actually and generally on the one side, yet ready to write in the same heated invective on the other, at any more promising opening of the way to patronage and profit. We find him writing for the newspapers on the very same day for Alderman Beckford against the ministry, and for the ministry against Beckford.

As to religion, with which a fashionable doctrine will have it that the poetical temperament is congenial, or rather so nearly identical that it may be admitted in substitution, we observe Chatterton manifesting his alienation and aversion, sometimes (as common with profane wits) by sneers and sarcasms levelled in such manner at what folly, hypocrisy, or mere canonical ceremony have odiously connected with religion, as to betray, by implication, a disregard of religion itself; sometimes avowedly, as when, derisively wishing an acquaintance who was under misfortune the benefit of his Christian notions, he says, with an evident air of self-complacency and superiority, 'I am no Christian.' His naming, on supposition of the failure of other expedients, that of setting out as a Methodist preacher, as an adventure to profit by the gullibility of mankind, did not, perhaps, mean an actual intention to do so; but it showed that he deemed the affair of religion no forbidden ground on which to play a part—the part of a knave, if a man were so disposed and had occasion.*

* To bring in doubt, or to qualify, the imputation of infidelity on Chatterton, Mr. Dix has inserted a copy of verses, expressive of emotions which would have been in consonance with a very different temper of mind. 'The boy that wrote them,' he says, 'could hardly have been an infidel.' They would show that there had been moments (no date is given) when a gleam of the true light seems to have passed over him. But the devotional sentiment stands out an insulated particularity, incongruous with the prevailing character, as indicated by many expressions and circumstances cited and related in the book. It reminds us of a poem imitative of piety in Lord Byron's early youth. We transcribe several of the stanzas:

O God, whose thunder shakes the sky;
Whose eye this atom globe surveys;
To Thee, my only rock, I fly,
Thy mercy in thy justice praise.
The mystic mazes of Thy will,
The shadows of celestial light,
Are past the power of human skill,—
But what th' Eternal acts is right.

A writing in shape of a will, drawn out at considerable length, when he had come to look deliberately to suicide as his ultimate resource in the event of the failure of his projects of literary ambition, is a sad display of cool recklessness of all that is involved in death and its consequences. The horror appropriate to such a prospect and intention is in fearful incongruity with the desperate levity of a series of satiric quips in the form of legacies. That act itself, committed on a far too deliberate determination to allow the plea of insanity, in any such sense as to suspend responsibility, comes to complete the moral spectacle, in a character to which our sympathies are faintly and reluctantly given; and induces a willingness to let Chatterton retire toward oblivion.

Nor are his writings of a nature to arrest this tendency and destiny. No one makes a question whether they were evidence of very extraordinary genius. But how many read, or ever will read, more of them than a few short pieces selected? As to the main bulk of them, those of the Rowley imposture, both the circumstance that they *were* an imposition, and their antique guise, stand insuperably in the way. In the perusal or study of the productions of an age long past, a considerable part of the interest turns on their relation to that age; as representing the then character and condition of the people; their manner of living and talking; their prevailing notions; the state of mental cultivation; the peculiar customs; the stage attained in the progress of the language. Not only is there a negation of all this in reading a modern imitative fabrication; there is in addition a repugnance against its pretension to be what it is not, so much so as hardly to yield justice to some certain merit which it may possess as considered separately from the falsified form; the same feeling as that excited at the view of modern erections in the semblance

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O teach me in the trying hour,
When anguish swells the dewy tear,
To still my sorrows, own thy power,
Thy goodness love, thy justice fear.

If in this bosom aught but Thee,
Encroaching sought a boundless sway,
Omniscience could the danger see,
And Mercy took the cause away.

* * * *

The gloomy mantle of the night,
Which on my sinking spirit steals,
Will vanish at the morning light,
Which God, my East, my Sun, reveals.

Mr. Montgomery, when a young man, was so affected by reading the composition, that he wrote a series of pathetic verses on Chatterton's melancholy destiny, which also Mr. Dix has inserted.

of ancient structures or ruins, affecting baronial honours for some *parvenu's* domain. Through an obsolete diction and orthography, a certain portion of readers, but a small one, will be willing to take the trouble of making their way, by help of glossary and annotation, to the genuine thought and spirit of the olden time, by a process somewhat like forcing a passage through hedge, and briar, and nettles, to come within reach of some fair fruit-tree. But how few will exert this resolution even, for instance, to get intimately into the company of Chaucer himself, after all they have heard and believed of his vividness, raciness, and power, of his graphic picturings of the character of the age; of his being our great original classic; of his being 'the well-spring of English undefiled.' And if, with all these inducements, the number of his readers is a most diminutive section of the moderately cultivated community, how many will ever henceforward take any pains to overcome an obstacle to their acquaintance with what is mocking them in a false character; to work their way into a structure where what should be, and pretends to be, the sombre complexion of antiquity is only an artificial blackening by smoke; to seek the company of a personage who shams the venerable seer by means of a beard glued on his chin? Whatever value, independently of any question of ancient or modern, there may be supposed to be in the productions, a reader will not expend his honest labour to investigate them, against the author's knavish labour to fabricate them uncouth, for the very purpose of imposing on him.

A few brief notices will sufficiently trace the course of Chatterton's life, which dates from 1752. His mother appears to have been a worthy person, prudent, affectionate, and assiduous in each duty of her humble condition. After having endured the coarse tyrannical temper of her husband, she was doomed to suffer distress from the circumstances of the early stage of her son's life, as from those of its termination,—for the child grew up apparently so destitute of capacity for the most ordinary attainments, as to cause an apprehension of hopeless stupidity. The combined efforts of parents and schoolmaster failed, up to the age of six years and a half, to teach him the alphabet. But his faculties started suddenly awake at the sight of an old musical manuscript, with illuminated capitals; and he was very soon able to read in a black letter Bible. It is not improbable, as Mr. Dix suggests, that this casual association of antiquated symbols, with the delight of his first consciousness of ability, and his first admission of knowledge, might be the chief cause of that almost passionate addiction to the musty sort of antiquarian matters which would seem to be in themselves little suited to captivate a spirit instinct with poetry. He soon became an insatiable reader; and from that time forth, throughout his life, was the subject of what we

may be allowed to call an intensity of mind. Who shall explain the spell which held such a spirit in impregnable torpor up to a particular moment, far beyond the age at which rudiments are mastered with ease by the generality of children, and then broke, and let it dart forth with impetuous energy? This energy was not, we may presume, suspended, or in a stagnant state, but only working reflexly and more deeply, in those moody intervals in which he would be long invincibly silent, not from sullenness of temper, and would sometimes weep, from no cause that was known, or that he afterwards assigned. The elements of his nature were in a state of fermentation, which threw out strange and capricious effects.

While spending several years in Colston's charity-school, he grievously felt the penury of the course of instruction; for which he sought compensation in all the books he could borrow. In his fourteenth year he was put clerk to an attorney, or, as Mr. Dix sometimes denominates it, a scrivener; in whose service and office he continued between three and four years. His master appears to have been a rather vulgar-minded, illiberal, and ill-tempered man; a bit of an aristocrat withal, for the clerk had no place at the parlour table. He showed a special angry contempt for the said clerk's poetical propensities, and tore in pieces any scraps of extra-official writing that happened to be seen about the desk. In such writing, and in various reading, the greater part of the time was left to be employed, as but little business came to the office. The young man's attendance there, however, was so punctiliously regular, that hardly a single instance occurred of his transgressing the rule of time for being in the office and in the house. It also tells very much in his favour, that the interval allowed for absence in the evening was almost constantly spent with his mother and sister.

He had made essays in poetical composition, evincing remarkable prematurity of intellect, and perhaps had even begun to form the strange project which was to bring him into so much notoriety, before he entered on the mechanical and always detested duties of his clerkship. It was, however, in that situation that the invisible forge was kept in constant heat, to work out the scheme. And he gravely amused himself, at the expense of some young, or some elder acquaintance, by producing from time to time, some fragment or completed cast of composition, presented sometimes on an apparently old piece of parchment, drawn, as he pretended, out of the mass of that material which had come into his possession after being thrown as rubbish out of the famous chest. He duped and elated a foolish tradesman, who was in some sort his friend, but not much worth as such, by presenting to him, set forth in all heraldic formalities, a pedigree which deduced his descent, greatly to his surprise, from an

ancestry high in antiquity and rank. He might have continued to enjoy, and might have transmitted, the new-found honour, if he had not been at last so ill advised as to carry the document which awarded it to him to the test of the herald's office.

The boldest of Chatterton's early experiments was a fabricated local record, exhibiting a long and minute description of the ceremonies attending the opening, some years back, of the principal bridge in Bristol. There were few lapses of his discretion; but in one or two instances he did unwittingly let an acquaintance see by what means a parchment might be so discoloured as to belie its age. He kept materials (yellow ochre, &c.,) for such an operation, in a little room which he had persuaded his mother to surrender to his exclusive possession.

In the confirmed consciousness of extraordinary talent, and with a burning ambition to climb upward by the road of literature, he came to a determination to abandon, at all hazards, his irksome profession. An unsuccessful overture to Mr. Dodsley, the noted publisher, reduced him, at whatever cost to his pride, to look out for some personage, in whom there might be found a lingering remainder of the virtues of that nearly departed age, when men of rank and wealth were the patrons of indigent men of genius; and Mr. Horace Walpole was the man. To him were conveyed some pieces of the Rowley fabrication, as samples of the literary treasures so fortunately rescued from the oblivion in which old Time believed he had buried them for aye. Walpole was caught at first; returned the most courteous compliments and 'a thousand thanks;' and would be gratified to be favoured with further communications from a gentleman so much his superior in Saxon learning. But after there had been time to consult Gray and Mason, who immediately pronounced the compositions forgeries; and after (what might alone have gone near to do the mischief) he had received from Chatterton an account of his condition, as in humble circumstances, enslaved to an employment which he could not endure, with a request that Walpole would assist him to escape from it, by exerting his interest to procure for him some situation in which he might be free to prosecute the course which nature intended him for;—the patron that was to be, and who had been drawn to make a first yielding movement with smiles and gentle speech, turned sharp round, and would have no more to say to him.

This disappointment and rebuff too much excited his resentment, and stimulated his pride, to be a salutary lesson, against either the vice or the imprudence of attempting to make his way by expedients implying a contempt of the understanding of those whom he might expect to assist him. And the accompanying dry counsel from the aristocrat to the ambitious apprentice, recommending him to mind the business of his desk till he should

have realized a competence, which should set him at liberty to indulge his taste for more elegant pursuits, would rather tend to aggravate his antipathy to all parchments, but those he was soiling for his device. His indentures being willingly cancelled by his master, who was become alarmed at his cool deliberation on suicide, he set out for London, in a state of feeling combined of the brightest presumptions and the blackest anticipations. This was in April, 1770, just within four months of the termination of his life.

The history of that brief interval, as supplied partly by his letters, and partly by information from persons in whose houses he lodged, is hardly exceeded, for violent contrast and dismal tragedy, by any chapter in literary biography. Some previous communications with the publishers of magazines and newspapers he reckoned on as a sufficient introduction into what some of his dreams represented as a field of high intellectual enterprise, where fame and fortune might be achieved. His services were readily accepted in the manufactories of fugitive literature. And it is evident he worked with energy, dispatch, and wonderful versatility; for we find him contributing to a variety of periodical publications, in poems, tales, and political squibs. It is surprising to see how quickly the youth, suddenly transferred from an obscure corner in society, could seize, and how dexterously avail himself of, the topics, characteristics, temper, and incidents of the time. He must himself have rather wondered to feel how little he was confounded or abashed amidst the vast and heterogeneous aggregation and commotion of the metropolis. He could satirise the self-importance of worshipful personages with the caustic bite of an old shrewd cynic; expose base motives lurking under plausible pretensions; assail the possessors of power in the style of a practised partisan. But his judgment of his own position and prospects was wofully bubbled. His letters to his relations, during the earlier part of the adventure, are full of inflated presumptions. He is now in his true element, so unlike that muddy muddled Bristol; talent brought out in spirited writing has a free and noble career; his acquaintance is coveted; he must appear in the noted coffee-houses, dressed in the *mode;* he hears that his writings are producing a sensation among certain ranks and circles; 'state affairs for him;' he is expecting to be introduced to a person of great consequence; he shall soon be in a situation to obtain advantages for his friends; his family shall share his coming prosperity; he is a gay, fine gentleman at the theatres and Ranelagh; for it becomes him to acquaint himself extensively with the world, in order to be equipped to play the more conspicuous part.

It is likely enough that such an upsetting of sober judgment was attributable in part to false promises, made to him by scamps

of publishers, and underling knaves of party. He was soon, however, to find, in the paltry rate of remuneration awarded to him, and the non-payment of a portion of even that, what value was set on his services. As a political writer, he had enlisted on the side of Wilkes's party, with as bold and fierce vituperations of the government of the day as any party or faction could desire. But we find him complaining that the soldier's pay on that side of the war was miserably parsimonious. And he had no objection, as we have noticed, to get behind a bush, and let fly a shot into the camp to which he ostensibly belonged. It could not be many weeks before he came to find that his hard-earned, penurious, and precarious receipts would not support him in any such way of life as he had wished and begun to adopt. His pride, however, which he acknowledged to constitute nineteen parts out of twenty of his nature (his 'damned pride,' he called it, though, one may doubt, whether the curse was pronounced in virtue's name) forced him to keep up appearances as long as possible, in his correspondence with his friends in Bristol, after the phantasmagoria which had dazzled and almost demented him must have faded away, and left him to the dreary reality of his situation. Imagine the feelings of so proud a spirit, conscious of extraordinary powers, scornful of all who could not appreciate them, or would not reward their exertion, elated but two or three short months since in the confidence of soon making a figure in society —when driven to request the assistance of a friend in Bristol to procure for him a humble appointment in a medical capacity to Africa, for which he was so unqualified that he must have known the person applied to, himself a medical man, could not honestly comply.

He was sinking fast in destitution, to the extreme at length of absolute starvation. The person in whose house he had lodged, observing him to stay in his room two days, without, as she believed, having any thing to eat, invited him to dine with her, but he appeared offended, and said, 'he wanted nothing.' It is hard to believe but he might have obtained, from some or other of his acquaintances, the means of, at least, a temporary alleviation of such misery. But making the experiment would have been a bitterness to his pride. At that very time, to the burning shame of some of the employers of his pen, many pounds of the beggarly wages for which he had laboured remained unpaid.—The enterprize had now failed; the ambition, flushed with confidence, had turned to insupportable mortification; the last desperate expedient was brought, as by some demon, directly before him, with no alternative that his pride would accept; and so eventful, wayward, ill-disciplined, unhonoured, but eminently capable a life, was terminated, and we know not whether in any expectation of a subsequent existence, by means of arsenic, at a little short of the age of

eighteen; of which the last few months must have hurried him rapidly through a violent tumult of the passions, a melancholy drama acted on the unseen stage of his mind. And all this anarchy of emotions, the action and re-action of pride, exultation, mortification, resentment, and despair, the confusion and conflict of all the passions, to close in the self-destruction of their slave and victim! What a fearful scene, in which we can in thought behold him, after his short and feverish career, silently retiring to his chamber, and shutting himself in for the last time; putting down on his table the poison; fixing on it a long look; taking it up, and laying it down again, with a shuddering sensation—for the power of death is there; saying to himself, but resolutely suppressing the thought, 'What shall I be to-morrow?' then collecting his various fragments of manuscript, the labours begun in the hope of procuring bread by them, and tearing them in small pieces, that every thing of his might perish with him; at last mingling, and with a hasty desperate effort, or, perhaps, after a protracted struggle and hesitation, swallowing the deadly potion; taking to his bed; suffering the mortal agonies in solitude and darkness; and expiring.—Just critically too late there was, it seems, a gleam of what might have proved an auspicious change. 'A 'few days after the unhappy termination of Chatterton's life, 'Dr. Fry, head of St. John's College, Oxford, went to Bristol, in 'order to search into the history of Rowley and Chatterton, and to 'patronise the latter. It was too late; the only intelligence he 'received was, that the young Bristol poet was no more.'—p. 92.

When it was recollected, that many men of talent, of humble origin, have surmounted, some of them in the juvenile age, the obstacles in their way to a willingly conceded rank in public estimation, it may be matter of speculation what were the causes of so total and disastrous a failure, in the case of Chatterton. It is true, that divers individuals of unquestioned genius and great original promise have been so unfortunate in their progress, and made a miserable end. This, however, has often been owing to their recklessness, their profligacy, their wantonly throwing away their means and opportunities, and then alienating, by their incorrigible dissipation and depravity, the favour of those who might have been disposed to promote their success. But there is clear evidence that Chatterton, during his residence in Bristol, that is, all but a few months of his life, was remarkably regular and sober, maintained a kind intercourse with his family, sought the acquaintance of respectable men much above him in age, was so absorbed in solitary mental occupations, that the extent of his reading, the variety of his knowledge, and the amount of his compositions, were such as may well excite wonder at the very possibility of his making so much of his time. The morality of his London life is not certainly known. Imputations of vice were

made or credited by even some of his advocates. They may appear but too likely to be true, though there be no direct evidence, when we think of a young man exempt from the restraints of religious belief on any fixed principles of conscience, frequenting, as he tells us, in his letters, the scenes of dissipation and amusement. The prevailing style of those letters, too, is very much that of a man who deems it a fine spirited air to be jocular on many matters amenable to moral jurisdiction. But whatever license there was in his practical habits, it was under such limitation as to be compatible with much of the intellectual labour which could be prosecuted only in retirement.

The capricious thing named *luck*, which seems to scorn in its allotment of good and ill, the control of any known laws, may have something to do in many cases of failure. But in that of Chatterton there were as we have, in part, already noted, obstructive circumstances of an intelligible and decided character. He was, in a certain sense, *barbarized* by his early situation. Besides, his contempt of the miserly scheme of school instruction, his disgust at the business to which he was transferred from it, and his resentful mortification at the treatment from his vulgar-proud master, all which operated to produce a tone of antipathy, a general propensity to aversion and repugnance, a dark scowl on his spirit—besides all this, he was most unfortunate in having no associates of more than ordinary mental power. Even the two or three men of more advanced age, who made pretensions to figure in authorship, and favoured him with a sort of patronising acquaintance, were of very mediocre faculties. Neither they nor the juniors could have any community with the vigorous workings of his spirit; he was solitary among all that were about him. And worse still, the sagacity with which he saw through them confirmed and augmented his pride and disposition to contempt, and envenomed his resentment when he felt, as he had sometimes cause to feel, that he was insulted by the most despicable meanness in the way of recompence for what were believed, by the parties receiving them, to be valuable services.

He was thus placed out of social cordiality; and perverted to seek a malicious gratification in making fools of people. A native aptitude to self-sufficiency, pertinacity, and scorn of interference or censure, gave ready admission into the formation of his character of the unmitigated effect of every thing that, in the circumstances of his situation, tended to create a predominance of the qualities we are describing. Growing up separate and alien, in a great degree, from the social interests and sentiments which bind men together, he was habitually ready and watchful for occasions to practice on their weakness and folly, and to indulge a propensity to annoyance by satire. He would play off the witty malice, no matter who was the object. He was a very Ishmael with this

weapon. It is somewhere his own confession that, when the mood was on him, he spared neither foe nor friend. Very greatly amusing as it may well be believed that his company was when he chose to give it, nobody was safe against having his name, with his peculiarities, his hobby, his vanity, hitched into some sarcastic stanza. Men must not be expected to sympathise very kindly with the mortifications of a person who, whatever be his talents, demands that such temper and habits shall be no obstruction to advancement in society.

We need not advert again to the ill fortune of starting with exhibitions so much in contempt of popular taste. Let the antiquated productions be either spurious or genuine, they, at all events appealed only to an interest artificial and extremely confined. How many of those who were to be pleased through the medium of sentiment and imagination would turn out of the fair, ample, easily accessible garden of our poetry, to try after a few flowers which it was said they might find somewhere in a thicket of brambles?

But we *may* repeat, with great stress, that the utter want of good faith, manifested to be radical in the character of the claimant on public favour, was a fatal circumstance. What other consequence could follow than a disinclination to admit the claim, when the perverted genius was gradually found out practising deceptions, right and left, on familiar friends, on city authorities, on compilers of history, on the amateurs of literature?—"ex-'hibiting,' confesses his apologist, Mr. Dix, 'an unquestionable 'proof of that *radical* tendency of mind which Chatterton felt for 'inventing plausible fictions, and in support of which sentiment 'his whole life forms one mass of authority.'—p. 24.

And then the miscalculation on which he abandoned a regular profession to take the chances of the London market for loose talent. He had, indeed, the true consciousness of high mental endowment; unlike some misguided young men who have committed similar blunders in a delusive presumption of genius. But to take this step at pure hazard, without connexion, recommendation, or respectable introduction; in ignorance of the terms on which mercenary writers would have to transact with mercenary publishers; unsuspecting of the advantage that would be taken of a needy youth, all the more when it would be known that in what notoriety he had acquired he lay under the imputation of imposture; and finally, with nothing to fall back upon in the event of failure, but plainly, determinately, avowedly, suicide—this was truly a desperate gambler's play.

His affair with Horace Walpole, which did him great mischief, seems to have given occasion for a large indulgence in heroics of indignant sensibility. The refusal to take the duties and honours of patronage has been maledicted in the name of all the gods and

muses at once. Mr. Dix has inserted Walpole's statement and vindication entire; a capital display of dexterous and pointed fencing. But, also, we cannot help thinking it was in a great degree successful. It is probable the judgment passed on his conduct in the transaction has inadvertently been allowed to take its colour, less from the true merits of the particular case than from his known character, as a cold, selfish, cynical, fastidious, but sycophantic aristocrat. In the first place, he might fairly ask why *he* should be singled out as the individual to be, independently of his will, so charged with the fortunes, as to be accountable for the disasters, of a young man unknown to him. But next, when he became convinced that this young man, while appealing to his benevolence, and soliciting his assistance, was deliberately practising a deception on him, and perhaps secretly exulting at the thought of inveigling so eminent and shrewd a person to serve him in capacity of dupe, who can wonder that he resented such an experiment on him, or vehemently reproach him for declining, even in an unceremonious manner, to become a patron on such terms? Let any one make the case his own, and say whether he has so little pride, that he would not be irritated at finding himself partly caught by a stratagem, which implied a contempt of his discernment in the very act of petitioning his favour. A man of benevolence extraordinary might, indeed, have conceived a philanthropic solicitude for a young man of unquestionable genius, in untoward circumstances, and entering on a course not tending to honourable distinction. He might have wished to devise some way of rescuing such talents from perversion, and directing them to a worthy application. But such gratuitous virtue could not be required of Walpole but by a law which not one, probably, of his censurers would have obeyed in a similar case.

To be sure, the patrician author of the grave history with which the Castle of Otranto was preceded, and palmed on the public for an ancient foreign production, had not the clearest right in the world to be severe on the poor plebeian for trying his hand in the same line. Some hints of conscience on the matter would not have been amiss. Perhaps he would plead that his was a *mere* literary fib; was not an imposition attempted on individuals personally; was not meant to be turned to any account of personal advantage; was not employed to cajole anybody's good nature into an obligation to serve his interests; and, besides, was not a falsification of the state of our poetry in an early age. He had to allege, also, when accused of having been virtually, and almost directly, the cause of the subsequent catastrophe, that Chatterton persisted in his course of artifice after what was represented as the fatal cruelty, and with anger against those who had not submitted to be deceived by his asseverations.

In Walpole's vindication there is a repeated avowal of his con-

viction and admiration of Chatterton's extraordinary genius. At the same time he scouts those auguries, given forth in pompous phrases to aggravate the crime of the refused patronage, that had he lived he might have produced, to illustrate the nation and age, works of a splendour before which most other genius would have become dim. It must be confessed that his compositions would seem to indicate a premature *completeness*, so to express it, in the state and action of his faculties. At so early an age a certain loose expansiveness, a more imperfect organization of the mental constitution, might have been a more promising sign. In some of his compositions, there is a remarkable concentration, a decided action as of a mind got wholly clear of the formative process, and become nearly what it was to be. There are, for instance, in his newspaper letters on the politics and characters of the day, many sentences that remind us of Junius. His caustic scornful temperament, the absence, as it appears to us, of the generous glow of feeling, would have been against him for the higher order of intellectual creations. But we think he would have made a consummate satirist; consummate, we mean, in the *biting* property of satire; for he would have wanted the *moral* purpose and authority of infliction on folly and vice. But indeed which of the tribe has not been so wanting? What have they really cared for virtue, from Horace down to Butler, Churchill, Byron? Did they wish their fellow-mortals not to have been such, or to cease to be such, as to afford them subjects for their jocularity or their spleen?

Successful attempts at satire were among the earliest manifestations of Chatterton's temperament and prematurity. A production of a more advanced age, entitled, 'Kew Gardens,' occupying twenty pages, has been obtained by Mr. Dix, to be printed entire now for the first time. It contains many pointed lines and couplets; but who were the culprits under infliction is so well concealed behind rows of asterisms, that they might afterwards make their appearance with all effrontery as honest men, and nobody the wiser.

We cannot help repeating our wonder at Chatterton's fertility of invention, and rapidity of execution, when we advert to the notices of his diversified compositions, beginning from his childhood, his ingenious historical and heraldic fabrications, his great exploit of Rowley, all contemporary with extensive reading, and an application to various subjects in the more special nature of study; and finally his numerous contributions to periodical publications during the disturbances of his life in London.

As Mr. Dix honestly sets forth the facts of the history, so that his readers may form their own judgments, we will not violently quarrel with the partiality of his elaborate pleadings in arrest or mitigation of censure, on a being whose short earthly sojourn was passed and closed under so dark a cloud. At the same time it is a

duty (we do not mean more specially in this instance, but generally) to protest against the pernicious fallacy, so much in fashion, of suspending, and all but abrogating, in favour of men of genius, the most essential laws of morality; as if their follies and vices were to stand exempt from the ordinary jurisdiction, through a privilege conferred on them as if in scorn of common mortals, for their condition of being held under a strict responsibility. Genius has the virtue to redeem all error and criminality without the trouble of repentance and reformation. A poetical genius especially, if of high order, may sport any course he pleases, through life and death, and be not the less sure of an apotheosis. As 'the 'fire that led astray was fire from heaven,' it may be trusted to lead back thither. In Coleridge's Monody on Chatterton, (a juvenile effusion, it is fair to notice, but in a vigorous strain of poetry) we have the consummation of this anomalous destiny.

> 'O spirit blest!
> Whether th' Eternal's throne around,
> Amidst the blaze of Seraphim,
> Thou pourest forth the grateful hymn;
> Or, soaring through the blest domain,
> Enrapturest Angels with thy strain, &c.'

What should that have been in virtue of which he was presumed to have attained this celestial exaltation? Not any faith and interest in Christianity: for he avowed, with self-complacency, as we have seen, that 'he was no Christian.' Not even any more vague and general sentiment and religion; for there are, we think, too many indications of his generally making light of religion altogether! Not any serious concern about the awful hereafter; since, in contemplation of suicide, he could make a will in a series of ironical jokes, and could coolly reply to a friend's inquiry as to his plan and expectations in removing to London, that if his expectations, first from authorship, and next from gulling the people in character of Methodist preacher, should fail him, his 'final resource was a pistol.' Not any conscience made of truth and justice, whatever might be the mischief of their violation; for, referring to an unpublished poem, exhibiting 'an enthusiastic Methodist,' most likely in gross caricature, he says he had intended to send it to Romaine, 'and *impose it on the infatuated world as a reality.*' It was not on the strength of any such virtues that he mounted. No; in default, and in despite, of all this, his *genius* was to secure him a welcome and promotion in angelic society.

It is not without reluctance that we make such a direct individual application of these observations on the treachery to religion in idolatry of talent. But they need to be verified by an example; and it is less invidious to take one so far back, than to cite particular instances, as we might in plenty, from recent or contemporary literature.

Art. IV. *Truths and Fictions of the Middle Ages. The Merchant and the Friar.* By Sir Francis Palgrave, K.H., Keeper of the Records of the Treasury of Her Majesty's Exchequer. London: J. W. Parker. 1837.

IF the report of our author, in his dedication to his friend Sir Robert Harry Inglis, is to be taken in serious mood, the contents of this volume have narrowly escaped oblivion. 'No fair 'daughter of a Limehouse or Wapping *millionnaire* ever expe-'rienced,' we are assured, 'a greater number of rebuffs when try-'ing to be introduced at Almack's, than Friar Bacon sustained in 'his attempts to be brought out into the reading world.' One publisher suggested an extension of the work to three volumes, after the approved fashion of modern authorship; another required the addition of notes explanatory of the antiquarian lore, so liberally interspersed; while others positively declined the copyright, alleging in terms intentionally flattering to the author, that the success of historical works 'is pretty nearly in an inverse 'proportion to the labour bestowed; the more flimsy the mate-'rials, the better the chance of sale.' By what happy chance we are at length favoured with our author's lucubrations we are not informed. It is enough that the volume is before us, and we shall be surprised if he have occasion to regret its appearance.

The object of the work is to render accessible to general readers a portion of that antiquarian knowledge for which Sir Francis Palgrave's reputation stands so deservedly high. This is effected by a very simple process, well suited in many respects to the end proposed. The machinery is inartificial, and the characters introduced derive very little aid from the skill and shaping of the author. The first chapter, entitled 'The Refectory,' makes us acquainted with the *dramatis personæ*, who are soon found to be two of the most interesting and best informed men of a bygone age. Marco Polo, a Venetian traveller, is introduced to the Abbey of Abingdon, where he is hospitably entertained, and forms the acquaintance of our countryman Friar Bacon. They journey together towards London, and mutually communicate the knowledge they possess. Each is intent on his specific occupation,—the one indulging in dim visions of the future progress of science, and the other expatiating on a state of society far removed from the over-cast and stunted growth of European intellect.

'Friar Bacon's conversation was very singular. Sometimes remarkably explicit and perspicuous; he would often again become silent, reserved, and obscure. He would pass from the most sound experimental observations to a boundless expanse of theory and hypothesis: solid and correct reasoning would suddenly be *faulted*, as it

were, by a vein of wild credulity: and the full and clear display of a philosophical truth would suddenly be succeeded by an inscrutable enigma. At one moment, he appeared to put you in entire possession of his sentiments: at the next, you felt that he retired within himself, and laboured to deprive you of any indication by which you could ascertain his real thoughts. Marco Polo, therefore, afterwards observed that the Friar might be compared to the prospect of a mountain-range, whose lofty summits are seen, now resplendent in floods of light, and now shrouded in impenetrable mists, a ceaseless alternation of darkness and sunshine.

'During a considerable portion of the road, the travellers continued skirting along the Thames, scantily dotted here and there with heavy barges and ballingers: some, drifting lazily down the shallow river; others, still more slowly punting their way upwards by dint of pole and oar.

''In Cathay,' observed Marco Polo, 'the people hold all other nations in such contempt, that, speaking of them according to their common proverb, they say, 'Cathay-man, two eye—Red-pate, one eye—Black-pate, no eye.' They found this complimentary scale upon their own imagined superiority over all other races, though they cannot help acknowledging the evident advantages which we, European Red-pates, possess over the wild and nomade tribes in their vicinity. But if Kublai Khan's subjects were to travel into our western parts, I am afraid they would doubt whether we use even the one barbarian eye, which they are so kind as to allow us. Water-carriage is the life of trade. And yet, with the exception of the Flemings, who, as I hear, have formed a canal between Ghent and Bruges, in some parts by cutting through the soil, but mostly by deepening the beds of the sluggish streams, and a few other similar works in Lombardy, there is not a nation or country in Christendom where any attempt has been made to improve the advantages of inland navigation.

''How differently they manage matters in Cathay!—There, the broad expanses of the lakes are connected by excavations with the ample floods which intersect the Empire; forming communications denied by nature; and enabling the most distant provinces to exchange their productions, the abundance of the southern regions helping the arid sterility of the north.

''Hence, commerce has been extended in a manner of which you, in Europe, have no conception. On the banks of the Kiang, which unites itself with the largest of those artificial channels, there are upwards of two hundred cities, each possessing five thousand barks. I verily believe that more vessels float upon the Kiang than are to be found in all Asia besides.'

''Much,' replied Bacon, 'hath certainly been effected by those distant nations, who at once afford us an example and a warning—an example in stimulating us to exert our industry, a warning in teaching us to refrain from self-conceit; and yet, how little has their knowledge advanced, when compared to the wonders which will be revealed by the combined powers of art and nature, exceeding all the miracles ascribed to magical skill or necromantic art.

'' Bridges, unsupported by arches, can be made to span the foaming torrent. Man shall descend to the bottom of the ocean safely breathing; and treading with firm step on the golden sands never brightened by the light of day. Call but the secret powers of Sol and Luna into action, and I behold a single steersman sitting at the helm, and guiding the vessel, which divides the waves with greater rapidity than if she had been filled with a crew of mariners toiling at the oars. And the loaded chariot, no longer encumbered by the panting steed, darts on in its course with resistless force and rapidity. Let the pure and simple elements do thy labour. Bind the eternal enemies, and yoke them to the same plough. Make the contraries unite, and teach the discordant influences to conjoin in harmony. Aid the antagonists to conquer each other: and do thou profit by their mutual victories. True are my words, though spoken in parables. Open the treasury of nature,—above, below, around you are the keys.' '—pp. 41—45.

In the course of their journeyings they attend a county meeting, convened by the sheriff, for the purpose of choosing Parliamentary representatives, and the scene described is both curious and instructive.

'Notwithstanding the size of the meeting,—and Marco conjectures,—if we read his numerals properly, that upwards of two thousand people were present: there was, nevertheless, a semblance of system in the crowd; for a considerable proportion of the throng consisted of little knots of husbandmen. The churls, four or five of whom were generally standing together, each company seeming to compose a deputation, might be easily distinguished by their dress—a long frock of coarse, yet snow-white linen, hanging down to the same length before and behind, and ornamented round the neck with broidery rudely executed in blue thread. They wore, in fact, the attire of the carter and the ploughman, which yet lingers in some few parts of Cambridgeshire and Suffolk, common enough about five and twenty years ago, but which will probably soon be recollected only as an ancient costume, cast away with all the other obsolete characteristics of merry old England, by which our native country was known and distinguished in the days—days as unrecallable now as the age of chivalry,—of patriotism and loyalty, of 'Hearts of Oak,' 'Rule Britannia,' and 'Long live the King.'

'Every one of these groups of peasantry, who, it must be observed, were the representatives of their respective Townships, the rural communes into which the whole Realm was divided, had a species of chieftain, in the person of an individual, who, though it was evident that he belonged to the same rank in society, gave directions to the rest. Interspersed among the churls, though not confounded with them, were also very many well-clad persons, possessing an appearance of rustic respectability. These, also, were subjected to some kind of classification, being collected into sets of twelve men each, who, when so collected, were busily employed in confabulation among themselves. And, from circumstances which, at present, I shall for various pru-

dent and cogent reasons refrain from detailing, Marco ascertained that they were the 'sworn centenary deputies,' a phrase by which I suppose he means the Jurors who answered for and represented the several Hundreds. But a third class of members of the Shire-court could be equally distinguished, proudly known by their gilt spurs and blazoned tabards, as the provincial Knighthood, and who, though thus honoured, appeared to mix freely and affably in converse with the rest of the Commons of the Shire.'—pp. 61—63.

A flourish of trumpets at length announces the approach of the High Sheriff, Sir Giles de Argentein, and a scene of ludicrous confusion ensued, for which modern aspirants after senatorial honors will find it difficult to account. Things were different in the days of our fathers from what they are at present. The Commons had not yet risen into power, and the country gentry consequently preferred their rural sports and domestic hearths, to the duties of legislation and an attendance at St. Stephens. The very name of Parliament was magical. 'Even before the second 'syllable of the word had been uttered, a vision of aids and sub-'sidies instantly rose before the appalled multitude: assessors and 'collectors flitted in the ambient air.' The Abbot of Oseney, who was present on the occasion, dreading a personal summons to this most unpleasant duty, immediately began to move off, when the following scene—graphically descriptive of the times—is represented as taking place.

'But the Abbot of Oseney forthwith guided his steed to the right-about, and rode away from the meeting as fast as he could trot, turning the deafest of deaf ears to the monitions which he received. 'My Lord Abbot, we want you!' My Lord trotted on. 'My Lord Abbot, we want you!' vociferated the Sheriff, in a voice of thunder. My Lord heard nothing, but continued his progress until he was intercepted by the Porte-joye, who, respectfully doffing his cap, and offering a salutation which the Abbot seemed very unwilling to return, attempted to serve the Prelate with the much-abominated process, the writ of summons, by which he was commanded, all other matters laid aside, to attend in person at the Parliament, to treat with and give counsel to the King upon the affairs which should be then and there propounded.

* * * * . . .

''Gently, gently, gently, Master Porte-joye,'—quoth the Abbot,—'you may e'en put your scrap into your scrip again. My much-lamented predecessor, Richard de Dronebury, to whose station, after he had ruled us in peace and quietness during twenty years, I, all unworthy as I be, was called last Easter, hath set us quite at ease. A blessing be upon him,—for he obtained several most valuable privileges for our Convent, and such as will for ever commemorate his name. A grant of twelve fat bucks yearly, and every year, [illegible] Woodstock Park. A thousand fagots of wood at each fall, to [illegible] stick whereof

you shall be heartily welcome, Master Porte-joye. And, lastly, a patent, declaring that the Reverend Abbot of Oseney, and all his successors for ever thereafter, shall be wholly exempted, exonerated, and discharged from attending Parliament, or in any way resorting to the same, or from being held, bound, or obliged to give any advice or counsel to the King, his heirs or successors, upon any matter, cause, or thing whatever. Well do I know how anxious my Lord Chancellor is to fill the Parliament House with the like of me; but with this patent I defy him.—Let him do his worst, I wo'nt come to Parliament.'

'' You shall answer for this contempt before the Chancellor, my Lord, when the seals are next opened in Westminster Hall, on the table of marble stone. A commission of rebellion will bring you to your senses,'—exclaimed the Porte-joye, scowling at the Abbot. But all further discussion between these parties was prevented by the High Sheriff, who commanded his clerk to read the whole of the writ, by which he was commanded 'to cause two Knights to be elected for the Shire; and from every City within his Bailiwick two Citizens; and from every Borough two Burgesses, all of the more discreet and wiser sort, and to cause them to come before the king in his Parliament at the before-mentioned place and day, with full powers from their respective communities, to perform and consent to such matters as by common counsel shall be then and there ordained; and this you will in no wise omit, as you will answer at your peril.'

'A momentary pause ensued. The main body of the Suitors retreated from the High Sheriff, as though he had been a centre of repulsion: and, after a short but vehement conversation amongst themselves, one of the bettermost sort of yeomen,—a gentleman farmer, if we may use the modern term,—stepped forward and addressed Sir Giles: 'Your worship well knows that we, poor Commons, are not bound to proceed to the election. You have no right to call upon us to interfere. So many of the Earls and Barons of the Shire, the great men, who ought to take the main trouble, burthen, and business of the choice of the Knights upon themselves, are absent now in the King's service, that we neither can nor dare proceed to nominate those who are to represent the County. Such slender folk as we have no concern with these weighty matters. How can we tell who are best qualified to serve?'

'' What of that, John Trafford,' said the Sheriff, 'do you think that his Grace will allow his affairs to be delayed by excuses such as these? You, Suitors of the Shire, are as much bound and obliged to concur in the choice of the County Members as any Baron of the realm. Do your duty; I command ye in the King's name.'

'' Prove your allegations, Sir Sheriff,' replied the sturdy Yeoman, who, as the Reeve, headed the deputation of his township, 'Quote the judgment, read the statute, cite the law, or produce the roll, showing that our concurrence in the Parliamentary elections is a part of our suit and service in the Shire. And if you succeed in finding that you have any coercive right over us in this respect, you shall harness me in the team, and know further, Sir Sheriff,' continued John Trafford,

'that I appear in this Shire court as the Attorney and Steward of 'Sir Robert de Vere.'

''So be it, Master John,' retorted the Sheriff, with all the delight of a disputant about to place his adversary between the horns of a dilemma, 'Since I have you, as your master's representative in the Shire Court, I will let you go as a Suitor with all my heart. You have just alleged that the burthen and duty of the elections falls upon the Earls and Barons. This is your acknowledgement, in full and open Court, which you cannot retract, and of which I and the Coroners will all bear record by word of mouth before the Exchequer. Now, deny, if you can, that, in all proceedings of this County Court, you are fully empowered, by immemorial custom, to answer for Sir Robert your master, in the same manner as if he were here present. Therefore, under peril of the King's high displeasure, and as you tender life and limb, proceed at once to the election, as you are in duty bound, and as it has been ruled, again and again, in Yorkshire.'

'Fluctuating and uncertain as the elective franchise was, anterior to the creation of the forty-shilling suffrage, the only practice almost, in which much uniformity can be discovered, or which is defined with clearness and precision in coeval documents, is the usage of the Stewards or Attorneys of the Baronage concurring in the Parliamentary nominations, and on some occasions electing, or rather making, the members without the assent of any other parties whatever,—a professional arrangement which, as some folks say, is by no means obsolete. John Trafford, therefore, had no help. Like a wise debater, he yielded to the pinch of the argument, without confessing that he felt it: and, having muttered a few words to the Sheriff, which might be considered as an assent, a long conference took place between him and some of his brother Stewards, as well as with the other Suitors. During this confabulation, several nods and winks of intelligence passed between Trafford and a well-mounted Knight: and whilst the former appeared to be settling the business with the Suitors, the latter, who had been close to Sir Giles, continued gradually backing and sidleing away through the groups of Shiresmen. And, just as he had got clear out of the ring, John Trafford declared, in a most sonorous voice, that the Suitors had chosen Sir Richard de Pogeys as one of their representatives.

'The Sheriff, who, keeping his eye fixed upon Sir Richard as he receded, had evidently suspected some manœuvre, instantly ordered his bailiffs to secure the body of the Member—this is rather an Hibernian phrase, but, as I cannot depart from my authorities, I do not know how it can be amended—'and,' continued he with much vehemence, 'Sir Richard must be forthwith committed to custody, unless he gives good bail—two substantial freeholders—that he will duly attend in his place amongst the Commons on the first day of the Session, according to the laws and usage of Parliament.'

'All this, however, was more easily said than done, for, before the verbal precept had proceeded from the lips of the Sheriff, Sir Richard was galloping at full speed across the fields. Off dashed the Bailiffs

after the Member, amidst the shouts of the surrounding crowd, who forgot all their grievances in the stimulus of the chase, which they contemplated with the perfect certainty of receiving some satisfaction by its termination: whether by the escape of the fugitive, in which case their common enemy, the Sheriff, would be liable to a heavy amercement: or by the capture of the Knight, a result which would give them almost equal delight, by imposing a disagreeable and irksome duty upon an individual who was universally disliked, in consequence of his overbearing harshness and domestic tyranny.

'One of the two above-mentioned gratifications might be considered as certain. But besides these, there was a third contingent amusement, by no means to be overlooked: namely, the chance, that, in the contest, those respectable and intelligent functionaries, the Sheriff's Bailiffs, might, somehow, or another, come to some kind of harm. In this charitable expectation, the good men of the Shire were not entirely disappointed. Bounding along the open fields, whilst the welkin resounded with the cheers of the spectators, the fleet courser of Sir Richard sliddered on the grass, and then stumbled and fell down the sloping side of one of the many ancient British entrenchments by which the plain was crossed, and the horse and the rider rolling over, the latter was deposited quite at the bottom of the foss, unhurt, but, of course, much discomposed.

'Blaunc-estoyle had received as little damage as his master. Horse and rider were immediately on their respective legs again: Blaunc-estoyle shook himself, snorted, and was quite ready to start; but Sir Richard had to regird his sword, and before he could remount, the Bailiffs were close at him; Dick-o'-the-Gyves attempted to trip him up, whilst John Catchpole seized him by the collar of his pourpoint. A scuffle ensued, during which the nags of the Bailiffs slily took the opportunity of emancipating themselves from control. Distinctly seen from the Moot-Hill, the strife was begun and ended in a moment; and in what manner it had ended was ascertained without any further explanation, when the officers rejoined the assembly, by Dick's limping gait and the closed eye of his companion. In the meanwhile, Sir Richard had wholly disappeared; and the special return made by the Sheriff to the writ, which I translate from an office-copy of the original —obligingly furnished by the Deputy Keeper of the Records in the Tower—will best elucidate the bearing of the transaction.

'"Sir Richard de Pogeys, Knight, duly elected by the Shire, refused to find bail for his appearance in Parliament at the day and place within mentioned, and having grievously assaulted my Bailiffs, in contempt of the King, his crown and dignity, and absconded to the Chiltern Hundreds, into which Liberty, not being shire-land or guildable, I cannot enter, I am unable to make any other execution of the writ, as far as he is concerned.'

'My readers are well aware that, at the present day, a nominal stewardship connected with the Chiltern Hundreds, called an office of profit under the Crown, enables the member, by a species of juggle—if such a term may be used without a breach of privilege,—to resign his seat in complete violation of the principles of the constitution, and

to the destruction of the purity of Parliament and the political independence of the individual. But, it is not so generally known, that this ancient domain, which now affords the means of retreating out of the House of Commons, was, in the fourteenth century, not unfrequently employed as a sanctuary, in which the Knight of the Shire took refuge in order to avoid being dragged into Parliament against his will. For, being a distinct jurisdiction, in which the Sheriff had no control, and where he could not *grab* the county member, it enabled the recusant to baffle the process, at least until the short session had closed.

'As soon as the excitement occasioned by the chase had in some degree subsided, Sir Giles de Argentein commanded the Suitors to proceed to the election of a second Knight, as required by the writ. There was some doubt whether the Sheriff might not be entitled to declare that the election of Sir Richard de Pogeys was void, and that they were therefore bound to choose another in his place; but after a tumultuous discussion the question was waived. Indeed, several of the Shiresmen maintained, that it was of no kind of consequence whether they returned one Knight or a score, since, whatever the number might be, the Knights of the Shire, like the Citizens appearing for London, had only a collective voice for the County,—one joint vote amongst them,—and not an individual suffrage. Yet, though this was confidently asserted, nobody appeared to be certain as to the practice prevailing in Parliament, upon a point which, one would think, was of great importance in all times, and most vitally so at a period like the present, when, as Marco Polo easily collected from the conversation of the bystanders, there was a strong feeling of opposition against the Crown.

'A pause ensued, and Sir Giles presented himself as if to receive the nomination of the Court. No one came forward, and the High Sheriff, with much more patience and forbearance than might have been expected from him, continued apparently waiting for the nomination. At this moment, a hawk which one of the followers of Sir Giles bore upon his fist, having broken leash, soared upwards, and then descended in her flight, attracted by rather an ignoble object, a pigeon, after whom she winged her way. This spectacle, as might be expected, drew off the attention of the crowd,—Trafford, indeed, always maintained, to his dying day, that it was no accident, but that Martin-o'-the-Mews had slipped the leash when *nudged* by Sir Giles,—and during their diversion, from the business, the Sheriff, after a few minutes' conversation with the Knights who were nearest to him, recalled the attention of the Shiremen, by declaring that Sir Thomas de Turbeville was fairly elected by the County, as the other Knight to serve for the same in Parliament, and that John att Green and Richard att Wood were his manucaptors.

'This declaration excited a universal outcry of discontent and indignation amongst the Shiremen. They whooped, scolded, groaned, and John Trafford, again acting as spokesman, loudly accused the Sheriff with jobbing and collusion, employing the most uncourteous and unmeasured language. 'It is a repetition of the fraud and deceit which you

practised at the last Parliament, when you levied seven pounds sterling for the wages of your ally and cater-cousin Sir Marmaduke Vavasour, being at the enormous rate of four shillings and eight-pence a day—two groats above the settled allowance—whereas he was never duly elected by us, and we could have hired as good a member, aye, and a better one, who would have been glad to do all the work of the County for five pounds, yea, even five marks, and who would have agreed in the lump, to accept the said sum for all his expenses going and returning, and for all his keep at Westminster, let the Parliament sit as long as it might—yea, even for a whole month.' Voices were rising louder and louder, and there was every appearance of a new storm. But the banner of Sir Giles de Argentein, emblazoned with the bearing allusive to his name—the three cups of silver—was elevated, the trumpets sounded, the horses were in motion, and the spearmen and knights, closing round the Sheriff, pierced through the crowd, and the meeting was dissolved.'—pp. 69—85.

The Third Chapter, bearing the title of 'Guildhall,' introduces our heroes to the municipal contentions of the Metropolis, where English liberty is seen struggling in its birth. The population, wealth, and commerce of London, nursed the young spirit which was destined to achieve such marvels; and though some of its earliest movements were erratic and boisterous, they bespoke a life and power which waited only the purifying influence of culture to attain consistency and wisdom. Our author's account of the contentions witnessed by his heroes, is too extended and too frequently broken by his own speculations, to allow of extract, and we must therefore pass on.

The Fourth Chapter, entitled, 'Parliament,' introduces us to the national representatives at a time when Westminster was a wide, straggling village, supported principally by those who were in attendance on the courts of justice, and by the members of the royal household. Much curious information respecting the forms of Parliament, and the modes of judicial procedure in the early part of the fourteenth century, is communicated in this chapter, which it would be difficult to collect from any other source. The squabbles of ecclesiastics constitute a more prominent topic than we could have wished, but they illustrate the manners of the times, and are not wholly without a parallel in modern days.

The remaining Chapters, entitled, 'The Friar's Study,' and 'Knowledge,' are the least interesting portions of the volume. They savour more of the author than of the times he professes to illustrate, and are employed in the exposition and defence of views from which many of his readers will dissent. We should have been glad if Sir Francis had spoken less frequently in his own person. As an Antiquarian historian, we hold him in very high esteem; but as a politician and theologist, we must be permitted to doubt his authority. When he speaks in the former

character we listen with attention and respect, but when he propounds his theories, whether political or ecclesiastical, we are strikingly reminded of the contracting nature of his studies, and of the one-sided view he frequently takes of men and things. An amusing illustration of this is afforded in the panegyric pronounced on the English clergy, and the gross injustice done to those of America. After representing the seven bishops imprisoned by James II. as martyrs to liberty—than which a grosser absurdity or more palpable error cannot be committed—the following contrast is instituted:

'These are the disciples of an endowed church; whilst amongst the endless varieties of sects, sectaries, and persuasions, which fill the eleemosynary pulpits of the American Union, not one single minister has dared to breathe a syllable in reprobation of that inhuman system of slavery, which contaminates their Commonwealth. Amongst those great and flourishing Transatlantic Republics, who ground their policy upon the equal rights of man, not one Christian minister dares to risk the loss of a *cent* in defence of the most sacred rights of humanity: whilst in England, the members of the different hierarchies have, each in their turn, surrendered every worldly possession, ungrudgingly, unhesitatingly, rather than purchase them by the slightest compromise of their principles. Thus, has the Anglican church identified herself with the state; both are animated by one spirit, united by one vital constitution.'—p. 223.

We have never spared the people or clergy of America on the subject here referred to. No English Journal has spoken in stronger or more condemnatory terms of their criminal supineness, or the still deeper guilt of many in lending themselves actively and zealously to the support of the inhuman and fiend-like system. But we confess we were astonished to hear Sir Francis assert—and the obvious design of the assertion awakened strong emotions in our breast—that 'not one single minister has dared 'to breathe a syllable in reprobation of the inhuman system of 'slavery.' Why, hundreds and thousands of these ministers, filling what are sneeringly termed 'the eleemosynary pulpits' of the Union, *have publicly enrolled themselves among the sworn foes of slavery*, and are now labouring with a zeal unknown in modern times for its extinction. Many of them have relinquished stations of influence and emolument, and are now travelling the Union in the Abolition cause, seeking to arouse the conscience and sympathies of their countrymen. But our author's argument required the sacrifice of these noble martyrs,—their country's hope and safety,—and facts were therefore overlooked. We do not suspect Sir Francis of a wilful mis-statement in this case, but what must we think of his competency for the office he undertakes? Ignorance may disqualify as effectually as dishonesty.

In perfect keeping with this assertion, and equally indicative of superficial knowledge and a rash judgment, is the following: 'The permanent endowment of a clergy, trains them into moral 'courage, whilst their dependence upon the voluntary donations 'of their flock, as surely sinks them in moral slavery.' p. 223. We advise our author, before he again pens such a sentence, to acquaint himself with Warburton's Treatise on the Alliance between Church and State. One of the bishops of his own hierarchy may teach him better than to commit himself so egregiously.

We had noted other things for animadversion, but shall abstain. The sterling worth of the materials composing the major part of the volume, more than counterbalances the 'viler stuff' which encumbers it, and will richly repay the labour of perusal.

Art. V. *Memoirs of the late Dr. Henry Bathurst, Lord Bishop of Norwich.* By the Rev. HENRY BATHURST, L.L.B., Archdeacon of Norwich; Rector of North Creak, Norfolk; and of Hollesley, Suffolk. 2 vols. 8vo. Valpy, London.

THESE two somewhat thin octavos sell at the enormous price of two pounds ten shillings. Unless the copies are destroyed or called in, we predict that they will not long sell at that price. Their real value, as near as we can calculate without a pair of scales (which we do not happen to have at hand), is about eleven pence. We say, *without a pair of scales*, for we have not the slightest doubt, that their value will be ultimately determined by their weight; this, when the boarding, &c., are torn off, will, probably be, about two pounds and three quarters. Now, supposing the cheese-monger or the seller of bacon willing to give four pence a pound for them, as waste paper, they will fetch about eleven pence, as aforesaid; and that will be above ten pence three farthings more than they are intrinsically worth. How the writer could think of charging such a price for such a mass of trumpery is beyond our comprehension.

There is only one point of view in which this work possesses the slightest claims to our attention, and in that its claims are *strong*. It is a point of view, however, in which, we will venture to say, its author never imagined it would be contemplated. He has unconsciously given us a striking comment on the wretched effects which flow from the alliance of Church and State; of the dreadful, the humiliating dependence of the former on the course of public politics, and the intrigues of courts and ministers;

of the shameful manner in which the spiritual interests of the nation and the appointments of the highest ecclesiastical functionaries are made subservient to party-purposes; of the horrible effects of the system of *translations;* of the secularizing influence which the whole system exerts, even, on the minds of the best prelates. For, it is to be observed, that in this history of the venerable bishop of Norwich, who filled that see for more than thirty years, there is hardly a letter, in which even *he* is not more busied about the changes of the political world, and about the prospects, dark or bright, of preferment for his family, than about the *proper business* of his high function. Now, if this be the case, in the life of the bishop of Norwich, one, certainly, of the most disinterested and least grasping prelates ever raised to the bench, what must be the effects of the system on other minds, more covetous, less benevolent, and whose hopes of preferment (from their being connected with the ruling party) are necessarily far stronger than those in which the bishop of Norwich was authorized to indulge during the greater part of his life?

It is a most humiliating picture of our state-church, which this narrative offers to us. It quietly takes for granted as maxims universally recognized, never disputed, and which there is no shame in unblushingly avowing—that courts and ministers are to be guided in their selection or promotion of bishops, and their *families,* principally, by their adherence or opposition to the ruling party; that the Tories must naturally proscribe a Whig, and that the Whigs must as naturally proscribe a Tory; that a staunch supporter of government is entitled to expect his preferment to a richer see; that a staunch opponent of it, no matter how judicious, benevolent, learned, or pious, must expect to be neglected; that the *proper qualifications,* the *peculiar aptitudes* for the offices and duties of a *Christian* bishop, such as elevated piety, great spirituality of mind, marked exemption from a secular temper, are to be regarded as secondary considerations. That the Bishop of Norwich, being a consistent champion of the Catholic claims, and, in other respects, liberal in his politics, should have been during more than twenty years neglected by the Tories, seems perfectly natural and justifiable to his son, the archdeacon; he makes no complaint about it; but that, when, at length, the Whigs came into power, his father's long-political consistency should not have been rewarded by his translation to a richer see, is, in his eyes, an offence of the deepest dye; he dwells upon it with the utmost rancour and implacability. Nay, he seems to think, that these *political services* to a party are so inestimable, and so abundantly sufficient a warrant for rewarding a man with the dignities and riches of the *Christian Church,* that his father's *family* is justly entitled to preferment on account of them; and he is, consequently, full of bitterness, that his title

of archdeacon has not, long since, been exchanged for that of bishop. His father, we must presume, had accumulated, during his long years of proscription and neglect, a stock of merit with the government, which, like that of the Catholic saints, might be expended with advantage on others, and entitle his children to the preferments which came all too late to him, or which from his age or moderation, he cared not to covet. The effusions of bile and wrath in which our archdeacon revenges himself on the Whigs for their neglect of the bishop and himself, are, as we shall presently show by some lengthened citations, as little and paltry as were ever indulged in by any disappointed hunter after preferment. His mind is absolutely full of it; he returns to it again and again; nor do we ever remember to have seen a soured and disappointed ambition expressing itself with so little dignity and with so much rancour.

Indeed, the whole book is not so much, properly speaking, a history of the life of his venerable father, as the querulous and peevish record of his own miserable hopes and disappointments. He seems to have constructed the whole book, with a view, to show how much his father sacrificed his *pecuniary* interests and those of his *family* (for, it must be observed, that the bishop and *his family* generally go together in this narrative) to his political consistency; to magnify the merit of that consistency, (as though it could ever be an *extraordinary* merit not to be a traitor to one's principles;) and to set in the strongest light the atrocious ingratitude of the Whigs for not having made the bishop, and in default of that, his *children*, the object of their peculiar patronage.

Though the maxims with regard to the bestowal of ecclesiastical patronage, which are quietly taken for granted in this narrative (as though it was never suspected that any person would consider them absurd or preposterous), are such as all political parties have unblushingly acted upon; yet we must acknowledge ourselves totally unable to sympathise with the ludicrous indignation of our archdeacon at the neglect which *he* has met with from the Whig government. As long as political service is considered every thing in these matters, his *father* might justly expect any preferment as the reward of his consistency; but we are yet to learn what are the peculiar claims of Mr. Archdeacon. Politicians though they do not look for elevated piety, may consistently look for some *other* things. They may look for prudence, self-control, learning, talent; all these the archdeacon *may* possess; all that we can say is, that we lack the proofs of them. What are the traces of any such qualities in these volumes, we must leave the reader to judge. So far from having any reason to complain, we think he ought to be very well contented, that he is as well off as he is. By his own confession, he was in early life advanced to

preferment worth two thousand a year; he himself frankly admits, that this might justly be considered an act of *nepotism* on his father's part, and actually (as we shall hereafter see) volunteers to take all the blame upon his own shoulders, inasmuch as his father did it in compliance with his own importunity! But though we think the Whigs may be justified in not elevating Mr. Archdeacon Bathurst to the episcopal bench, even on the score of of those wretched and sordid considerations which are all in all with every political party, still the volumes are not the less interesting as throwing light on the maxims on which all parties usually act in the distribution of ecclesiastical preferment and patronage; they are such as are recognized and tacitly assumed in these volumes, and may be said to form the whole theme and burden of them; though we can truly say, we have never seen them obtruded upon the public in such a disgusting and revolting shape.

As it is this which imparts to these volumes their chief interest, and stamps upon them all the little value they possess, we shall not scruple to confine this article almost wholly to the illustration of this topic, after we have said what little we have to say, and it will be but little, on the work as a biographical and literary performance, in both of which points of view, it is small enough. Let it be observed, however, that of the personal character of the venerable bishop himself, we must always speak in terms of much respect. Though, in other situations, his consistent adherence to his political opinions during the many years in which he was shut out from further preferment, might not pass for any extraordinary virtue, yet, as it is in such marked contrast with what has been too often the conduct of other men of his class, it is not without its meed of praise. Conduct which would merely entitle a man to be considered respectable, in some circumstances, will make him seem a prodigy of excellence in another: and what would only secure one man from infamy, may, where the fashion of vice is prevalent and almost universal, entitle another to praise.

Considered as a piece of biography, this work is below contempt; whether we view it with regard to the materials of which it consists, or the style in which it is written, it is equally beneath criticism. As to the first; by far the greater part of the work consists of such materials only as tend to illustrate the political life of the bishop, and the influence which his principles exerted on his own prospects and on those of *his family;* and, indeed, as we have already said, the book might more properly be denoted a history of the disappointments of Archdeacon Bathurst and those of his family, than a life of the bishop himself. As to the materials, they are often of the most insignificant character, totally without interest to any one,—the

very refuse and sweepings of the prelate's writing-desk, and having about as much claim to publication as the history of his old shoes. We cannot refrain from giving our readers a specimen or two.

To his daughter:—

'My dear little Try,

'Many thanks for your very kind and very well written letter: if I had only such agreeable correspondents as you and Coote, writing, instead of being the plague of my life, would be the joy of it. The doll is bought; but I intend that it should travel with me, for fear, as she is rather a delicate lady, she should meet with some personal affront or injury, were she to take a place in a common stage-coach. If you have any other commission, I shall be happy to execute it. Adieu,—love to all.

Your affectionate father,
'H. Norwich.

'*London, December 23rd*, 1806.' —79.

Again:—

'Dear Mr. Villebois,

'If my gratitude should make me a troublesome correspondent, your unintermitted kindness is the cause of it; for I cannot receive such repeated marks of this kindness, without expressing myself to be what I certainly feel myself to be,

'Your much obliged
'And affectionate friend,
'Henry Norwich.

'P.S. Remember me cordially to Henry and my amiable granddaughter.

'*London, October the 8th*, 1835.' —p. 57.

At other times, notes and letters which might possibly in their original state have been interesting, are rendered totally destitute of interest, and, even unintelligible, inasmuch as the names of the parties are abstracted, and their place supplied by a profusion of asterisks. Witness the following.

'Alludes to his son's views in Ireland.'

'My dear Henry.

'It will always give me pleasure to forward your views in any way to the utmost of my power. With respect to Lord * * * * *, he seems very anxious that others should do what he ought to do himself, and can very easily do.

'I shall be glad to see you when your visitation is over. Love to Fanny.

'Yours, &c., &c.
'Sincerely and affectionately,
'H. Norwich.

'*London, November the 25th*, 1835.' —p. 62.

At other times, the only interesting part of a document (if indeed it did contain anything interesting) has been suppressed, and after a dazzling display of preliminary asterisks, the *caput mortuum* that remains is such a note as the following:

'With respect to the * * * *, if he were a man whose mouth could be stopped by a quotation from our favourite author, I could easily give him twenty; 'sed non est is, ut illum aut pudor a turpitudine, aut metus a dedecore deterreret;' though I do not estimate his character so low as you do, and know him to be a very good-tempered man; at all events his politics will not hinder me from playing at whist with him. Adieu! Love to your circle. I rejoice to hear of Fanny's safety.

Yours affectionately, &c.

H. Norwich.

London, January 10, 1833. Vol. II., p. 1.

It may be perhaps said that the documents in question contained matters which could not properly be published. We may be well content to admit the plea; but then why publish the worthless remainder at all? why give us the shell after having taken away the kernel? The only solution that suggests itself is, that in order to make an expensive book, materials were necessary, and any materials were considered better than none.

As the materials, (except in that one point of view in which alone, as we have said, the book is interesting) are for the most part worthless, so we are constrained to say that such as they are, they are put together in the most slovenly and unworkmanlike manner; while the reflections and observations with which they are interlaced, are of an order, and composed in a style, which may, for aught we know, do very well for an Archdeacon who regards *political adherence* to a party as a sufficient passport to ecclesiastical dignitaries and honours, but which certainly disgrace any person with the slightest pretensions to authorship.

Surely, surely the life of a venerable prelate who occupied an extensive and important diocese for more than thirty years ought to present abundant materials for biography, far different in character and interest from any which will be found in these volumes. One would think that the main burden and theme of his correspondence would have been the state and prospects of true religion in his diocese, and the kingdom at large; that plans for its advancement and prosperity would form the main, or at least most frequent subjects; that the traces of a zealous and fervent piety and the natural overflowings of a devout heart would be, every where apparent, and that the interest which he appeared to take in the changes of the political world would be *comparatively* faint. And thus, no doubt, it would be but for that accursed system of state-alliance, which, as it makes political considerations paramount in the choice of bishops, so it also renders these high functionaries

themselves, feverishly alive to passing politics; often absorbs them in the hopes and fears of further preferment, and tends beyond measure to secularize their minds. The system which controls the selection and appointment of bishops,—of the highest and *most sacred* officers of the church,—and the state of feeling to which it inevitably leads in the bishops themselves as well as all other dignitaries, must form, so long as they continue, a blot of infamy on the Church of England.

Whoever looks into the life of the Bishop of Norwich with the expectation of finding much of such matters as render the biography even of a private Christian attractive will be miserably disappointed. Whether such materials exist, we know not. But his biographer is so intent upon exhibiting to the public his political claims and those of his family, and so busily occupied in the never-ending recital of his disappointments, that he seems to have well nigh forgotten that he was writing the life of a professed Christian and a Christian prelate.

The comparatively few facts which are of any importance in the personal history of this venerable, and in the main excellent prelate, are soon told. He was the son of Benjamin Bathurst, third son of Sir Benjamin Bathurst. His father had thirty-six children, by two wives—a pleasant little family circle! He was born in 1744. His father was a staunch Tory and steady opponent of Sir R. Walpole. His principal relatives were on the same side in politics, which renders it the more singular that our bishop should have become such a decided Liberal. He seems first to have imbibed his political sentiments from Mr. Woodhull of Thenford, in Northamptonshire, with whom he passed many of his younger days. He was first sent to a preparatory school at Oxford, and at eleven years of age, went to Winchester on the foundation. At the age of twenty-two he lost his father, and after taking priest's orders, went into Devonshire as tutor to Sir C. Bamfylde.

Here he staid two years, and then returned with his pupil to Oxford, in the capacity of classical tutor, and in this way spent another two years. After this he went to reside with his uncle, Lord Bathurst, at whose table he met with some of the most celebrated men of his time. On this nobleman's death he went to Eton, as tutor to the late Lord Bathurst. His residence there was short; and in 1772, he obtained the living of Salperton from his uncle Allen, Lord Bathurst, and in a few years afterwards accepted the rectory of Witchingham, in Norfolk. He took his doctor's degree in 1776. In this year he went to Ireland, and made an offer of marriage to Miss Coote, but was refused by the Dean, her father; nor did the marriage take place till four years after. Upon his marriage, he resided at Christ Church, Oxford, for many years. In the year 1795, he was offered a stall in Durham by the bishop of that diocese, which he accepted. In the same year he

had the offer of the Irish see of Killala. This however he declined, for reasons which do not appear to be very clearly assignable; for as his son remarks, 'Dr. B. had never any objection to a bishopric in general.' Nothing memorable occurred after this till 1805, when by his relative, Lord Bathurst's influence with Mr. Pitt, he obtained the bishopric of Norwich. Lord Bathurst, it appears, in announcing his good fortune, commenced 'by explaining as a 'reason why his communication had not been made sooner, that 'the delay was owing to the offer of an exchange having been 'first made to Dr. Madan, Bishop of Peterborough, *he having been the only bishop* who followed Mr. Pitt's opinions when out.

Dr. Bathurst continued to occupy this bishopric till his death; a period of thirty-two years. The narrative informs us of comparatively little with which the public was not already acquainted; and that little is for the most part of little interest. His consistent adherence to his political principles; his opposition to the Test and Corporation acts; his strenuous advocacy of the Catholic claims, are well known and ought to be gratefully appreciated. That his principles excluded him from higher preferment, there can be no doubt, for certainly (except his politics) he presented a far fairer object for patronage than the generality of his brethren. As a divine, he does not appear to have been very profound, nor are his theological views in our opinion, very clear or consistent. In private and social life he must have been a truly amiable and excellent man, full of benevolence and charity; willing to hope well of every one, and capable, hard and rare attainment!—of bearing great affronts with a meek and quiet spirit. In his bestowment of private patronage he seems to have been sometimes more liberal than his family liked, although, from the account which this book gives, he cannot be fairly said to have neglected them. Indeed his son sometimes grumbles at his father's arrangements, and was perpetually dinning into his ears the no doubt very necessary and natural remark—'Charity begins at home.' 'Yes,' his father would reply, 'and often ends there.'

We shall now proceed to the main purpose of this article;—to give our readers a few practical illustrations of the beautiful working of the church and state system as to the bestowment of patronage, and the sort of spirit, temper, &c. it is likely to awaken in the expectants of preferment.

We do not know that we can begin the series of extracts with which we are about to indulge the reader, better than with the following.

'Previous to the meeting of Parliament in 1808, when the above speech was made, Lord Bathurst sent to the Bishop, requesting a conference at Apsley House, and remonstrated with him in friendly but strong terms on his intention of voting and speaking in favour of the

Catholic claims, and concluded with distinctly stating, that if he, the Bishop, were determined to take the part which he did seem determined to take, that while his character and good esteem, being such as they were, and in high favour with the King, he could have no scruple to do him any service with the government, if he, the Bishop, remained even neuter; that he (Lord B.) could never, if thus opposed to the Court, again mention his name to the King (George III.); and the same was true, if it had been said as to George IV. The same, we assert, was true as to both; for the Bishop communicated to his son, from unquestionable authority, that afterwards, when during the Regency, Her Majesty Queen Charlotte had a list of the Bishops, which she was conning over, and canvassing who should be bishop of London when Dr. Randolph died, some one present suggested, that the Bishop of Norwich would be a proper person: 'No,' said the Queen; 'he voted against the King:'—a better trait, it may be thought, of Her Majesty as a wife, than as a politician.'—pp. 85, 86.

During the reign of the Tories, the Bishop of course, on the principles mentioned in the preceding extract, could hardly expect further preferment, nor does his son complain that he received none. But after his friends came into power in 1830, the Archdeacon seems as naturally to have expected, on the same simple, intelligible, consistent, and admirable principles, that his father should become the favourite object of patronage; and that if age or any other cause prevented his reaping the full reward of his merits, that his children should have the full benefit of them. That he was not translated is well known, though he was offered the Archbishoprick of Dublin; that his son was not made a bishop no one can fail to perceive, who has but *dipped* into these volumes. As to the justice of the squabble between the bishop's family and the government, we do not care one rush; as to the reasonableness of Mr. Archdeacon's claims, expectations, &c., we certainly have our own opinions, which we think it best to keep to ourselves. All that we are anxious to do is to afford the reader some little insight into the maxims and principles on which it is understood ecclesiastical patronage is usually dispensed, and on which it is quietly taken for granted by all parties that it should be dispensed. The Archdeacon's first ground of complaint is with the administration of 1827.

'And now arrived the time when the fidelity of party connexions was to be tried, and it was to be seen how far popularity in long opposition was likely to make amends for the serious disadvantages *under which the bishop's family* laboured by twenty years' neglect from government—a neglect which, from the previous kindness of the noble head of the Bathurst family, would certainly appear not to have been possible, had the bishop drawn together in public life with his patron.

* * * * *

'In the November of this year, 1827, died Dr. Tomline, Bishop of

Winchester. This event seemed to afford a fine opportunity to prove whether the principles of the administration were sufficiently decided to induce the whig Peers just alluded to, and the Commons of eminence, such as Sir R. Ferguson, Mr. Hume, &c. &c., to put a fuller trust in them, by the immediate appointment of the Bishop of Norwich to this rich and distinguished see. The King, however, being desirous of appointing thereto Dr. Sumner, then bishop of Llandaff and dean of St. Paul's, Dr. S. accordingly was appointed to the see of Winchester. The valuable deanery of St. Paul's was now vacant; and upon the first accession of Mr. Canning to power, the deanery of Durham had been vacant by the death of Dr. Hall, which had been given to Dr. Jenkinson, bishop of St. David's and Dean of Worcester, it being considered that this gentleman, being Lord Liverpool's cousin, was entitled in preference to any other, to this mark of Royal favour. But Winchester was given to Dr. Sumner, as the deanery of Durham had been given to Dr. Jenkinson; and the deanery of St. Paul's continued a commendam to the see of Llandaff.

* * * * *

'Neither was this all;—not only were arrangements made in favour of others, (who shall not now be named,) without one single mention of the Bishop of Norwich, or his interest, by the party now acceding to rule; but Dr. Jenkinson, Bishop of St. David's (a comparative boy and school-fellow of Archdeacon Bathurst,) acknowledged, when questioned upon the subject, that had Dr. Sumner not been appointed to Winchester, he (Dr. Jenkinson) was intended by the administration, and nominated to receive that splendid appointment, in preference to an aged bishop who possessed the claims here shown, and who, as he declares in a letter to his son, would have accepted the situation *for the sake of his family*,—and to whom, from a diocese three times larger in extent and number of parishes, viz. that of Norwich, it would have afforded a merited and honourable, *a valuable and comfortable reward of his extremest years*, and have made him prelate of the city (Winchester) where he had been educated, and with which he had associated the invaluable remembrances of youth; and from having been a Wykehamist, he would have been both a true, natural, and acceptable person for appeal, as visitor, to two of the most distinguished seminaries in England.'—pp. 252—257.

Here it will be seen, that not a single reason given for the important change has the slightest reference to *religion*.

In 1827, the bishop made application to Lord Goderich for preferment, not for himself, but for his *family*. Lord Goderich's answer, says our author, showed good feeling and candour; there was however, he says,—

'One expression in his letter, which could not be correct, viz. that his lordship was pressed by many *similar* claims; for *it is* impossible to point out a churchman, since the revolution, so circumstanced, as by such evident sacrifices to have established *similar* or at least equal claims.'
—pp. 262, 263.

All political still!—We shall now proceed to lay before the ader one or two short letters of the bishop, when his party at ngth obtained a firm hold of power in 1830, with the character- tic remarks and comments of Mr. Archdeacon thereupon.

Public and Church affairs.

My dear Henry,

* * * * *

'The public papers have noticed the plan you mention as contempla- ed by Lord Brougham; but he said not a syllable of it in his speech, t the delivery of which I was present. The smaller livings in the gift f the Chancellor have most assuredly been made subservient to par- iamentary jobs as long as I can remember, and this with little or no xception.

'In my opinion, both religion and the established church would be reat gainers, if those who are acquainted with the character of the lergy* were *consulted*, at least, by *one* who can know nothing of their haracters; and it would certainly be a very generous sacrifice of atronage on the part of a Chancellor. I am perfectly aware that ishops, like other men, may be influenced by improper motives, but, I ust, not more so. Adieu! Love to Fanny and Henry.

Yours, &c.

London, Dec. 9, 1830.

Public matters.

My dear Henry,

* * * * *

'Lord Grey will have enough to do when parliament meets in ebruary: the attack upon him is reserved for that period; but he will, trust, be able to stand the shock: in the mean time, he is, I under- and from his friends, *harassed* and *vexed* by innumerable applications r preferment, from those whom he is anxious not to refuse, and unable gratify. From the little experience I *have*, I can readily believe that e considers patronage as an evil. Love to your circle.

Yours, &c.

London, Dec. 22, 1830.' —ib., pp. 337—339.

A few months after this, the archbishopric of Dublin was ffered him. He declined it on account of his age, but recom- ended his son for an Irish bishopric; after which that son, thus roceeds.—The italics, as usual, are our own.—

'Will not this offer of the archbishopric of Dublin seem of less value,

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* 'This alludes to the promise made by Lord Brougham to place the hancellor's small livings at the disposal of the bishops,—an arrangement hich he constantly broke; and in the case of the Bishop of Norwich, who one was from him entitled to the compliment, he actually appointed to three vings, after the bishop, in confidence that Lord Brougham would keep to his ord, had nominated individuals to them.'

when the public are informed that instead of complying with this recommendation of the bishop as to his son, who, it is seen, fought the same battle for Ireland by his father's side, and against whom, it will appear from what follows, that Lord Grey had nothing to allege, (unless, indeed, it be the very zeal which he had displayed in his father's cause,)—will it not seem very *affronting* to the son, not only to be passed by, as he was, under such peculiar circumstances, and when not only the archbishopric of Dublin but the see of Killaloe also was vacant, and to have the son of an Irish Tory bishop, and of a Tory family, Dr. Knox, preferred to the see of Killaloe, and *a* Dr. Whately *rummaged up* from the diocese of his own father by Lord Brougham's interest, in opposition to the very person whom he had selected on Queen Caroline's going to St. Paul's to perform the most delicate and dangerous office; and who did it to the *satisfaction of all parties*, as appeared when the sermon (though not preached) was printed? Was it not *vexatious* to see Dr. Whately placed in the see of Dublin, to the exclusion, even from an inferior see, of Archdeacon Bathurst, whose mother was an Irishwoman, and of one of the best families in Ireland; who himself had been for years constantly at his post, as Lord Lansdowne calls it, in Ireland's cause; and who was the son of Ireland's ecclesiastical champion, Dr. Bathurst, Bishop of Norwich, and not in himself objectionable? And all this was the more surprising, because Lord Grey immediately afterwards expressed his regret that an immediate opportunity had not occurred of serving Archdeacon Bathurst.—p. 345, 346.

In the following paragraphs the archdeacon seems more than half to repent that his father's political character had not been made of more *pliant* materials—for the sake of his family. The bitterness of the last passage would be highly amusing, if it did not suggest matter for far other emotions than laughter. One does not like to hear a Christian minister talking *precisely* in this way.

'But still the question again arises, should a man sacrifice the interests of his family, and against the advice of the very friend (Lord Grenville), for the sake of supporting a general question, on which the best men seemed so much divided? and would it have been a destitution of his duty to have remained silent at least, and neuter? In reply to this question, it may be observed, that circumstances *might have* turned out differently. The friends of Catholic emancipation *might* have succeeded earlier, and the bishop's worldly interests, instead of being *backened*, might have been forwarded; so that the utmost that can be charged to him on this score, as blame, is, that the chances were clearly against him; and being so, the particular reasons just given to back his general convictions and sense of duty (the mainspring of all he felt and did), and to induce him to act thereupon, became highly creditable to his sense of honour and integrity,

'It certainly is *very remarkable*, that the late Mr. Granville Sharp should have predicted, so decisively as he did predict, the *disastrous* consequences to the *Bishop's family*, from the line of public

conduct, as to the Catholics, which he adopted, and is one of those *extraordinary instances of prediction and event* where no extraordinary agency is concerned which sometimes occurs. The neglect and even contempt most undeservedly, which *his family* seem to have experienced from those in general to whom they had some right, at least, to look for consolation and support, is perhaps the most mortifying consideration; but the results to the family from *deficiency in those pecuniary resources* connected with a certain situation in society and certain reasonable pretensions,—and which in the case of the invaluable young man, the bishop's son Robert, who fell a victim to worldly circumstances, of which his father's means held out no prospect of effectual relief,—and the deteriorated condition of other members of his family, compared with the prosperous affairs of the Tomlines, the Sumners, the Blomfields, and others, including even the good archbishop, yet who could on no account have equal claims with Dr. Bathurst, are ingredients in the cup of his life which taste most bitter; and the weak, weak bonds of party connexion, as substitutes for the ties of blood and every friendship and obligation, afford materials for *deep reflection*, whether *prudence* should not deeply ponder with a public character,—whether in standing forth the champion of mankind, the duty towards God and our neighbour can be reconciled by preferring *general to particular objects*, *our country* to our *homes* and our *children*, who are the dearest constituents of country.'—vol. ii. pp. 201—203.

Mr. Archdeacon Bathurst winds up this lugubrious chapter by saying, that 'they who remember the words of the Psalmist will find plentiful consolation against such anathemas' (those of Mr. Granville Sharp to wit), "I have been young and now am old; 'yet have I never seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging 'bread;" and, whether he can be brought under the same category, with his father or not, we think, that, as long as he returns his £2000 a year, he may have some comfortable hope, that this gracious promise will, in his case, be fulfilled.

In the mean time, let us see what the good bishop left behind him. Of this his son has given us a very full account: as indeed might be expected, for he evidently dwells on such matters *con amore*. Notwithstanding the melancholy proofs of neglect, proscription, &c., which our author sets before us, a poor beggarly non-conformist may probably be so foolish as to think that a churchman who began the world with *nothing*, and at his death devised such property as the following, might be said to have done very well.

'Having at different times and various occasions advanced sums for the necessities and convenience of his eldest son, and also of the General and Mrs. Mahon, to the extent of £5000, the utmost he could ever hope to see realised to each of his children, he merely took care in his will to provide that Mrs. Thistlethwayte should have her share, which she had never encroached upon; and that £3500 remaining, not

broken in upon by his deceased son Robert, should be secured to his son Robert's children in trust; and somewhat more than £4000 to Mrs. De Crepigny, for herself and children, in trust also, being the sum remaining in equity due to her after deducting some hundred pounds which had been advanced. To Viscountess Stuart, the only surviving representative of the bishop's son Benjamin, a legacy is bequeathed of £1000, together with whatever may remain, not exceeding £4000 more, (previous legacies being first discharged,) to make her equal with her uncles and aunts, if funds shall ever prove sufficient; which perhaps may never be, and certainly never till his poor son Coote,* who is confined, shall be dead; to whose use £3000 is appropriated; which, together with £2000 in exchequer bills, near £10,000 from the Equitable Assurance Office (the product of £2500, originally insured, to supply the place of that sum sunk in going first to Durham,) and about £4000 in hand, with perhaps £1500 or £1800 worth of goods and chattels, *constitute all that the good man has left to a family*,—none of them, except Mrs. Mahon and Mrs. Thistlethwayte, in very easy circumstances: his eldest son, from unfortunate events and the expense of a large family, without private fortune, except advances from the bishop to buy his son's commission and other necessaries before alluded to; and the widow of his brother Robert, and his children, in circumstances far beneath their just expectations and merits; and poor Mrs. De Crepigny with means wholly inadequate to supply her reasonable wants.'—ib., pp. 100, 101.

Let us now see how this unfortunate and never-to-be-sufficiently pitied Archdeacon was provided for, at a comparatively early period of his career. It will be seen that it is quite wonderful how he should ever have been able, poor man! to make both ends meet.

'And yet the bishop always accused himself of nepotism; which, so far as the important professional preferment bestowed upon his eldest son is concerned, may be true; but which, while patronage remains as hitherto by law, may be considered excusable he trusts, and which, if not excusable, he must beg to bear the whole blame of possessing; but which, when compared with what Dr. Jenkinson and a few others who may be named have in the church, is little by such comparison. If the duty of the bishop was a little lost sight of in affection for the son, let the public blame the son who pressed his claims, and not the father who attended to them, under the peculiar circumstances of the case; and let them recollect, that £2000 a year, after deductions of estates, repairs, necessary charities, taxes, &c., &c., is reduced very considerably, often one-fourth, without reckoning special embarrassments.'
—ib., pp. 174, 175.

The *distresses* of a man with such an income—and he a Chris-

* Since dead.

tian minister too—and while there are hundreds of the clergy starving,—who can sympathize with? who can listen to his peevish and querulous tale of wrongs and injuries, which one would think even common dignity would lead him to repress, without a feeling of disgust?

There is one passage, however, in the first volume, in the perusal of which contempt gives place to indignation. In December, 1828, the bishop's son, Robert, committed suicide; it appears to use the language of his brother the Archdeacon, that he had 'not *above five hundred* pounds *a year* clear in the church,' together with some three hundred from a pupil, and 'being a person 'of liberal notions and aspiring mind,' the sense of this absolute and overwhelming poverty, together with his mortification at the neglects with which *his family* and himself were treated, 'did' (according to the Archdeacon) 'certainly bow down this excellent 'young man's feelings with much sorrow.'

The result was that he committed suicide; and the broken-hearted father attributed it, let us hope justly, to *disease;* at all events no charitable person would wish to tear from him such consolation. His son, however, it appears did his best to prevent his retaining that consolation. 'The Archdeacon gave his opinion 'to the Bishop, on hearing of the calamity,—that it arose princi-'pally from mortification at the darkening prospects of the 'family; the proscription, however natural, of the family by the 'Tory party, on account of the Bishop's and Archdeacon's public 'conduct and principles; and the visible coldness and neglect of 'the other party, when in power in 1827, toward the interests of 'their episcopal friend and champion; and that scandalous neglect 'and unkindness shown by some individuals of that party, whose 'interests and principles the bishop had served so faithfully.' And though his father affirms, in a letter, that he thinks disease fully accounts for the act, his son still declares, that 'he sees no 'reason whatever to recede one tittle from his own alleged con-'victions: he well knows that the neglect and proscription (of 'political parties) of his family, did hurt and wound the justly 'aspiring mind of his brother Robert.'

In his vindictive feelings against ministers he seems determined to charge upon them a very considerable portion at least of the guilt of his brother's suicide: what can be more preposterous than the following paragraph?

'Had the bishop any cause to blame himself? It is true that the conversation which the bishop accustomed himself to with his sons, continually dwelling upon how little a clergyman might be contented with, after having encouraged his sons from early life to aspire greatly, was far from pleasing, and often irritated the unfortunate deceased. But let the blame rest where it ought—*with that ungrateful party in*

the state, who so entirely, after having availed themselves of the bishop and his services, neglected him and his family.'—Vol. I., p. 299.

Archdeacon Bathurst has been, we believe, during a great part of his life a Whig, '*and something more.*' From several passages in this narrative, however, we gather that his principles on several occasions have been tolerably pliant, and from the contempt and anger which he pours upon so many of the Whigs for their neglect of himself and family, we think it not improbable that he may one day settle into something very like a Tory,—if indeed the transformation has not already taken place. We regret that it will be impossible for us to say in that case, that our *loss* will be their *gain;* for we shall *lose* nothing, and they will *gain* nothing. It will be but the transfer of a nonentity.

Of the literary character of this work, especially of the very singular style of the author, we need say nothing. The extracts speak for themselves.

ART. VI. *On Warming and Ventilating; with directions for making and using the Thermometer Stove, or self-regulating fire, and other new apparatus.* By NEIL ARNOTT, M.D., F.R.S., &c. London: Longman, Orme, and Co., 1838.

DISCOVERIES and inventions, which increase the comforts and mitigate the evils of human society, are of the highest importance. The brilliant exploits of a skilful general are more imposing, and, according to popular taste, more glorious; but they bring little benefit along with them, and *no* compensation for the sorrow and misery they inflict. But the philosopher, who applies the principles and facts of science to perfect some invention, to check disease, or to promote the enjoyment of health, confers solid and lasting advantages on society at large.

The great *necessaries* of life are, food, air, and heat. When of either or all of these there is an excess, or a deficiency, mischief is the inevitable result. In this respect the evident extremes meet. Take away either, *wholly*, and life is soon extinct. We can, however, exist longer without food, or heat, than we can without air. A person is drowned or suffocated in a very few moments; and it does not require a much longer time to freeze one to death. Give a sufficiency of air and warmth, and it is surprising how long existence may be supported with the scantiest supply of food. No one, who has read any of the numerous accounts of shipwrecks and famines, but must be aware of this fact.

Air and heat are closely connected together. We cannot have the latter without the former; and very rarely without its bringing a supply of good air. The cases where this is not so are numerous; but still they are the exception.

The history of the various methods which have been employed to obtain artificial heat is short, but curious; not short as to the periods over which it extends, for it spreads over all time, but short as to the recital, for it has not been a matter of continued slow developement, but a *series* of starts from point to point. When an advance has been effected, a long pause has followed; suddenly another bound has been made, and again a pause; and so on to the present times. In sketching this history, we shall make free use of Dr. Arnott's most valuable and interesting publication, endeavouring to comprise it within the narrowest possible limits.

The first step made by man, in the art of warming himself, was to light a fire in the open air, and place himself near it. Much heat was wasted by this plan, since only a small portion could fall on his person. Savages still make their fires in this manner; and to them the waste of fuel is of little consequence, for the immense forests abounding in the regions where they roam afford an abundant and continued supply. Soldiers also, when forming their camps during marches and campaigns, make their fires in a similar way.

But when rude huts were erected, when man began to provide for himself a shelter from the tempest and the rain, a fire was kindled under cover; and, although a large portion of the heat would fall on the walls and roofs of his rude dwelling, it would not be lost, because it would warm them, and be reflected back, and thus increase the temperature of the atmosphere within. But if he had heat, he had also smoke, and the other vaporized products of the fuel. The Indians of America construct their rude huts, and place the fire in the centre, and leave the smoke to escape as it best can, through the only aperture they make; and which serves the united purpose of a door, a window, and a chimney. The peasantry in some parts of Ireland and Scotland, are removed only one step from this wretched and savage condition. Charcoal fires, in chaffing dishes, are used in Italy; and the company sit around them, seemingly regardless of the injurious influence of the noxious effluvia which arise from them. A closed room, with such a fire, is a common means of suicide on the continent.

A very considerable improvement was effected in the art of warming, when fuel was used beneath a flue. The smoke, and other offensive products of combustion, are thus carried off, while the comfort of the fire is much increased. This is the

plan, with various modifications, generally adopted in England. The great end of all the various contrivances with stoves and flues, has been to procure that uniform temperature which is found to be most congenial to the human constitution.

The open English fire will afford almost every temperature. The heat not only falls on the person, but is reflected by the walls, and diffused through the apartment. There are, however, very many disadvantages attendant on this mode of procuring warmth. Waste of fuel, unequal temperatures at different distances from the fire, draughts of cold air, cold feet, imperfect ventilation, smoke, dust, loss of time in attending to the fire, danger to persons and property; and last, but worst of all, the necessity of climbing boys (and to this circumstance we may advert at a future time), are among the most obvious. This is a formidable array of evils, connected with the rich and numerous comforts of our fire-side. Our readers who understand the principles of combustion, and its more common results, will see, in a moment, that these evils are inseparable from our usual modes of procuring artificial warmth.

The Register Stove of Count Rumford obviated some of these inconveniences; but in countries where fuel is not very abundant even *that* would be expensive. In the northern countries of Europe, especially Russia, where the winters are extremely severe, the Dutch close stove is in general use. It prevents the expenditure of the warm air of the room. No air can pass into the chimney but what has previously passed through the fire; for the fire is *outside* the apartment. If the flue be made very long, so as to expose an extended surface to radiate heat, nearly all the heat of the fire is usefully applied. But while dust and smoke are prevented by this contrivance, one serious disadvantage attends it. The air in contact with the iron surface, when very hot, becomes much less fit for respiration. Those who are not accustomed to its use find it unpleasant. The Germans, however, use a similar stove of *brick-work*, which, being an inferior conductor of heat, does not become so hot; and consequently the air is less affected. But of *this* sort of stove Englishmen speak disparagingly; and Captain Basil Hall, in his highly interesting, though in some things highly censurable, work, *Schloss Hainfield*, tells us, that he much preferred the open fire, in a grate after the genuine English fashion, during a severe winter in Lower Syria!

Heating by *steam* has been extensively employed in England within these few years. The necessary apparatus may be described as a boiler containing water, connected with tubes laid on throughout the building to be warmed, and which convey the steam wherever it may be required. In our extensive manufac-

ories it has been found highly advantageous; and the more so, because a very large part of the apparatus is on the spot, as parts of the machinery employed in carrying on the various processes.

Such an apparatus for private buildings is found to be very expensive. There is also danger of explosion; the difficulty of management is great; much time is consumed before the machinery can act; and, if it be not constantly in a state of high activity, the remote parts of the building will scarcely receive any steam at all.

The distribution of *heated water* is another method recently employed. There are two modes of effecting this. In the first, the water is used at or below the boiling temperature; and, when none of the pipes rise very much above the level of the boiler, great strength in the structure of the vessels is not required. In the second, water at a temperature of 300° is often used; and, as the elastic force of steam is equal to a pressure of *seventy pounds* on the square inch, a very strong apparatus is indispensable. In the first instance, the boiler has a pipe going from it to the places required, and then returning by another route; and, if the boiler be open, the pipe acts like a syphon. The hot water goes out by the first-mentioned pipe, gives out heat as it passes along, and having arrived at the termination of its journey, returns greatly cooled to the boiler to be heated again, and again to traverse the same path. The rapidity of the current through the pipes depends very much on the length of the longer leg of the syphonic tube. If the boiler be *closed*, the action of the syphon disappears; but still the flow and reflux are maintained in like manner. The high pressure apparatus, a contrivance of the celebrated Mr. Perkins, consists of an iron tube of great length, say 1,000 feet or more, of a diameter from one to two inches, formed into a circuit in which the water runs endlessly round; and in those situations requiring great surface to give out heat, or to receive heat from a fire kindled about it, a large *coil* of the tube is placed. It requires no boiler, for the *coils* are made, as we have already said, to serve that purpose; it is very simple, and though liable to burst, such an accident, to a tube of so small a diameter, is not of very much moment. But the enormous length of the tube, the strength required to resist the power of the steam, the number of joinings, especially when it has to be fitted into corners and around stair-cases, the number of safety-valves, the peculiarity of the feeding contrivance, and the offensive smell arising from so large and highly heated a surface, are serious objections. The apparatus first described is not open to *these*, but its great bulk, the slowness of the motion of the water, the chance that when the fire goes out, or if not always lighted during sharp frosts, of the water in the pipes freezing and bursting them, render it equally objectionable. In fact only half

the heat of the combustion is effectually applied in any mode of heating by water.

Many of these objections have been obviated, by the distribution of *heated air* through the rooms of large edifices. This method of warming is variously modified. The air is made to pass through pipes connected with furnaces and grates, or over heated surfaces of iron, or between and round plates and tubes heated by water at a high temperature. It is then sent, mixed or unmixed with colder air, according to the judgment of the manager, into the apartments. Generally the air is much *over*-heated, and consequently much less fit for respiration. The air, driven against surfaces of iron plates, heated nearly red hot, and afterwards diluted with colder air, before it passed into the Long Room of the London Custom House, so seriously affected the health of the two hundred persons employed in it as to excite public attention. There is always great difficulty in distributing air, which has been heated in *one place*, to different rooms; and the very best mechanical contrivances have generally failed. Great danger always attends this method of warming. We well remember that the Baptist College, in Bristol, was nearly burnt down, some few years since, in consequence of over-heated air; and had the fire happened at night instead of by day, such is the ill-arranged construction of that edifice, that the lives of the students would have been seriously endangered. We have recent and fearful instances of destruction from the same cause, in the Houses of Parliament in 1835, in part of the University College of London in 1836, and in the total destruction of the splendid Mechanics' Institute of Liverpool in the same year. By an expensive apparatus of a peculiar kind, many of these defects and much of this danger may be removed; yet, as there are *efficient* means of accomplishing the same object, at a far less expense, such an apparatus is not now likely to be erected.

We have thus laid before our readers a condensed view of the history of the different methods of forming and distributing artificial heat, which were known and practised up to 1834. We now come to a new period in that history; and we believe by far the most interesting and important. This is the invention of a 'Self-regulating Fire, or Thermometer Stove,' by Dr. Arnott, who, with a liberality not often known in this money-getting nation, has chosen to decline taking out a patent, or to confine the manufacture of his stove to one 'House,' that the public may reap all the advantage of an extensive and keen competition. There will, therefore, be no *monopoly* of this admirable invention! This conduct is above all praise; and presents us with a singular and remarkable instance of public feeling and humanity, extinguishing the too generally paramount desire of private gain.

The notice of Dr. Arnott has been directed to warming and

ventilating by his professional engagements. He pursued it with industry and success. The result is detailed in his admirable treatise; and, as far as our limits will permit, our readers shall be put in possession of its substance.

The process of discovery is thus detailed.

'Setting before me the problem, 'to secure effectually in any part of the world, and at all seasons, the temperature, moisture, and purity of atmosphere most congenial to the human constitution,' I resumed my study. That I might have constant motive and better opportunity to observe, to experiment, and to reflect on the subject, I directed a manufacturer to fit up in my library the apparatus for warming by circulating with hot water.'—pp. 39, 40.

This was done; and these pleasing results were obtained:—a mild equal temperature, no smoke or dust, no trouble of watching the fire, no cold draughts, or danger to property from fire—as the *kitchen fire* supplied the heat. But there were many objections.

'1st. That in very cold winter nights, when the kitchen fire was not burning, the safety and supply pipes, which descended from an external cistern, were exposed to freeze. On one occasion the water in the safety-pipe did freeze, and, by shutting in the steam, endangered my safety when the fire was next lighted. 2nd. Considerable expense of fuel. 3dly. Considerable expense of apparatus. 4thly. That when once fixed it could not be moved to another place. 5thly. The noise and disturbance, (likely to distress a sick person), of the regiment of bricklayers, smiths, and carpenters, who came under a master and foreman to set it.'

Sick persons are generally in bed; and such an apparatus would not be put up for them during their sickness. This objection might, however, be made use of to show the superiority of the 'Thermometer Stove,' which can be shifted from place to place *without* this 'regiment' of artisans, and a master at their head. However, the Doctor tried another experiment, which was to surround an ordinary square, close, iron stove with a water vessel. The water in this case was not heated by a *distant* fire, but by one within itself. The steam passed off by an aperture provided in the chimney, so that the water could never be heated beyond the boiling point. The air was admitted by a small aperture in the ash-pit, in which was placed a throttle-valve, regulated by a thermometer of a peculiar construction. If the temperature reached the boiling point, the throttle-valve was closed; it would then fall a degree or two, and the thermometer acting on the valve, fresh air was admitted, and the fire revived. By this contrivance an almost unvarying temperature was obtained. Yet it

was difficult to make, expensive, liable to be out of order, heavy, and requiring much attention from servants, as well as from the person using it.

From the use of a 'water-clad stove,' Dr. Arnott perceived that it was of no importance *what* hot fluid filled or warmed the external vessel. Dismissing the water, air was substituted. The great object was to maintain the proper temperature of the surface, for the box would allow none of its contents to escape.

'If, therefore, in a box of the required size, a fire could be placed so as to warm the box with perfect uniformity all around, while the fire itself were so controlled, by a self-acting regulator, that it should always burn exactly as fast as was required to keep the box steadily at any desired temperature, the object sought would be attained, and there would be many concomitant advantages of cheapness, simplicity, &c. These words have sketched the Self-regulating Fire, or Thermometer Stove, of which the form first tried is now to be described more particularly by the aid of the wood-cut.'—p. 42.

Which said wood-cut we cannot present to our readers. We are not however very sorry for this, as it is not a very good one. The *text* derives, in our opinion, no assistance whatever from it.

A very small close stove, with a fire place of fire-brick, placed near the front plate of an iron box, such as would be used in a 'water-clad' stove, with an iron plate united to the sides, a few inches behind the fire-place, reaching neither to the top nor bottom, and dividing the space between the inner stove and outer case into two unequal chambers, constitutes the body of this new stove. The fire-door and ash-pit are closed; a very small aperture admits the air, and a small flue takes off the products of the combustion. But, as the quantity of air admitted is little more than necessary to keep up the combustion, and the flue is not large enough to carry off much more, there is a constant circulation going on between the colder air of the back, and the hotter air of the front chamber of the stove. The quantity of new air rising from within the fuel, and the like quantity escaping by the flue, are very small compared with the revolving mass. A thermometer regulates the admission of air, or cuts it off at exact and uniform temperatures. The hot air within does not pass into the room at all, but simply heats the outside case of iron, which, radiating heat to all parts of the room, imparts an equal warmth every where, without at all vitiating the air for respiration.

'I had thus,' says Dr. Arnott, 'a simple box of iron, of cheap and easy construction, answering all the purposes of expensive steam or hot water apparatus, burning its fuel as steadily as an argand lamp burns its oil, or as an hour-glass lets the sand run through; and allowing me, by merely touching a screw on the thermometer, rapidly to increase or diminish its heat, as by touching another regulating screw we increase or diminish the light of a lamp.'—p. 44.

There are some surprising facts which strike every one who has seen this stove. The amazingly small quantity of air required to support a combustion which warms a large room; the quantity of fuel, still more surprisingly less compared with the usual consumption, being no more than *half a ton* for six months, for a fire which burnt night and day! Six pounds of coal per diem, at the cost of *one penny!* an expense smaller, as the Doctor justly observes, than that 'of the wood needed to light an ordinary fire.' There are no less than fourteen distinct and important advantages resulting from the use of this stove, which obviate all the inconveniences of the previous methods. They may be thus classified. *Economy*—in fuel, in original expense, in service, in comfort, in health, in life, in furniture, in property generally, and in time.

Englishmen love to *see* the fire; and Dr. Arnott feels that this circumstance may prove a barrier to the success of his invention; but he explains, in the latter part of his work, how an open fireplace may be constructed, with most of the qualities of the 'Thermometer Stove.' This article is not confined in its uses to domestic matters; chemists, cooks, enamellers, painters on glass or porcelain, driers, painters, stables, cellars, warehouses, strong rooms where deeds are kept, baths, and even carriages, may derive numerous advantages from its use.

One highly important benefit will arise from the general adoption of the 'Thermometer Stove.' The consumption of fuel will be decreased to an extent, which will benefit the poor beyond any previous invention, and allay the fears lest our coal beds may, at some distant period, be exhausted. There floats over London, in smoke, one-eighth of all the coal brought into it; which is a dead loss of 100,000 chaldrons a year.

'Coal,' says our author, 'unlike corn, of which every season brings a new supply, exists in any country in a limited quantity tending to exhaustion; and in England, owing to the recent prodigiously multiplied uses of it in our manufactures and arts, rendering the state of society more and more dependent on the state of the coal mines, the price has risen considerably. A new means, which should lessen the consumption of coal only one half, would be equivalent to the discovery of as many more coal-beds as at present exist in the country. In London, the atmosphere would have as much less carbonic acid in it as there was less coal used; and nearly all the smoke would cease, for the stoves make none.'....

London, without smoke, would be deservedly the wonder of the world; but to return.

'There might be a great increase of domestic comfort among the poorer classes, to whom want of warmth is one of the greatest miseries, often driving them to the destructive alternative of dram drink-

ing; or at least to frequenting heated public-houses, because there is not warmth at home. If good ventilation were added, a great proportion of winter diseases would disappear. During the prevalence of influenza in late years, houses uniformly warmed by steam, or hot water, gave almost perfect security to their inhabitants.'—pp. 54, 55.

Thus the 'Thermometer Stove' will become a famous auxiliary to the Temperance Society; and in districts where coal is expensive, and in very severe weather, such as the late winter, when many have died of cold, and multitudes must have perished, if the rich had not largely subscribed to purchase coals for free distribution, this beautiful invention will be a most valuable boon to all classes. It will certainly break up the combination now existing between the London factors and the coal proprietors of the North; and which was lately proved, before a Court of Aldermen, to be daily robbing the public to an immense amount.

This stove is adapted for universal use. The inhabitants of the southern countries of Europe, who have rooms without chimneys, will find great advantage in its adoption. The injurious influence of charcoal fires has been already shown; they only require one of these stoves, and let the funnel be directed out of one of the leeward windows, and a pleasant temperature is at once obtained. Its *portability*, for a stove can be taken from room to room at pleasure, renders it peculiarly fit for these climates; and in our own country, where invalids frequently require for months a uniform, genial temperature, it will eminently assist the efforts of the medical practitioner. Many persons are sent from England to the southern shores of France, or to Madeira, away from beloved friends; and, as they generally go *too late*, often die in the midst of strangers. The Thermometer Stove, assisted by a good system of ventilation, can assimilate our own climate, at any season, to that of the most favoured spots in the world.

We have made no remarks on the manufacture of the stove, nor on the various thermometers which Dr. Arnott recommends to regulate the fire. We could not do so without the assistance of many engravings. For information on these points, as well as for directions respecting the proper fuel to be used, and best methods of management, we must refer our readers to the work at the head of this article.

But we must close. The subject of ventilation, as connected with warming, forms a most interesting part of Dr. Arnott's pamphlet. On this subject we cannot now enter. Already we have exceeded our limits. Such of our readers as can procure the work for themselves will do well to do so; and, for the sake of our readers who may not do this, we shall consider the subject of ventilation in a future number.

ART. VII. *The Pictorial History of England; being a History of the People as well as a History of the Kingdom; illustrated with many hundred wood-cuts of Monumental Records, Coins, Civil and Military Costume, &c. &c. &c.* Vol. I. Imp. 8vo. London. Charles Knight and Co. 1838.

THE Pictorial History of England, is one of the best designed and most happily executed publications of the day. Amid the literary trash which, with the aid of artistical illustrations, is seeking to press itself into public notice, it is pleasing to meet with a work like the present; and we shall be glad to find that it obtains a degree of patronage commensurate with the honest claims preferred. The history of our own country has, till recently, been lamentably neglected. The great mass of the people have been content with superficial epitomes, which have done little more than chronicle events; and which, in accomplishing even this, have for the most part failed to make a wise and instructive selection. The dark records of war have been raked, and all the more criminal and repulsive features of our past character have been exhibited in strong relief; while the progress of opinion, the struggles of truth, the unceasing effort of the national mind to enlarge its intelligence, and to establish its freedom, have been scarcely honored with a passage notice. The result has been mournfully injurious. Great ignorance and great misconception prevail. The light of past history has been eclipsed; and most men address themselves to the political discussions and theories of the day, as though no experiments had already been made on the susceptibilities, passions, and resources of the nation. There is no calculating the injury which results from this. We are perpetually starting anew; are losing the natural advantages of our position, and fail to make that unbroken progess towards a legitimate and noble end which might otherwise be commanded.

Nor is the state of things much better among another and more select class of our countrymen, who have aimed at a somewhat extended acquaintance with the facts of our history. Other causes have here come into operation, connected with the struggles and passions of party; and the consequence has been, the prevalence of false historical theories, and the utter absence of a due appreciation of the men who have wrought out our national freedom. Clarendon and Hume have long been our most popular and extensively influential historians; and it would be difficult to conceive of historical writings more calculated to mislead and pervert the judgment. Without pretensions to extensive research, disfigured by a thousand inaccuracies, with a shallow philosophy, and an un-English hostility to freedom, they have yet lived and been popular, owing to the beauties of their style, and

the strength of party prejudices to which they have appealed. As we expect shortly to have an opportunity of resuming this subject, we shall waive its further consideration at present.

The volume before us yields to none of the many admirable publications recently issued from the press, and which have happily changed the character of our historical literature. We know nothing of its author; we are ignorant even of his name; but, whoever he may be, he is entitled to our warmest thanks. He has brought to the performance of his task all requisite qualifications. An extensive knowledge of historical records, combined with habits of patient observation, and the faculty of quick-sightedness and discrimination; respectful attention to the views of others, with great impartiality, and a thorough spirit of independence; these, with kindred qualities, are happily conspicuous, and are set off to advantage by a lucid, chaste, and nervous style. To what extent the work is intended to be carried we are not informed. The present volume, consisting of eight hundred and eight-seven pages, brings the history down to the death of Richard II., in 1399; so that two or three others, at the least, may be expected, if the subsequent periods are exhibited on the same scale. We regret this probable magnitude of the work, not for our own sakes, but for the sake of a large class of readers, who we fear will be deterred by it, from the perusal of the work. It might have been wiser, and would have accomplished, we think, more extensive good, if the earlier periods of our history had been more briefly despatched.

The plan of the work is similar to that of Dr. Henry, and is evidently borrowed from it. Instead of a continuous narrative, in which all the materials of the history are worked up, each book contains seven chapters, which treat distinctly of Military and Naval Transactions; Religion; the Constitution, Government, and Laws; the National Industry; Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts; Manners and Customs; and the Condition of the People. We have our doubts of the wisdom of this sub-division. In many cases we fear it operates as an inducement to pass over the most instructive chapters; and, even where this is not done, there is some danger of its concealing the connexion and dependence of facts. The following extract, the only one which our space permits, is a fair sample of the work.

'The following may be given as a summary of the views that have been offered:

'Beginning with Ireland, it may be affirmed that every thing in that country indicates the decidedly Celtic character of its primitive population; and taking the geographical position of the island along with the traditions of the people, we can have little doubt that the quarter from which chiefly it was originally colonized, was the opposite

peninsula of Spain. That settlements were also effected in various parts of it, before the dawn of recorded history, by bodies of people from other parts of the continent—from Gaul, from Germany, from Scandinavia, and even possibly from the neighbouring coast of Britain —is highly probable; but, although several of these foreign bands of other blood seem to have acquired in succession the dominion of the country, their numbers do not appear in any instance to have been considerable enough to alter the thoroughly Celtic character of the great body of the population, of their language, of their customs, and even of their institutions. Thus the Scots, who appear to have been originally a Teutonic people from the northern parts of the European continent, although they eventually subjugated the divided native Irish so completely as to impose their own name upon the island and the whole of its inhabitants, were yet themselves more truly subjugated, by being melted down and absorbed into the map of the more numerous Celtic race among whom they had settled. The invasion of Ireland by the Scots, and the subsequent intermixture of the conquerors with the conquered, resembled the subjugation of Saxon Britain by the Normans, or still more nearly that of Celtic or Romanized Gaul by the Franks, in which latter case the conquerors, indeed, as happened in Ireland, gave their name to the country, but the native inhabitants in turn gave their language to the conquerors. In this manner it happened that the Irish, after they came to be called Scots, were really as much a Celtic or Gaelic people as ever. The Scots from Ireland who colonized the Western coast of North Britain, and came at last to give their name to the whole of that part of our island, were undoubtedly a race of Gael. They were called Scots, merely because the whole of Ireland had, by that time, come to be known by the name of the country of the Scots, who had obtained the dominion of it. The original population of ancient Caledonia, however, appears to have been of Gothic lineage, and to have come from the opposite coasts of Germany, and what is now called Denmark. Long after the arrival of the Irish Scots in the Western part of the country, this original Gothic race, or possibly another body of settlers who had subsequently poured in from the same quarter, retained, under the name of the Picts, the occupation and sovereignty of by far the greater portion of what is now called Scotland. But most probably some ages before they were deprived of their Scottish sovereignty by the successful arms or intrigues of the king of the Highland Gael, bands of Picts appear to have established themselves in the West of England, where they came eventually to be known to their Saxon neighbours by the name of the foreigners, or the Welsh. The Welsh, however, still do and always have called themselves only the Cymry, which appears to be the same name with that of the Cimber or Cimmerii, so famous in ancient times: and, taking this circumstance along with the tradition they have constantly preserved, of their original emigration into Britain, from a country on the other side of the German Ocean, there seems to be every reason for concluding that the Cymry of Britain, called by their neighbours of other blood at one time Picts (whatever that name may mean,) at another Welsh, are really the remnant of the Cimbir of

antiquity. There remains only to be noticed the original population of the rest of South Britain, or of that part of the island now properly called England. It can hardly admit of a doubt that the whole of the South of Britain was originally colonized mainly from the neighbouring coast of Gaul. Some bands of German may have settled along the East coast, and some Celtic tribes from Spain may have established themselves in the West; but the great body of the inhabitants by whom the country was occupied when it first became known to the Romans, were in all probability Celts from Gaul. We are inclined to think that even the Belgic tribes who, some centuries before Cæsar's invasion, appear to have obtained the possession of the greater part of the South coast, were either really of mixed German and Celtic lineage, or had adopted the Celtic tongue from the previous occupants of the territory, with whom they intermixed after their arrival in Britain, and who were probably much more numerous than their invaders. There does not seem to be any evidence either that what are called the Belgic tribes of Britain, spoke a different language from the rest of the natives, or that any people speaking a Gothic dialect had ever been spread over any considerable portion of the South of Britain in those early times.'—pp. 23, 24.

We must not in closing omit to notice the Illustrations. They are exceedingly numerous, well executed, and for the most part highly appropriate. In general, they have been copied from drawings, sculptures, coins, or other works of the period they are designed to illustrate: and, while they add greatly to the attractions of the volume, they will be found equally to serve its main purpose.

Art. VIII. 1. *Papers relative to Abolition of Slavery.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 9th March, 1838.

2. *Speech of Sir George Grey, Bart., in the House of Commons, on Thursday, March* 29, 1838, *on Sir George Strickland's Motion for the immediate abolition of Negro Apprenticeship.* London. Ridgway.

3. *The Speech of Lord Brougham in the House of Lords, on Tuesday, February* 20, 1838. London. Central Emancipation Committee.

THE Anti-Slavery Crisis has not yet passed. Only the first act of the drama has been performed; and men are waiting in deep anxiety to mark the further developement of the plot. Superficial and short-sighted observers may regard the division on Sir George Strickland's motion as decisive of the case; but others, who look farther into the principles of human conduct, and are competent to estimate the strength of motive and persevering energy by which the abolitionists are actuated, will be

disposed to regard their temporary defeat as the omen and pledge of coming triumph. We deeply regret the course which her Majesty's ministers have pursued; and shall not hesitate to devote a few pages to the reflections it has awakened among a large and influential section of their supporters. Their policy was but partially disclosed when the last number of our journal went to press. Much had occurred to damp the confidence of the country, and to indicate the surrender which had been made of the rights and happiness of the negro population to the selfish and heartless policy of the West India party. The Colonial Office had lost the respect and confidence of the community. It was believed—whether justly or not—to be in league with the planters, and to have fearfully damaged the interests of the apprenticed laborers, by its remissness, or more culpable connivance. Of Lord Glenelg little was seen or known till recently. He was regarded as the nominal rather than the real head of the department; and few troubled themselves to refer to his views, till other circumstances, forcing him into temporary exertion, brought him on the scene of action. Sir George Grey, the under secretary, was held to be the real director of colonial affairs, and no two opinions could be formed of the complexion of his views, or of the *animus* of his procedure. The history of the Apprenticeship Committee was a sufficient illustration of these. No counsel ever labored more assiduously, or with more obvious bent of mind, to break down the case of an opponent, than did the honorable baronet to prevent the dark and diabolical working of the apprenticeship from being disclosed. Had he possessed a deep pecuniary stake in the perpetuation of the system, and had his heart been hardened by such interest—as human hearts too commonly are—he could not have exerted himself more zealously in preventing the light of day from being poured into the dark recesses of this loathsome house of bondage. We have nothing to do with motives. We speak only of his conduct; and of this it is not too much to affirm, that it awakened the astonishment and indignation of the coolest, least partial, and most right-minded bystanders. The Abolitionists were amazed at the evident determination of the Under Secretary to make out a case against them; and looked in vain to his position and principles for some explanation of the mystery.

Still it was believed by a large section of the Abolitionists, that the ministry were in the main sound on this question. Many allowances were made for the supposed difficulties of their position. They were public men whose hands were full; as a political party they were nearly balanced by their opponents; they had been losing ground for some time, and it would be imprudent and rash to hazard a defeat on this question; an alleged contract had been entered into, and it would be destructive of

public integrity, if, without obvious necessity, they forswore it. These, and a hundred similar pleas, were urged by their friends among the advocates of abolition, and were received in arrest of judgment. "They cannot originate," it was said, "the 'measure we crave; they must not even readily give way to it; 'but be assured they are with us in principle and feeling. Let 'us rouse the country; and when once its united and imploring 'voice is heard in St. Stephen's, Lord Melbourne and his col-'leagues will defer to a nation's prayer; the cabinet will be thrown 'open, and both its members and its supporters will be left at 'liberty to vote according to their pleasure." Such were the expectations entertained by many; expectations, we confess, in which we partook only to a very limited extent. Judging from their past procedure, we had no hope; but calculating on their future interests, we did not deem it impossible but they might adopt some such policy. Our fears were pretty clearly intimated last month, when referring to the approaching division on Sir George Strickland's motion. "We have heard a rumor," we then remarked, "that men in high places mean to try their 'strength with the petitioners for immediate emancipation—to 'nail their colors to the mast, and stand or fall by their darling 'bill. Let them beware.' What was then matter of report, is now the subject of history; and will go down to posterity an instructive warning against placing confidence in public men.

On the 29th March, Sir George Strickland, in pursuance of his notice, moved the termination of the apprenticeship on the 1st of August next, and was seconded by Mr. Pease, the member for Durham. The policy of the cabinet was immediately disclosed by Sir George Grey, who moved as an amendment the order of the day for the second reading of Lord Glenelg's bill 'to amend the Act for the Abolition 'of Slavery in the British Colonies.' A two night's debate ensued, when the house was unexpectedly hurried to a division, and the amendment was carried by a majority of 54, the numbers being 269 for, and 215 against it. The character of the ministerial majority must have been sufficiently mortifying to a liberal administration. As on some former occasions, it was mainly composed of the old tory clique—the irreclaimable foes of whatever is enlightened, philanthropic, and high-minded in legislation. The ministers of our Queen—the pledged friends of the people—were again deserted by an overwhelming majority of the liberal representatives, and were indebted for their triumph to aid borrowed from the camp of their enemies. When will this farce end, and the administration be found practically coinciding with the great nation over which it presides? Is it any wonder that the people are becoming daily more and more indifferent to the stability of Lord Melbourne's cabinet,

it is seen opposing itself to their most enlightened and eous demands, and calling to its aid the sworn friends of ption? The marvel would be—and a bitter reflection it l constitute on the sagacity of the nation—if under such mstances, they cared much for the continued existence of lministration which placed itself in so false and questionable ition. Men must be true to themselves,—to their own cter and principles, before they can expect to receive the us and self-denying support of others. It requires a certain tion of character, a forswearing of the little expedients and mptible arts of a paltry statesmanship, a fixed and deter- d course of policy, an obvious rectitude of purpose, and ious powers of intellect, to command the unbought suf- s of the better portion of mankind. The hangers-on of may applaud and vote irrespective of these things; but the gth of a reform government is gone the moment that such ties are suspected to be wanting.

ıe result of the division was determined by the avowed pur- of the cabinet to stand or fall with the amendment. It was no t amongst their supporters, that their official existence was d on the rejection of Sir George Strickland's motion. was avowed—openly and in various forms avowed—by those were believed to be in their confidence; and its influence)bvious. A majority of the Irish members, who were pre- —fearful of the return of toryism with its tithe campaigns— l with them; and all their underlings, and greedy expect- gave them, of course, the benefit of their vote. And yet majority amounted only to fifty-four. It is needless to say would have been the result, had they acted more worthy of selves, and more in accordance with the hopes and prayers e country.

en are at a loss to account for their policy. It is an enigma h none can solve; the most sagacious are baffled, and the friends of ministers are mortified and humbled. We have ' known a public occurrence of which it was so difficult to n a satisfactory explanation. Friends have been hourly re- ng to each other the inquiries 'How is it? What does it ın? Why this new-born zeal on behalf of the planter; this ousness of heart to the appeal of hundreds of thousands of ering and injured men? What is there so enchanting in mongrel freedom—this abortion of an expiring despotism— an administration, pledged to the correction of abuses and vindication of human rights, should stake its own existence its maintenance?' These questions are repeated in almost r house, and no satisfactory reply can be obtained. Men that there is something suspicious, something more than ionable in a mode of procedure which baffles all ordinary

calculation, and violates the plainest rules of justice, without an avowed or ostensible end. A clear case was made out by the Abolitionists, and nothing short of infatuation prompted the ministers to deny it. Their course was radically bad,—bad in principle, and bad in policy,—uncalled for by the honesty of the case, and absurd and ruinous in its tendency. The ground on which the apprenticeship was instituted, and on which alone its vindication was attempted, was the welfare of the negroes. They were represented as unfit for freedom—as requiring an initiatory state—as demanding from British benevolence to be protected, by some such arrangement, from the consequences of rash legislation. Sir George Grey endeavoured to make out a different case, by culling from the speeches of Lord Stanley, some sentences in which the interests of the master was made paramount to that of the slaves. But Lord Brougham had, as by anticipation, completely annihilated the argument of the Under Secretary,—proving by the preamble of the act itself, that the apprenticeship was instituted for the benefit of the Negro, and not as compensation to the planter.

'I show you that the whole grounds of the arrangement of 1833, the very pretext for withholding complete emancipation, alleged incapacity for labour, and risk of insurrection, utterly fail. I rely on your own records; I refer to that record which cannot be averred against; I plead the record of your own statute. On what ground does this preamble rest the necessity of the intermediate or apprentice state; all admitting that nothing but necessity could justify it? 'Whereas it is expedient that provision should be made for promoting the industry, and securing the good conduct of the manumitted slaves.' These are the avowed reasons for the measure—these its only defence. All men confessed that were it not for the apprehension of liberated slaves not working voluntarily, and not behaving peaceably—of slavery being found to have unfitted them for industry, and of a sudden transition to complete freedom being fraught with danger to the peace of society—you had no right to make them indentured apprentices, and must at once make them wholly free. But the fear prevailed which, by the event, I have now a right to call a delusion; and the apprenticeship was reluctantly agreed to. The delusion went farther. The planter succeeded in persuading us that he would be a vast loser by the change, and we gave him twenty millions sterling merely to indemnify him for the supposed loss. The fear is found to be utterly baseless—the loss is a phantom of the brain—a shape conjured up by the interested parties to frighten our weak minds; and the only reality in this mockery is the payment of that enormous sum to the crafty and fortunate magician for his incantations. The spell is dissolved—the charm is over—the unsubstantial fabric of calculating alarm, reared by the Colonial body with our help, has been crushed to atoms, and its fragments scattered to the wind. And now, I ask, suppose it had been ascertained in 1833, when you made the Apprenticeship law, that there

'alarms were absolutely groundless—the mere phantom of a sick brain, or contrivance of a sordid ingenuity—would a single voice have been raised in favour of the intermediate state? Would the words Indentured Apprenticeship ever have been pronounced? Would the man have been found endued with the courage to call for keeping the negro in chains one hour after he had been acknowledged entitled to his freedom? '—pp. 13, 14.

If any doubt had been entertained on the legal bearings of the question, it may well have been laid to rest by the explicit and satisfactory reasoning of the lord chief justice. It is easy to talk about compacts and arrangements, the sacredness of a treaty, and the binding nature of an Act of Parliament. This has been the usual cant of statesmen when unwilling to cede the claims of justice—when sacrificing the spirit of honest legislation to its letter—when surrendering the oppressed, with all his claims to sympathy and redress, to the will and pleasure of his lord. Better things, however, were expected from her Majesty's ministers; but woe be unto them who trust in the virtue of statesmen. Had not the administration been bent, on other grounds, on maintaining the Apprenticeship, they could scarcely have failed to defer to the legal authority of Lord Denman. Free from all the circumstances which might be regarded as attaching suspicion to the judgment of Lord Brougham, his character, and official rank, and party connexions, were eminently adapted to give weight to his opinion. And to what did that opinion amount? To nothing short of an entire vindication of the prayer of the Abolitionists,—an explicit and unhesitating declaration that they were right—legally as well as morally right—in seeking to terminate this most anomalous and un-English state of things.

'Supposing,' said his lordship, 'the Act of 1833 to be a compact between the planters and the parliament of England, acting as trustees for the negroes, no doubt the breach of an implied condition by the former would release the latter from their engagement. But I cannot so consider it. I deny the right of this country to stipulate for the negroes. How could it be obtained? It originated in crimes, which, if not properly called piracy, deserve a harsher name, and existed only because slavery existed, the lawfulness of which I have always denied. In other words, it was power without right; and the Act was an experiment by two joint wrong-doers, (the more powerful of whom sincerely repented) whether the evil would be best put down by continuing it in a mitigated form. This compromise, like a thousand other attempts to reconcile right and wrong, is admitted on all hands to have failed. Compulsory apprenticeship, which was another name for slavery, and could only be justified by expediency, is proved to be inexpedient, and nothing remains but the duty of the mother country to afford to all her subjects the protection of equal laws. I am, there-

fore, fully prepared to consent to the immediate abolition of negro apprenticeship.'

In this opinion Lord Lyndhurst, as well as Lord Brougham, is understood to have concurred. We wish the Attorney-General had been equally explicit, for should it have turned out (as we half suspect it would have done) that he agreed with these legal lords, it must have precluded the possibility of doubt as to the influence which determined the policy of the queen's ministers.

But, supposing the contract was ever so binding,—supposing its existence was universally admitted,—supposing that all parties maintained that the Apprenticeship was instituted as a boon to the planters—simply and entirely a boon to the planters:—What then? Even in this case the course of ministers was as unjust as it was impolitic, as unworthy of their professed principles, as it will be found injurious to their party interests. No person can be so mad as to imagine that the Apprenticeship was a free gift to the planters, having no respect to the welfare of the negroes, but indicating simply the prodigal liberality of the British people. It is assumed to have been part of the price paid for their liberation,—a portion of the redemption money by which eight hundred thousand captives were to be liberated from the house of bondage. The planters received their twenty millions, and they have had during nearly four years the constrained and unrequited services of their sable laborers. Have they in return given that which they promised, and for which this enormous price has been paid? Have they fulfilled the contract into which they entered with the British parliament, and by which they bound themselves to make the negro laborer, with one solitary exception, what the English laborer is? Have they executed the treaty which is represented as so binding on the slaves, by carrying out in an honest spirit the design of the Imperial Act, and thus constituting a thriving and happy peasantry? Let the records of their plantations, the atrocities and murders of their workhouses, the universal dissatisfaction of the negroes, and the untold miseries to which the babe and its nursing mother,—the enfeebled, the aged, and the dying are subjected, reply. Nay, we are prepared to go further than this. We make an appeal to the debates which have taken place among colonial statesmen, to the Acts which have been passed by colonial Assemblies, to the complaints of governors, yea, to the ministerial Bill itself—the most damning proof of all—and we say there has been an uniform and systematic and wide spreading violation of the contract—if contract their must be—on the part of the planters. By oppression and fraud the Colonists have cancelled the bond, and placed themselves out of Court.

'This bond doth give thee here no jot of blood;
The words expressly are, a pound of flesh:
Take then thy bond, take thou thy pound of flesh;
But, in the cutting it, if thou dost shed
One drop of Christian blood, thy lands and goods
Are, by the laws of Venice, confiscate
Unto the state of Venice.'

Dr. Lushington put this in a forcible light in the course of the second evening's debate; when referring to some parliamentary papers, and to Lord Sligo's pamphlet, he said:

'These documents amply proved that there had been a uniform and constant, though not a universal violation of the contract entered into. He would ask if the House of Assembly participated in the British feeling on this subject? Did the grand juries participate in it, or the petty juries? Had not the grand juries been visited with severe reprobation by the government for their disregard to their oaths? Did the law officers of the crown participate in the feelings of the government? On the contrary, their utmost exertions were used to defeat her Majesty's government; and even the king's advocate had been dismissed by Lord Glenelg for pursuing a course hostile to the wishes of the government. According to the statements in Lord Sligo's pamphlet, even murder passed unheeded in Jamaica—no inquests were held. Where was the indignation of the colonists at these enormities? There was not a trace of such a feeling throughout the whole annals of Jamaica. Was it to these men the British parliament would dare, in the face of the nation and of the civilised world, to continue a trust which they had notoriously betrayed, who, when reminded of the statutes of the Imperial parliament, answered that they had statutes of their own, and in pursuance of those local laws, and the license which they allowed, would proceed to seize and imprison an apprentice—keep her in prison nine months without preferring any charge against her, or obtaining any legal sanction for her detention; chain her by an iron collar to the neck of another unhappy prisoner; and then, at the expiration of nine months, turn her out from gaol the miserable wreck of her former self. Was it to such as these that it was now proposed still longer to intrust the happiness and the lives of the freed negroes? He said lives, because it was in evidence that starvation was not uncommon in the workhouses; that, in fact, the planters had acted in violation of that just law, which required that if liberty was taken from a man, the necessaries of existence should be allowed him in his confinement or his bondage?'

Lord Brougham also, in one of the most splendid passages of his speech—a speech which revived the memory of the palmy days of British eloquence—took the same view of the case:

'I have told you how the Bills for murdering negroes were systematically thrown out by the Grand Juries. But you are not to imagine

that Bills are never found against whites. A person of this caste had dared, under feelings of excited indignation, to complain to the regular constituted authorities. Did he obtain redress? No; instead of receiving for his gallant conduct the thanks of the community, he had a Bill found against him, which presented him as a nuisance! I have, within the last two hours, amid the new mass of papers just laid before your lordships, culled a sample, which, I believe, represents the whole odious mass. Eleven females have been flogged, starved, lashed, attached to the treadmill, and compelled to work until nature could no longer endure their sufferings. At the moment when the wretched victims were about to fall off—when they could no longer bring down the mechanism and continue the movement, they were suspended by their arms, and at each revolution of the wheel, received new wounds on their members, until, in the language of that law so grossly outraged in their persons, they 'languished and died.' Ask you if a crime of this murderous nature went unvisited, and if no inquiry was made respecting its circumstances? The forms of justice were on this head peremptory, even in the West Indies—and those forms, the handmaids of Justice were present, though their sacred Mistress was far away. The coroner duly attended, and his jury were regularly impannelled. Eleven inquisitions were held, eleven inquiries were made, eleven verdicts were returned. For Murder? Manslaughter? Misconduct? No; but that 'they died by the visitation of God! A lie! —a perjury!—a blasphemy! The visitation of God! Yes, for it is among the most awful of those visitations by which the inscrutable purposes of his will are mysteriously accomplished, that he sometimes arms the wicked with power to oppress the guiltless: and if there be any visitation more dreadful than another—and which more tries the faith and vexes the reason of erring mortals, it is when Heaven showers down upon the earth the plague—not of scorpions—or pestilence—or famine—or war—but of Unjust Judges and perjured Jurors—wretches who pervert the law to wreak their personal vengeance or compass their sordid ends, and forswear themselves on the Gospels of God, to the end that injustice may prevail, and the innocent be destroyed!' p.20.

Sir George Grey, of course, denied the violation of any contract by the planters, and argued in their defence with all the zeal and jesuitism of a retained advocate. It is not for us to say that the Under-Secretary falsified facts, or intentionally misled the House; but this we will affirm, that if his description of the colonists be correct, they have hitherto been among the most defamed of men. The records of parliament are in such case a collection of libels, and the speeches of Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Buxton, and other leading Abolitionists, have been fraught with the grossest fabrications. There is no evading this conclusion, but by maintaining that a sudden and miraculous revolution has passed on the colonists. The leopard has changed its spots—the Ethiopian his skin;—a community hitherto distinguished by impiety towards God and oppression towards man, has all at once assumed the

mild, benignant, and equitable spirit of the Gospel. The honorable baronet perfectly luxuriates in the Utopian scene he describes, and if it be necessary, in order to make out his assertions to impugn the motives, and to charge exaggeration on the Abolitionists, little difficulty is felt in doing so.

'I have no doubt,' says Sir George Grey, referring to the memorial of the delegates, 'that those from whom this memorial emanates were firmly convinced of the truth and accuracy of their statements; but this is only a proof that the most incorrect information has been circulated on the subject. I believe the information which has been so circulated, and on which resolutions have been passed, and petitions framed, has originated with some few persons, who, with good intentions it may be, but with excited and mistaken feelings, desire to prevent the peaceful termination of the apprenticeship at the expiration of its legal term. There were those in 1833 who declared that nothing should induce them to assent to the apprenticeship; and who, not having then succeeded in defeating it, are determined in 1838 that it shall come to a violent termination.

'Frauds have been practised at public meetings by a concealment of the truth, frauds for which the Government at least are in no degree responsible, as they have imparted the fullest information, withholding, indeed, nothing from Parliament which made against the system, but exhibiting a faithful picture of it as a whole. Difficulties of no ordinary nature there no doubt have been in the administration of it: but the constant endeavour of the Government has been to secure its working in accordance with the principle of the Abolition Act, and advantageously to the interests of all parties concerned in it. The result I believe to be that it is impossible to assert that the experiment has failed, or that, in the great majority of instances, any foundation exists for the charges which have been brought against the whole body of proprietors.'—pp. 42, 43.

Apart from the great and all but overwhelming improbability of the case which Sir George Grey attempts to make out, we are staggered by facts which it is impossible to reconcile with his theory. What must be thought of the report of the commission appointed to inquire into the statements of James Williams? What was intended by Sir Lionel Smith in his message to the Jamaica Assembly on the 31st of October last, when he told them 'This island is subject to the reproach that the negroes are in some 'respects now in a worse condition than they were in slavery?'— What above all things do her Majesty's ministers mean, by the bill which they have hurried through the two Houses, and what did the Colonial Secretary, Sir George Grey's principal, mean by the statements he made on submitting that Bill to the Lords?'— Let these questions be honestly answered, and we leave the Under Secretary to justify his own positions.

It is scarcely possible to conceive of two speeches more opposed

in their special averments and general spirit than those of Lord Glenelg and Sir George Grey. The former sketched from life—the latter drew a fancy scene. The one has described a state of things in which fraud, cruelty, and oppression are predominant,—the other has painted the milder virtues,—has arrayed a putrid corpse in the habiliments of the living. Lord Glenelg frankly acknowledged on the part of the government the right of the negro to freedom, and his willingness to work for wages, while he admitted the existence of just grounds of complaint against the colonists. 'The complaints respecting the state of the other 'colonies are not,' remarked his lordship, 'so numerous or consi-'derable as those respecting Jamaica. I must allow, with respect 'to the latter colony, *that many evils exist which might be made* '*the grounds* for claiming the abolition of the apprenticeship sys-'tem.' Nay, whatever his subordinate may allege to the contrary, Lord Glenelg did not hesitate to declare the utter hopelessness of redress by the Colonial Assemblies.

''I have made every effort,' said his lordship, 'to correct the proceedings of local assemblies. The efforts of my noble friend near me (the Marquis of Sligo) have been made to correct the evils complained of. My noble friend has appealed to the House of Assembly upon this and many other grievances. Sir Lionel Smith has sent a message to the House of Assembly recommending to them the consideration of many such grievances. The message was sent on the 2nd of November; it was referred to a committee. The house sat until Christmas, and then it adjourned at an unusual time, until February, and not a single topic recommended to its notice has been taken into consideration. Now it was necessary for him to say, that though they had nothing to hope for from the local assemblies of the Colonies, yet he trusted that they had everything to hope for from parliament.'*

* The parliamentary papers before us fully bear out this representation of Lord Glenelg. Under date of Nov. 13, 1837, his lordship says, writing to Sir Lionel Smith, 'It is with serious regret and concern that I have found myself under the necessity of reverting thus specifically to a succession of ineffectual attempts to obtain requisite amendments of the law in Jamaica; but the continual recurrence of abuses, to the prevention of which many of those attempts were directed, imperatively requires that I should discharge myself of the responsibility which would attach to me, if I did not once more convey through you to the Assembly of Jamaica an earnest exhortation that they will not allow the period of apprenticeship to expire without anything being effectually done by their own intervention, to mitigate grievances which, while they must exasperate the minds of the apprentices, cannot fail to be attended with serious injury to the future interests of their employers.' On the 24th of the same month, his Excellency the Governor writing to the Colonial Secretary avows his conviction that nothing was to be looked for from this quarter.

'Referring your lordship,' he says, 'to the messages which I early sent to the present House of Assembly, in view to the correction of certain clauses of the Abolition law, bearing oppressively upon the apprentices, I am sorry to inform your lordship, that *I have no hope left that they will correct the evils I exposed to them, or ensure more just laws for the remaining apprenticeship.*'—Parl. pap. pp. 325—331.

What must the under Secretary think of the following averments of his principal, and how will he make out the truth of his own representations?

'It is true that apprentices are condemned to workhouses or houses of correction, placed under local laws, for apprentice offences, or offences affecting the interest of his employers. For every inconsiderable offence of this kind the apprentice is committed to a workhouse; he is removed from the protection of British law, and from that moment the admission of special magistrates is carefully prevented. I will not enter into more sad scenes to which my noble friend has alluded as occurring in these workhouses—scenes on which it is impossible for the mind to dwell without horror.

'Many facts have been elicited regarding these workhouses in the course of the examination before a select committee of the House of Commons, which prove that the most horrid cruelties are perpetrated in them, and present a most disgusting picture of West India punishment.' . . . . .

'In Jamaica, especially, the magistrates had been most improperly interfered with. A system of general annoyance had been practised, not of a nature to be openly and publicly noticed, but still quite sufficient to defeat the purpose for which they were appointed. Every advantage had been taken of technical distinctions of the law to interfere with the course of the magistracy, and to defeat the administration of justice.

'I have to observe, that one mode adopted of annoying the magistrates was by prosecutions and actions at law against them. If a magistrate were considered to act in a manner contrary to the interests of a particular planter, he was instantly threatened with a prosecution, and thus by proceedings of this nature men were deterred from the rigid and exact performance of their duty. Where magistrates had been so treated, and were condemned with costs, this country had indemnified such magistrates. Thus, these magistrates were not permitted to suffer any pecuniary loss. But what indemnity was this to such gentlemen for all the care, the trouble, the anxiety, and, it might be even added, the partial loss of character thus entailed upon them! He was held up as an object of odium to men of his own character and station; the courts of justice were closed against them, and the proprietors were triumphant. In this latter sense at least they could not be indemnified.'

'Many allowances and indulgences enjoyed by the slaves under the old system have, I am sorry to say, been refused to the apprentices by the planters. It was usual formerly to allow a mother to attend any of her children when dangerously ill, and not to require her to make up the time so employed.

'Mothers who had six children, and aged persons, were not formerly expected to work in the fields. I regret to have to state, that these customs have been discontinued; and now a mother is refused permission to attend any of her children, even though in a dying state, and old age is exposed to the same hardships as the confirmed strength of manhood.

'It was a common practice formerly to allow the food of the apprentices to be brought to them in the field where they were at work, and persons supplied them with water during the hours of labour. These indulgences are now, however, in many cases, completely abrogated; and the apprentices have to spend the hour which is allowed them for their meals in procuring and cooking their food.' . . . .

'Nothing has produced a greater impression upon the people of this country than the application of the lash. It is a system degrading in every respect; it is a system so horrible, that if they abolished slavery, and yet left the power of continuing the lash for apprenticeship offences in a single case, they still left such the actual victims of slavery. The Act of abolition forbade females being lashed for apprenticeship offences. That provision, I regret to tell your lordships, has been set at defiance; it has been scorned and contemned by the injustice and the revenge of the former masters of those unhappy slaves. The ingenuity of man has been exercised for the purpose of inflicting tortures upon his fellow creatures. And who do your lordships suppose have been selected for the purpose of inflicting cruelty in the houses of correction? Why, the class of men selected were the very class that ought not to be chosen; they were convicts for life; men dead to all sense of feeling and humanity. These were the men who did not refuse to apply the lash to females—who have entered into a vile combination with their employers to glut the evil passions of both. They who indulged the aspirations of vengeance are men lost to all thoughts of happiness, of hope, and of respect for themselves. In spite of the law, females had the lash applied to them for apprenticeship offences. This is a stain upon the Legislature: I admit it.

'The evil feelings generated by a long course of wickedness still rankle in the breasts of the oppressors, and they *have recourse now to worse instruments than they ever before employed in the height of their most licentious barbarity.*' *(!!!)*

We have been the more copious in our extracts from the Speech of Lord Glenelg, in order to exhibit the striking discrepancy—nay, the direct contradiction,—which subsists between his lordship's statements and those of Sir George Grey. How the latter has justified himself to his principal, we are at a loss to conjecture, but surely the country is entitled to ask how the colonial affairs of the Empire can be wisely conducted when so little harmony subsists between the views of the Ministers who preside over them? Is Sir George Grey, or is Lord Glenelg the Colonial Minister? Judging from recent events, we should say the former.

There is another feature of the debate which we cannot wholly pass over, though our notice of it must necessarily be brief. It is unhappily we fear too characteristic of the present policy of Ministers, and ought therefore to be held up to the observation of the country. We refer, as our readers will have anticipated, to the jealous sensitiveness with which they shrunk from the pressure from without. Sir George Grey was perfectly indignant

at the thought, that members of the legislature should have been solicited by their constituents to vote for the abolition of the apprenticeship, and in his reprobation of such conduct did not refrain from grossly mis-stating the measures which had been adopted. Lord John Russell also deprecated the same in terms which were warmly cheered from the opposition benches.

Had the language employed by his lordship been uttered a few months since, we should have been greatly amazed; but a change has come over the spirit of his party, and we, therefore, cease to wonder at his adopting the language and playing the part of the Tories. The pressure from without was formerly solicited by Ministers. It was their strength—their salvation—their life. It gave power to their weakness, and carried them in triumph through the fearful struggles of the Reform Bill. But they are now basking in the sunshine of court favour—the smile of royalty is on their path—they need no longer the cheering voice nor the hearty support of the people. There was a time when congregated thousands were hailed with joy—when the outbreak of a nation's zeal, with all its indiscretions and half madness, was welcomed as the harbinger and pledge of reformed institutions and perpetuated freedom. But their party interests were then at stake, while the present question affects only—at least, in its direct bearing — the liberty and happiness of colonial bond-slaves.

From the review we have instituted, it is perfectly evident, that so far as the justice of the case was concerned, ministers were not only free to consent to the prayer of the Abolitionists, but were bound to do so. A clear case was made out of uniform and systematic fraud on the part of the planter. Even Sir Edward Sugden while voting with Ministers, admitted that there was ground for breaking the contract which had been entered into.

'That there had been a sufficient breach,' he remarked, 'particularly on the part of Jamaica, to warrant the House in breaking the contract, could not be denied. He could not agree with the right hon. baronet (Sir George Grey) that it was unfair to advert to particular instances as a ground for the resolution. How could they make out the breach of contract without referring to particular instances? Was it to be expected that a whole colony would tie up their slaves and whip them all at once? Was it to be expected that the masters of the apprentices would indulge themselves in what he would call a jubilee of cruelty? The question, then, was, were the cases, as regarded their number, and the manner in which they were dispersed, such as justified them in saying, that there had been a breach of contract? With respect to Jamaica, he had made up his mind that the case was made out. What he would ask, was the nature of the evidence afforded by the bill itself

which it was proposed to pass? Whether they passed the bill, or emancipated the negroes at once, they must, in either case, break through the law of 1833. In either case, the principle was affected.'

Ministers could not refute this reasoning: yet they were bent, miserably and madly bent—on opposing it. A nation implored their pity,—an awakened and indignant people demanded justice at their hands. Thousands and tens of thousands of enlightened and religious men with one heart and one voice stood at their bar, and besought them in the name of the living God to extend the shield of their protection over the hapless and suffering children of Africa. But all was in vain; their prayer was rejected, their pleas were despised,—they were represented as the enthusiasts of the day, men of questionable motives, and of intemperate and reckless zeal.

We must not close our remarks without a few words on the effect which the policy of Ministers has had on a large class of their supporters. We have never witnessed so marked and deep an impression as that policy has made. It is felt from one end of the empire to the other, and is already assuming a form which Ministers will do well not to despise. It has done more to alienate from the administration, the confidence and good feelings of the best section of the reformed community than anything else which could have transpired. It was so reckless a violation of principle—it manifested such an utter disregard of truth and justice—it was such a gratuitous and uncalled-for defence of oppression and crime, that the Ministers guilty of it, stand convicted before the country of being unworthy to be trusted with the liberty and persons of their fellow-men. The hundreds of thousands who have united in praying the legislature to do justice to the negroes have been almost to a man the strenuous, and, in many cases, the self-sacrificing supporters of the Ministry. They gave them a support which no money could purchase, under the belief that they were honestly bent on vindicating the rights and establishing the freedom of every class. This was the link which bound them to their service, it was the motive which induced them to forego their love of privacy, and to incur the vexations and trouble of political strife. That belief they have now thrown from them, and the result will be seen whenever a struggle comes. Do without them the Ministers cannot. Their camp will be beaten up, and their forces be scattered, if those who are now maligned and treated with contempt do not form in their defence. What there is to induce them to do so, let the advocates of Ministers say. A different policy would have been received as an atonement for many faults—it would have served to cover a multitude of sins. But this high-handed and contumelious opposition to what mercy and justice alike required, has served to infix a deep feeling of mistrust which years will not be able to remove.

gainst Sir George Strickland's motion, the solemn duty of making themselves acquainted with the facts and bearings of the case; being convinced that such a course must inevitably lead to the conclusion, that there exists but one remedy for the now universally admitted evils of negro apprenticeship; viz., the immediate and entire abolition of the system.'

In conformity with these resolutions, Sir J. Eardley Wilmot has given notice for the 8th of May, of a motion substantially similar to that of Sir George Strickland's, and public meetings have been held in London, Birmingham, Liverpool, and other large towns. But one feeling exists throughout the country. The pious of all sects are united, and the voice of supplication and prayer is ascending to the King of kings. May the God of the spirits of all flesh, in whose hands are the hearts of all men, incline our rulers to retrace their steps, and to grant, though at the eleventh hour, liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound.

Art. IX. BRIEF NOTICES.

A Popular Law Dictionary, familiarly explaining the Terms and Nature of English Law; adapted to the comprehension of persons not educated for the Legal Profession, and affording information peculiarly useful to Magistrates, Merchants, Parochial Officers, and others. By Thomas Edlyne Tomlins, Attorney and Solicitor. London: Longman and Co. 1838.

The real title of this work, a Popular Law Dictionary, would have sufficed, without the addition of this interminable puff. The author defines 'surplusage' to be a 'superfluity or redundancy of expression 'in the mode of statement;' and in turning gentleman usher to his own publication, he is justly chargeable with the besetting sin of his profession. Nevertheless and notwithstanding, to indulge Mr. Tomlins with some of his own verbiage, this production is highly creditable to the compiler—what he says of it in the title-page is perfectly true—and we can recommend it to non-professional readers, as affording, under an alphabetical arrangement, and within a moderate compass, a very compendious elucidation of the principal Law terms, of the general principles of Law, and of actually existing Law.

A Series of Practical Sermons. By the Rev. Charles Bradley. Vol. II. London: Hamilton & Co. 1838.

This volume contains nineteen discourses, characterized by the usual excellences of the author's productions. Plain, familiar, persuasive, and earnest, they are eminently adapted to instil the sentiments of piety, and to purify and elevate the devotion of believers. The pure and mild doctrines of the Gospel, unalloyed by human admixtures, are exhibited with all the simplicity and deep interest of a Christian pastor. No attentive reader can fail to be benefited by their perusal, and we heartily recommend them to our friends.

cause of human liberty as to relinquish office, because eight hundred thousand human beings are released from a cruel and degrading bondage, then his retirement will be a blessing rather than a curse; the sooner it is effected the better, and blessed are the means by which it shall be brought about. Better that we have a Tory ministry—the unmasked and envenomed enemies of freedom—than be duped by an administration which, professing liberal principles, is the advocate and defender of slavery in any part of the Empire. In the former case the nation would be roused and would put forth its strength, in the latter it may be lulled into an ensnaring and fatal security.

We are glad to find that the men who conduct the present movement are every way equal to the occasion. Modern times have not witnessed a more inspirating scene than their labors exhibit. In the midst of great discouragement, their character libelled, their motives impeached, without party connexions, or parliamentary leaders, they have succeeded in inducing two hundred and fifteen members of the Commons House to record their votes in favour of immediate and unconditional freedom. Another such effort, and the cause is won. Let them be true to themselves a little longer—and we are assured they will be—and the sun will not rise on a British slave, nor the groan of a manacled captive be heard appealing to heaven against us. The delegates have won themselves immortal honor by the zeal, discretion, and firmness with which they have conducted the mighty enterprise. True to their principles they are gathering strength from defeat, and are already marshalling new forces to array against the common foe. Their determination to persevere was promptly avowed in the following resolutions passed on the 31st of March.

'That this Meeting of delegates, deliberately reviewing the decision of the House of Commons, last evening, upon the motion of Sir George Strickland, and the bearing of that decision upon the issue of the present Anti-Slavery movement, would convey to their constituents —that while they deeply regret the postponement, for the present, of the fulfilment of their just hopes, at the same time, considering all the circumstances by which their question was surrounded, they believe that the vote of last evening may be regarded as affording strong ground to expect the ultimate success of their righteous object.

'That, impressed with this view, the delegates would call upon their friends throughout the country to continue, with renewed earnestness, their efforts for the complete emancipation of the negro.

'Further that the delegates, while they disclaim, in the strongest manner, the justice of the charge repeatedly brought against them, of having attempted, unfairly, to influence the minds of gentlemen in parliament, would, nevertheless, urge upon the advocates of the negro's cause the very great importance of pressing upon the minds of their representatives in the House of Commons, especially, those who voted

against Sir George Strickland's motion, the solemn duty of making themselves acquainted with the facts and bearings of the case; being convinced that such a course must inevitably lead to the conclusion, that there exists but one remedy for the now universally admitted evils of negro apprenticeship; viz., the immediate and entire abolition of the system.'

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Anglo-India; Social, Moral, and Political: being a Collection of Papers from the Asiatic Journal. Three Volumes. London: Allen and Co. 1838.

This is an entertaining, and not uninstructive collection of papers, which will be read with considerable interest by all who are concerned in Indian affairs. They are chiefly of a light order, illustrative of the condition and manners of the Anglo-Indian population. They throw much light on the singular state of society existing in our Eastern possessions, and will do much to rectify some erroneous opinions which are prevalent. We are far from approving all the views which are advanced,—especially those pertaining to religion. Many of these are hasty and crude,—formed evidently on a partial knowledge of facts, and in utter ignorance of the nature of personal piety.

A Narrative of Events, since August 1st, 1834. By JAMES WILLIAMS. Together with the Evidence taken under a Commission appointed by the Colonial Office, to ascertain the truth of the Narrative; and the Report of the Commissioners thereon. London: Central Emancipation Committee. 1838.

When James Williams's Narrative was first published, considerable doubt of its truth was entertained. All defenders of the Colonial policy of government, declared it to be a fabrication, or, at the least, a grossly exaggerated tale. The same suspicion was expressed by many well meaning men, who were averse from the further agitation of the Slave question. 'How could you commit yourself to the publication of 'such a narrative,' was the question proposed by such to the gentleman whose name was appended to the pamphlet. 'It is true,' was his reply,—and none will *now* dare to deny it. Dark as was the picture, it yet failed to exhibit the whole atrocity of the case. The pamphlet was sent out by her Majesty's government to Sir Lionel Smith, who appointed commissioners to investigate on the spot the truth of its statements. Their Report has been presented, and is here printed, together with the evidence on which it is founded. The Central Emancipation Committee have done a good service in promptly publishing so important a document, and we earnestly commend it to the immediate perusal of all our readers. It is printed in a very cheap form, and should be instantly circulated throughout the kingdom. The case of the abolitionists is now thoroughly made out, and we wait the result with intense anxiety.

A Glance into the Kingdom of Grace. By F. W. Krummacher, D.D., Author of 'Elijah the Tishbite.' Translated from the German, by the Rev. Maximilian Geneste, A.M., Incumbent Minister of Holy Trinity Church, West Cowes, Isle of Wight. London: Nisbet and Co. 1837.

This is a small volume of seven sermons,—spiritual rather than critical in their character. Upon the first view of these sermons, the connexion of the subjects is not very obvious; but the attentive reader will be gratified by discovering throughout them a beautiful continuity

of thought and design. As in the other productions of the author, eminent piety breathes in every sentence. The style is distinguished by elegant simplicity. We can cordially recommend the work to the private Christian, as illustrating the peculiarities of his experience; and to the rising ministry, as a model of that language of the heart, which is an essential quality of efficient preaching.

Plain Directions for Making Wills in Conformity with the Law, and particularly with reference to the Act I. Victoria, c. 26; to which is added, a clear Exposition of the Law relating to the Distribution of Personal Estate in the case of Intestacy. By J. C. Hudson, of the Legacy Duty Office, London. London: Longman & Co. 1838.

This is a non-professional publication upon a professional subject. We are by no means inclined to discourage attempts of the kind. Let plain men teach plain men: their recommendations are sure to go for what they are worth, and as their instructions have nothing adventitious to bolster them up, we don't see why there should not be *market overt* for them. The law on all subjects is abstruse enough to ensure a perpetual succession of practitioners; and the abstruseness will continue just so long as both the making and exposition of it are in their hands. Mr. Hudson, however, has had to deal practically with his subject, and his little work is a useful directory. The author is somewhat of a humourist. 'Perhaps,' says he, advising every man to make his will as soon as he is married, 'so grave a subject may be allowed to be put 'off until the honey-moon has entirely waned; for, as it has been 'already stated, a will is required to be made when the testator is in 'a sound and disposing mind, memory, and understanding; but it 'ought, certainly, to be among the most prominent subjects of a married 'man's serious thoughts, upon his returning to sober and serious re-'flection.'

The Imperial Classics. Sir John Froissart's Chronicles of England, France, Spain, &c. A New Edition., with Notes and Illustrations. Parts I. and II. London: William Smith, Fleet Street. 1838.

We have often wondered that in this age of reprints, Froissart's Chronicles,—one of the most amusing works ever written, and which throws so much light on our earlier history,—have never been republished. We rejoice to find that this will be a subject of regret no longer. They are now coming out in a cheap and yet handsome form, printed and edited apparently with great care. We shall notice the several parts as they make their appearance, reserving till the completion of the work, a fuller notice of the Chronicles themselves, and of this edition in particular.

Essays on Natural History, chiefly Ornithology. By Charles Waterton, Esq., Author of "Wanderings in South America," with an Autobiography of the Author, and a View of Walton Hall. London: Longman and Co. 1838.

These Essays are reprinted by Mr. Loudon from his Magazine of Natural History. They cannot fail to be read with interest; and their

influence will be decidedly good. Mr. Waterton is a most benevolent friend of the feathered tribes, who has studied their habits, and if the expression may be hazarded, has obtained, in many cases, their friendship. What he has seen, he relates with vivacity and graphic skill, and his observation—at once minute and continued—is adapted to explode popular errors, and to vindicate the character of many tenants of our fields and woods. The brief Autobiography he has prefixed to the Essays is full of incident, and strongly illustrative of the ruling passion. It is written in the style and temper of a Catholic, who deeply feels the injustice to which his party has been subjected.

Some Account of the Life of Gouthier, Minister of the Gospel at Nimes, and in Switzerland. From the French of his Nephews, L. and C. Vulliemin. With a Preface by the Rev. C. B. Taylor, M.A. London: Religious Tract Society. 1837.

Those of our readers who are acquainted with the Memoirs of Oberlin and Felix Neff, will rejoice in the publication of "The Life of Gouthier." It illustrates the simplicity and devotedness of the Swiss Pastor, and exhibits the *mind*, which was chiefly instrumental in forming the character and determining the views of the zealous Felix Neff. This volume will be a welcome visitor to the sick chamber, and to the house of mourning. It is no overdrawn picture; but presents the true Christian during painful suffering and active duty, exhibiting a combination of excellencies, which all may successfully imitate.

The Church in the Navy and Army, being the Second Series of the Church in the Army. Edinburgh: W. Innes. 1838.

An admirable sequel to the Editor's "Church in the Army." We are glad to find that the request preferred in the former publication induced several officers to communicate to our esteemed friend, the history of their conversion to God. They could not have confided the record in safer or more judicious hands, and it will be no discomfort to them to reflect that they are thus made the means of spiritual benefit to others. We strongly recommend the publication to all who are engaged in military service, or are interested in the welfare of those who are so.

The Gospel Lever, applied to the overturning of Romanism. In Six Discourses by the Rev. E. Mangle, A.B. London: Religious Tract Society. 1837.

This small volume attacks the papal doctrines of 'Purgatory,' 'Invocation of Saints and Angels,—and 'the Sacrifice of the Mass.' The erroneous dogmas of the Church of Rome are exposed,—and the passages of Scripture, usually employed for their support, clearly explained, and rescued from the perversions of the papacy. It is a scriptural assailant of 'the man of sin.' We admire this work, on account of its entire freedom from that rancorous spirit which has too often disgraced the controversy; and for its full exhibition of the truth as it is in Jesus

It is well adapted to arm the mind with scriptural arguments against the specious reasonings so often employed by the advocates of the Roman faith.

Select English Poetry, designed for the use of Schools and Young Persons in general. London: Jackson and Walford. 1838.

An excellent selection, well suited to the purpose contemplated by the Editor. The volume displays an extensive acquaintance with our poetry, both ancient and modern; a sound judgment in deciding on the comparative merits of different productions; and an honest solicitude to promote the literary and moral culture of the young. We need not say, we warmly recommend it to parents and instructors of youth.

British Ecclesiastical History, including the Religion of the Druids, the Introduction of Christianity into Britain, and the Rise, Progress, and Present State of every Denomination in the British Empire. By the Rev. T. Timpson. London: Simpkin. 1838.

A valuable compendium of British Ecclesiastical History, which may safely and advantageously be put into the hands of young people. The Author has evidently laboured with much diligence in the collection and arrangement of materials, and we shall be glad to find that his volume is appreciated by the public.

Art. X. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Just Published.

Union; or the Divided Church Made One. By the Rev. John Harris.

Lives of Eminent British Statesmen. By the Rt. Hon. Thomas P. Courtenay. (Lardner's Cyclopædia).

The Life of Gustavus Adolphus, surnamed the Great. By J. F. Hollings. (Family Library).

A Commentary on the Epistles of St. John. By Dr. Friedrich Lücke. Translated from the German, with Additional Notes by Thorleif Gudmundson Repp. (Biblical Cabinet, Vol. XV.)

The Despatches and Correspondence of the Marquis Wellesley, K.G., during his lordship's Mission to Spain as Ambassador Extraordinary to the Supreme Junta, in 1809. Edited by Montgomery Martin.

The Variations of Popery. By Samuel Edgar.

The Christian Fathers of the First and Second Centuries; their principal remains at large: with Selections from their other writings. Partly in original, and partly in approved translations. By the Rev. E. Bickersteth.

Wanderings and Excursions in South Wales, including the Scenery of the River Wye. By Thomas Roscoe, Esq. Forty-eight Engravings by Radclyffe, from Drawings by Cox, Harding, &c., &c., &c.

Correspondence between the Rev. Dr. Hampden, Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, and the most Rev. Dr. Howley, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

An Introductory Lecture; delivered in the Divinity School in Trinity College. Dublin. By James Thomas O'Brien, D.D.

Poems: for the most part occasional. By John Kenyon.

The Gospels Harmonized: with Notes Explanatory, Experimental, and Practical: forming a complete Commentary on the Four Evangelists: chiefly by Adam Clarke, LL.D., &c. &c. By Samuel Dunn.

Sketches in London. By the Author of 'Random Recollections,' &c. No. 1—7.

Lectures on Rhetoric and Criticism, and on subjects introductory to the critical study of the Scriptures. By the Rev. Stevenson Macgill, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Glasgow.

British Ecclesiastical History; including the Religion of the Druids, the Introduction of Christianity into Britain, and the Rise, Progress, and Present State of every Denomination of Christians in the British Empire. By T. Timpson, Author of the 'Companion to the Bible,' 'Church History through all Ages,' &c.

Prison Scenes; and Narrative of Escape from France during the late War. By Seacome Ellison. Post 8vo.

Life of the Rev. Alexander Kilham, formerly a preacher under the Rev. J. Wesley; and one of the Founders of the Methodist new connexion in the year 1797; including a full account of the disputes which occasioned the separation. Post 8vo.

In the Press.

The Rev. L. Vernon Harcourt has in the press a work on the 'Doctrine of the Deluge.' His object is to vindicate the Scriptural History of the Deluge from the doubts which have been recently thrown upon it by geological speculations. This the author has endeavoured to accomplish by showing, upon the testimony of a long list of ancient and modern authors, that since the era of that catastrophe a set of religionists never ceased to exist, whose opinions and usages were founded upon a veneration of the Ark as the preserver of their race. In 2 vols. 8vo.

Mr. Westwood's 'Popular Introduction to the Modern Classification of Insects,' is at length in the press, and will be published in Monthly Parts; the first will appear on the 1st of June. The author has for eight years been employed upon it, collecting materials from the Continental as well as British Museums. It will be illustrated with many thousand figures engraved on wood. The author has paid very minute attention to the Natural History of the Transformations of Insects, and confidently hopes that there will be found much new and interesting matter in his work. It is intended to form a sequel to the popular work of Messrs. Kirby and Spence. 1 vol. 8vo.

Professor Thomas Rymer Jones, of King's College, London, is engaged in writing 'A General Outline of the Animal Kingdom,' exhibiting the structure and internal economy of every class of living beings, and their adaptation to the circumstances in which they are severally destined to exist. The work will be systematically illustrated by an extensive series of drawings by the author, and published on the plan of Professor Bell's and Mr. Yarrell's works on British Zoology.

Schism; as opposed to the Unity of the Church: its Nature, Examples, Disguises, Evil Consequences, Sinfulness, and Cure. The Prize of £100 for the best Essay on Schism, proposed by Sir Culling Eardley Smith, has just been awarded to this Essay.

The Life and Times of John Bunyan, the Author of the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' By Robert Philip. The work will be illustrated by original Views of the local scenery with which Bunyan's name is identified.

Mr. William Howitt has just ready for publication, 'Colonization and Christianity;' a popular History of the Treatment of the Natives in all their Colonies by the Europeans.

Mr. Taylor, Author of the 'Life of Cowper,' &c., has nearly ready for publication, Memoirs of Mrs. Hannah More, with Notices of her Works, and Sketches of her Contemporaries.

Also, nearly ready, Sir Thomas Browne's Religio Medici and Urn Burial. Forming Vol. VI. of St. John's Master-pieces of Prose Literature.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JUNE, 1838.

Art. I. 1. *Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles the First, King of England.* By J. D'ISRAELI. 5 vols. 8vo. London, 1828—1831.

2. *Eminent British Statesmen.* By JOHN FORSTER, Esq., of the Inner Temple. 3 vols. (Lardner's Cyclopædia). Longman and Co. London: 1834—1838.

ON few subjects have the men of recent times differed more widely, than in the judgment they have formed concerning the spirit and measures of the leaders in the memorable struggle during the reign of Charles the First. All parties, however, have been pretty well agreed in describing the principal actors in those times as extraordinary men, and as having brought a genius of the highest order to the great questions of social policy. This concession has been made to the intelligence of many among the royalists: and the force of prejudice, or a mistaken sense of honour, without any mention of less reputable causes, has been deemed sufficient to account for the course which they pursued. On the popular leaders, similar praise has been bestowed by some of their most determined opponents; sometimes, with every appearance of ingenuousness, but, frequently, it would seem, for the purpose of impugning their integrity with greater effect, or in the hope of making it appear, that strong popular principles of government, having received their full trial in such hands, and signally failed, should henceforth be regarded with the deepest mistrust by every wise man, under any possible management. But we have not now to do with the motives of such concessions. Our present business is with the fact that they are made, and with the certainty that they would not have been made so generally, had not the history of those times been such as to give them the appearance of truth. Not that weak minds

were wanting in that age either in matters of policy or religion, any more than our own. The supply of great men was more remarkable than in any preceding period of our history; but the causes which contributed to so much excellence in some quarters, tended to produce extravagance, and almost every conceivable absurdity in others. In short, the generation then existing, discovered a marvellous aptitude for reviving and invigorating both the wisdom and the folly of all bygone times.

It is sad doing, however, when we attempt to ascertain the ground on which the more favourable judgment with regard to the men of those times has been formed, and possess no better guide than is afforded by our popular histories. It is true, when death puts an end to the career of conspicuous personages, we are, perhaps, favoured with a description of their character, set forth after the most approved method, and with sufficient marks of elaboration. But the man who has learnt to regard just and satisfactory views on such matters as important, and who happens to be so ill-starred as to find himself incapable of trusting to the accuracy of these commonly received representations, is a person not without some claim on our pity? The facts regarded by the historian as justifying the exhibition in the way of portraiture which he has furnished, are, in general, but very imperfectly given; and are presented, moreover, so much in the shape of fragments, scattered over a large surface—after the encyclopædia fashion—that the difficulty of forming any clear and decided judgment is truly perplexing. And this perplexity becomes, in many cases, utter hopelessness, when to the difficulty arising from the want of available information, we add that which is produced by the venom of partizanship, which can always impart its colourings to the delineations of character with much greater impunity than to the statement of facts. Even to compare the accounts of opposite partisans is not always to make any manifest progress in the way toward certainty. Hence, very often—we may perhaps say in the majority of instances—the only path to that kind of knowledge which every sober man must deem necessary to confidence of judgment, is through the tedious labour of examining and comparing original authorities.

It has accordingly sometimes occurred to us, that we have hardly a greater want than a good biographical history of the reign of Charles the First—a history, we mean, which should present the great men of that age in a series, bringing out the features of character in each by means of the concentrated light to be derived from the facts which belong to their history. Not such lengthy and ill-managed compilations as those of Doctor Harris, 'after the manner of Bayle,' nor such slight patchwork as Mr. D'Israeli has produced, after the manner of himself. We want a sufficiency of consecutive fact to supply the compressed spirit of

dividual history, and thus to enable the general reader to form s own conclusions. We have no hope of seeing this done ithout something like the usual manifestation of party bias. at a work on such a plan would carry with it the strongest eck that could be brought to bear on tendencies of that nature. uch a work might be allowed to supersede some of our histories ltogether, and would serve as a valuable supplement even to the est of them. Our limits must of course preclude us from oing any thing like justice to such a subject, but the rapid lance we mean to bestow upon it may not be altogether unin-ructive, and at least may tend to indicate the kind of interest d value that might be given to it.

Were we disposed to take up Mr. D'Israeli's volumes in the ay of regular analysis and comment, it would not be difficult to ow that there is scarcely a page in them which does not betray s incompetency to the work which his ambition has disposed him undertake. We admit that he is an amusing writer, and that ere are few chapters in these 'Commentaries' which do not con-in matters of fact or of observation sufficient to prevent the time nsumed in reading them from being altogether lost. But what new in the way of fact is so inconsiderable when compared with hat is old, often very old; and what is sound as matter of bservation, is so constantly in juxta-position with the frivolous, e pedantic, and the absurd, that a reviewer disposed to furnish his eaders with merriment at the cost of an author's reputation, could ardly desire a work more to his purpose than is furnished in the ve volumes which Mr. D'Israeli has given to the world with so uch manifest complacency. We believe our author has pub-shed an essay on the character of James I. a person remarkable r stealing good sayings from books, and supplying bad ones om his own brain, and there is so much of this sort of incon-istency in the sayings of Mr. D'Israeli, as almost to force pon us the suspicion that the same cause has had something to do ith the result in both cases. Mr. D'Israeli has often to express his pity toward his opponents, as lamentably deficient in impartial-ity, in a philosophic spirit, or in logical power and acuteness, and this he does with a wonderful mixture of authority and con-descension; but unhappily our language could hardly furnish more striking specimens of precisely the same faults than may be found in the disquisitions of the author himself, and, perhaps, at the very page where a lament of this sort over the supposed infirmity of others has been obtruded on us.

The attack made by Mr. D'Israeli on the fair fame of the patriots who flourished during the early days of the long parlia-ment, and, especially, on the memory of Sir John Eliot, has led Mr. Forster to a closer examination of the history of these great men than had been hitherto bestowed upon it; and the series of memoirs which he has published is highly creditable to his

industry, his ability, and, upon the whole, to his impartiality. His style, like that of his opponent, has no regularity or fixedness, resembling clever talk, more than the finished tone of composition that might have been well bestowed on such a subject. But his manner of pursuing his object, reminds us of Mr. D'Israeli only by way of contrast, the latter being ever liable to be drawn aside by the most trivial matters that may chance to cross his path, the former prosecuting his course with a continuity of purpose which nothing is suffered to disturb.

The reign of Charles the First, viewed in reference to the character of its leading men, may be divided into four parts; the first, embracing the interval to the death of Buckingham; the second, commencing in 1628, and terminating with the meeting of the Long Parliament in 1640; the third, ending with the death of Strafford and the removal of the court to York, in 1642; and the last with the death of the king. During the first of these intervals, the government was in the hands of Buckingham, Laud, Weston, Finch, Coventry, Winderbanke, Cooke, Carleton, and some others, all being, more or less, the creatures of the favourite, and men to whom the great majority of the commons in three successive Parliaments opposed themselves with immovable determination. Subsequently, the court party was strengthened by accessions from the ranks of the patriots, obtained by holding out the allurements of court favour. Among the flexible lovers of their country with whom those overtures were successful, we have to reckon Lord Saville, Sir Dudley Digges, Littleton, Noy, and Wentworth. With the meeting of the Long Parliament, in 1640, we witness the ascendancy of the patriotic party, and the rapid progress of retribution and reformation to the death of Strafford. From that time a number of leading men in both houses began to look on the freedom of the ancient constitution as more in danger from the real or supposed excesses of this new popular spirit, than from any probable exercise of the prerogative; and the cause of the monarchy, connected as it was at that juncture with greatly moderated pretensions on the part of the king, was found powerful enough to rally around it a large portion of the commons, and, ere long, the majority of the lords.

Of Buckingham, who exercised so great a sway during the first of these periods, little need be said. His graceful person first recommended him to the late king; and his accomplishments as a courtier, which confirmed him in his ascendancy over the mind of that weak prince, gave him a similar influence over the better nature of his successor. But even as a courtier—the capacity in which he displayed his only ability—he was deficient in the first requisite of his vocation—command of temper, and in consequence was always surrounding himself with needless opposition and difficulty. That the fabric of his fortune was not demolished from this cause, almost as suddenly as it was reared, was owing

mainly to the pusillanimity of James, and to that peculiarity of temperament in his successor, which so often disqualified him for acting from his own resources, and which, especially, led his young mind while exposed to much vexation by the conduct of parliament and of his queen, to make a sort of refuge of his favourite. Buckingham conformed himself to the comparative decency of the new court, after having pandered to the worst vices of the old. But so little effort did he make to conceal his generally vicious inclinations, that actions which might have borne the appearance of virtue in other men, were sure not to be so regarded in his instance. Charles appears to have been the only man of discernment in the kingdom who failed to see in this minion, the headstrong upstart, whose pride of commanding all the subjects of the realm, had taught him to set both prudence and intrigue at nought; whose profuse liberality and furious resentments, were only different modes of indulging the same towering passions; and who could never meddle with any affair of war or policy without betraying a total want both of capacity and principle. It is to the circumstance that this man, personally so destitute of every thing that could make him an object of confidence or fear, was the functionary at whose disposal all the moneys voted by parliament would have been placed, and to whose management every enterprise sanctioned by that assembly would have been entrusted, that we must look for the main cause of the reluctance evinced by the commons to meet the demands which were made upon them in the early part of this reign.

Charles ascended the throne in the spring of 1625, and Buckingham was assassinated in August, 1628. During that interval, the duke made, and unmade, and made again, at pleasure. But at his decease, the power which had thus centered in himself, fell in a greater degree into the hands of his dependents, and was further distributed, after a while, among certain new men who were called to the direction of public affairs. Among the persons into whose hands the reins of government then passed, the first place should perhaps be given to Sir Richard Weston—not that his ability or his worth exceeded those of the rest, but on account of the superiority to which he aspired, and which he in some degree obtained.

Weston was a person of good family, and from his youth made court preferment the object of his ambition. In his education, his travels, and his subsequent attendance at court in the hope of employment, he spent the greater part of his patrimony, and to avoid consuming the whole was obliged at length to throw himself on the generosity of his friends, and upon the assistance of persons who regarded the probabilities of his fortune as sufficiently promising to lend money upon them. Men who look with such a temper toward advancement in the slippery places of a court, are

not likely to prove very scrupulous about the moral complexion of the work assigned to them. Weston's first employment was an embassy on the affair of the Palatinate. On his return, he was raised to the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer; and afterwards, through the influence of Buckingham, he became Lord Treasurer. When the tide set in against the favourite, Weston sympathized more strongly with the resentment of his patron than the great caution of his previous history had led men to expect. He had now pursued his long chosen course of studying to please every body from whom the slightest service might possibly be obtained, with a good degree of success, and he appears to have resolved from this time on seeking his aggrandisement at court, at the hazard of being denounced as the great enemy of the constitution, and of the public weal, elsewhere. The royal treasury, accordingly, was freely replenished from the most illegal sources. But Weston was less fortunate in managing the pecuniary affairs of his own household; and, at the same time, became so much the victim of an appetite for wealth and power, that a restless craving with regard to something in the distance, always rendered him incapable of enjoying the acquisitions he had made, his ostentation, and want of economy in his private affairs, and his much greater facility in surrounding himself with difficulties than in extricating himself from them, tending continually to multiply the sources of his inquietude. In his impeachment, commenced in the parliament of 1628, he was described as the man who had set himself to act on the policy of Buckingham—and as not less an enemy to the religion and liberties of the kingdom; nor would he have retained office or footing in England during the few years of life which awaited him, had he not been protected against the proceedings instituted against him by the suspension of parliaments which followed. Most of his family were Catholics, and he was himself charged with being of that creed; but the popish recusant pointed in proof of the contrary to the fact, that the treasury had never been so enriched by fines exacted from the professors of that faith as during the administration of Weston. This patriotic statesman was created Earl of Portland, in 1632, and died two years later.

In Sir Thomas Coventry, the Lord Keeper, we find a much better man. He was the son of a lawyer, and a person of unusual parts and industry. Before his fortieth year he had filled the office of recorder of London, and became solicitor and Attorney-General. The great seal was committed to him in 1626, and was retained to the time of his death, in 1642. Clarendon states, that no man had ever brought to this last office a greater fitness for its duties. At the council table, he was qualified beyond any other person to offer advice on matters relating to foreign policy, or to the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of the realm. But

the manner in which affairs were conducted by his colleagues, was so little accordant with his views, that he despaired at length of doing any good by meddling with public questions, and could rarely be induced to speak on any subject not connected immediately with the administration of justice as pertaining to his office. He was a person of grave aspect and manners, but was distinguished by a simple and natural urbanity which gave him the reputation of being an accomplished courtier. His speaking, which never rose to brilliancy of any kind, was always effective from the force of his views, and the confidence placed in the honesty of his intentions. But the moderate course which his comprehensive understanding, and his general integrity disposed him to pursue, if it left him without violent enemies, failed to surround him with powerful friends. Coventry never obtained much credit with the king, and we may judge of the materials of which the court of Charles the First was composed, from the fact that, according to Clarendon, the lord keeper could not look to a single person in it as possessing the power and inclination 'to prevent or divert any disadvantage' to which he might be exposed. His policy, accordingly, was to stand on the defensive, and his part in that respect was so well performed, that he maintained his position, notwithstanding the vigorous efforts made to dislodge him by such men as Weston, and by the Marquis of Hamilton, the kinsman of the sovereign. We must not suppose that he retained his place during a period when law was so often violated by the government, without becoming liable to censure in the esteem of truly patriotic men. But it is something to know, that his inconvenient objections in point of law, often proved a formidable impediment in the path of those arbitrary measures to which the king and his ministers were so much inclined. On such occasions a collision generally occurred between the lord keeper, and Manchester, Lord Privy Seal.

The Earl of Manchester was a much older man than Sir Thomas Coventry, and of longer standing in the practice of his profession, but a person who had found it less difficult to gratify his love of business than his love of money. Buckingham, in consideration of a large bribe—not less than £20,000—had raised this man to the office of Lord Treasurer, but on some pretext, deprived him after a little time of his staff; and, again, as a sort of recompence for the exemplary patience with which he had submitted to this treatment, conferred on him the titles of Viscount Mandeville, and Earl of Manchester, and raised him from the office of President of the Council to that of Lord Privy Seal. When appealed to in council in opposition to Coventry, Manchester generally discovered sufficient willingness to place all the weight at his disposal in the scale of the court policy. Among the people he had the reputation of being a sound Protestant, a cir-

cumstance which, together with the gravity and caution of his manners, procured him some credit at a distance. But among those who knew him best, his venality deprived his opinions of the respect to which they would otherwise have been entitled. Manchester held the office of Privy Seal to his death, which happened on the eve of the civil war.

The Earl of Arundel took precedence in council of all who were not there as officers of state. The character of this nobleman, as given by Clarendon, embraces as great a number of bad points as could well meet in the same person. He was a professed lover of antiquity, and a collector of all things deemed valuable by the virtuoso. He affected, not only the costume and the manners, but the high feudal notions of remote times. In the country, his unsocial temper made him at all times unpopular; and at court, his pride bowed to no superiority beneath the throne, and with difficulty acknowledged it even there. Hence his complaints sometimes extended to the conduct of the king himself, and he often seemed to live for the purpose of making himself enemies, to whom he gave no small advantage by deeming their hostility a matter too mean for his thoughts. He must, however, have been regarded as a man of some ability, or he would not have been so frequently employed in diplomatic services, and still less would he have been placed at the head of the army raised to suppress the rebellion in Scotland. But in prospect of the civil war, Arundel embarked for Italy, where he ended his days —a country much more in harmony with his tastes and character than England.

Next to Arundel, stood the Earl of Pembroke—his opposite in nearly all respects. Pembroke was a nobleman of ample fortune, and generous temperament, and of good average ability. Few men in such connexions have avoided crossing the path of others, and made themselves generally popular, with so little apparent difficulty. With the credit of good capacity, he possessed the higher reputation of being governed by unbiassed purposes; and, in consequence, often attracted to himself the confidence both of the court and the country parties in the disputes which arose between them. Clarendon describes him as 'a great lover of the religion of his country;' but has made disclosures which justify the suspicion that his lordship's ruling passion was a love of women. Soon after Charles came to the throne, Pembroke had his disagreements with Buckingham, and would, probably, have done much more towards curbing the insufferable arrogance of the favourite, had not the dagger of Felton interposed. Pembroke did not survive Buckingham more than two years.

The Earl of Pembroke of whom we read so frequently in the history of the civil war, was brother to the nobleman last mentioned. He had been a sort of favourite with James the First,

soon after his accession, who created him Earl of Montgomery. He managed to insinuate himself further into the favour of the king in a few hours, than had been possible in the case of any other attendant since the departure of his majesty from Scotland. But more powerful claimants to the place of royal favourite were soon to make their appearance, and Montgomery contrived to retain the second place in the affections of the monarch by not attempting to dispute the first. This was the more practicable, as in his intercourse with the king, he had never affected much of the statesman, aspiring to little more than agreeable companionship, particularly in the sports of the field. James, on his death-bed, had commended Montgomery to the favour of Charles, as a person of tried fidelity, and he was appointed about that time to the office of Lord Chamberlain. On becoming Earl of Pembroke, in 1630, he obtained a place in the council, and had more to do with public affairs, but not in such a shape as to attract observation until the commencement of the troubles in Scotland. He then expressed himself strongly against any attempt to settle the questions at issue by the sword. Such expressions were sure to displease the king, and those in whom he most confided. While affairs were in this posture, a dispute arose in a committee of the House of Lords between Pembroke and Lord Mowbray, the eldest son of the Earl of Arundel, which came to blows, and both were sent to the Tower. It was expected that the disputants would be allowed after a few days to resume their seats, and the affair be forgotten. But Charles, to the surprise of every one, called upon Pembroke, on the pretext of this indiscretion, to resign his staff as Chamberlain, after holding it nearly sixteen years. It is probable, that this proceeding had its influence on the mind of Pembroke with regard to the questions at issue between the king and the parliament. But, on the other hand, the part which the earl was supposed to have taken in the proceedings of the stannery courts, and with respect to various acts of council, and decrees of the star-chamber, was so far censured in what had been done by the parliament, as to afford him sufficient ground for umbrage in that quarter. Clarendon, indeed, affirms that his determination to take part with the two houses, rather than with the king, was the effect of his fears, and of a wish to propitiate them as the stronger power. But it is certain, that for some time previous to the disgrace put upon him by the king, Pembroke had been accustomed to censure many things in the conduct of the government, and in the most public manner. It had always been his boast, that though resident at court, he would never be its slave; and admitting that he was a man of as much talk as courage, it is probable that when he so spoke he spoke the truth. It should be remembered, too, that supposing him to have taken the side of the parliament from fear, the scale seemed to turn ere long, and more

than once, in the opposite direction. But during the oscillations of party Pembroke betrayed no disposition to change. In fact, the lessons which he is known to have received from Lord Say, operating on his previous inclination toward the popular cause, were, no doubt, the main inducement to his better choice. The battle of Edgehill was claimed by the royalists as a victory, and it certainly had the effect of bringing the waverers in great numbers to their standard, spreading alarm to the very gates of the capital. Pembroke was one of a deputation sent by the Two Houses at that juncture, to call upon the citizens of London to arm themselves for their common defence, and his lordship assured his auditors that he had 'ever so good a heart to the business that 'he should live and die in it.' Subsequently, indeed, during the progress—or rather the no-progress of the treaty of Uxbridge, when the self-denying ordinance became the subject of discussion, Pembroke is said to have expressed to Clarendon, one of the royalist commissioners, his deep sorrow that his conduct should have tended, in any degree, to bring affairs to such an issue, and to have urged that the demands of the parliament should be immediately complied with, however insincerely, as the only means of preventing the adoption of the prospered ordinance, the immediate effect of which would be to place the army at the disposal of men who were prepared to abolish both the monarchy and the peerage, and to set up a republic. It is not improbable that his lordship did express himself to that effect, and his having done so gives us a much more favourable notion of his discernment than Clarendon is willing should be entertained. It is, however, no doubt true, that he was a man of more passion than judgment, and wanting in that dignity and decision of conduct which his station demanded; but he appears to have chosen his party sincerely, and to have been willing to suffer in its cause, though he would probably have deplored the fate that should have obliged him to become conspicuous in any cause, at the hazard of his high rank, and large wealth. So long as there was a House of Lords, Pembroke continued to fill his place there.

With Arundel and Pembroke, as leading men in the council, mention should be made of the earls of Dorset, Carlisle, and Holland. The Earl of Dorset was a nobleman eminently endowed both in mind and person, but destitute of the moral firmness necessary to protect him against the stream of corruption which had set in upon every thing within the verge of the court during the past reign. His life, accordingly, was much more that of the man of pleasure than of the statesman, disgraced to the end by excess and consequent embarrassment, and exhibiting the wreck of capacities that might have been employed with effect in the public service.

The Earl of Carlisle was a native of Scotland, and a person

always acceptable to the late king. His attainments as a scholar were considerable; his understanding unusually comprehensive, and his accomplishments as a courtier were supposed to be equal or superior to those of any man of his own age, whether in England or elsewhere. His property, by his marriage, and by grants from the crown—the latter amounting in all to not less than £400,000—was sufficient to have placed him among the richest men in the kingdom. But his passion for expense in dress, equipage, and feasting, was such as had never been witnessed in England, and not only served to make a rich man poor, but to corrupt the times in which he lived. He had persuaded himself that the delinquencies attendant on the path of the man of pleasure, are not greater than have been found inseparable from that of the statesman, and that the rivalries constantly besetting a man in the latter course, rarely need trouble him in the former. Hence, the fine capacity he is said to have possessed, instead of being employed in the service of the country from whose resources he derived so much, served no higher purpose than to cater for the small matters of personal ease and indulgence. What shall we say of such an ingrate soil—ever receiving the dew and the rain from heaven, but returning nothing again? What is, perhaps, still more enigmatical, the man whose life exhibited so base a prostitution of the gifts of nature, lay upon his death-pillow for several days, looking forward to his dissolution with as little disturbance as a saint in his cloister. This was shortly before the outbreak of the civil war. His principal employment had been in negotiating the marriage between Charles and Henrietta.

The Earl of Holland bore too near a resemblance to the Earl of Carlisle, with whom he always lived on terms of the strictest intimacy. He was younger brother to the Earl of Warwick, and senior brother to the Earl of Newport. Having spent some time in Paris, and performed his novitiate as a soldier, after the fashion of the age, in the service of Holland, he made his appearance at the English court. His handsome presence, and his mild and polished address, soon gave him a place in the favour of the king, which he was sufficiently skilful to retain, without exciting the jealousy of Buckingham. As the fruit of the good understanding which he studied to perpetuate between himself and the favourite, he was made Captain of the Guard, and Knight of the Garter, and obtained a place in the Privy Council as Earl of Holland. He was placed by the same influence near the prince, and employed as an ambassador in the affair of his marriage. On the decease of Buckingham, the queen endeavoured, and not without a disastrous measure of success, to supply his place in regulating the exercises of the royal favour, and the Earl of Holland, having always possessed the good opinion of Henrietta,

hoped from that time to exert a greater influence, through her medium, in court matters, than any other person. Nor can he be said to have failed in this policy.

But the dubious splendour of his career faded rapidly from the time of the Scottish invasion. At that juncture he was made general of the horse, mainly through the influence of the queen. But he gained no credit in that capacity. When the division of the country into its two great parties took place, Holland, from the mere pique of the courtier, more than from any regard to public principle, took side with the parliament. This conduct brought upon him the heaviest censures from the party he had deserted, particularly from Charles and the queen. His own conscience also,—for we will hope that some element of that nature was still left—appears to have upbraided him, and together with his not being made so important a person among his new friends, as his vanity had led him to expect, disposed him to entertain the thought of regaining his place in the court. With this view he made his appearance in Oxford, but met with so doubtful a reception, that he returned again to the quarters of the parliament, where he soon found himself placed under arrest. His next action was an attempt to produce a rising of the royalists in the metropolis and its neighbourhood, at the time of Hamilton's invasion. He failed in that enterprize, was taken prisoner at St. Neot's, and soon afterwards beheaded, in pursuance of a sentence pronounced in the high court of justice and confirmed by parliament. His public conduct in the latter years of his life, may be traced in part to the weakness of his judgment, but much more to his want of fixed principle of any kind. He was one of those rudderless barks, which are sure not to escape damage amid the cross currents of troubled times. Burke, in his Reflections on the French Revolution, points to the fate of this nobleman as a striking instance of the retribution generally awaiting men who injure the throne by their own bad conduct, and then desert it in its time of need. But this doctrine of providential retribution is not quite so clear as the fancy of Burke would suggest. Is a deficiency in loyalty the only moral want that we may expect providence to take under its special cognizance?

With the members of council we have mentioned, Buckingham associated Sir John Cooke and Sir Dudley Carleton, as Secretaries of State,—the former a narrow-minded plodding accountant, the latter a shallow diplomatist, who had spent so much time in foreign countries as to have formed the most mistaken conceptions with regard to the constitution and temper of his own. A person equally under the direction of the duke, and much more effectively employed by him, was Bishop Laud, of whom, however, so much has been said by all writers who have

ted of his times, that no man can hope to offer any thing new
erning him. Attempts are still made by our high church-
to hold up this personage as something very like a perfect
el of ecclesiastical wisdom and virtue. If we must indeed
unt him a wise man, it is rather unfortunate that his wisdom
ld have been of so strange a complexion as to have led him
o much more than any other man of his age toward destroy-
what he meant to preserve, and setting up what he meant to
down. Certainly it is not difficult to find men who thus
one way and pull another, but we have not been wont to
e them among the wise of their generation. In fact, the
ius of this 'little great man,' as Bishop Williams very pro-
y called him, was of that order which never ascends from
ll details to great principles. If the object of pursuit selected
uch a man be neither wise nor good, he will not find it difficult
ersuade himself that it has both these recommendations; and
, by a further process of self-deception, and in the true spirit
ie fanatic, will perhaps reconcile himself to almost any thing in
order of means, for the sake of such an end. Thus Laud,
always held the canons of the church, even in its most cor-
age, in great honour, became a party in adjudging certain
tual offenders to lose their ears, and to be branded in the
, notwithstanding the said canons had provided that no clergy-
should be a party to any sentence depriving an accused per-
of life or member. When the sufferers reminded their
stly judge of his inconsistency in this particular, he denied the
ge, affirming that, as the loss of the ear was not the loss of
ring, it was no loss of a limb! On the same occasion, you
ht hear him whining out his expressions of pity over the obsti-
depravity which made such punishment unavoidable, and
next moment you might see him cap in hand, bowing to the
tionaries about him, and giving them his best thanks as hav-
come to a judgment in this case so expressive of their en-
tened sense of duty toward the throne and their religion!

o evil, however, were the times, that soon after the death of
kingham, this man, who was more fit for Bedlam than for the
iagement of any great interest, was raised to the primacy of
English church, and suffered to diffuse the spirit of his own
ful and merciless intolerance from one end of the kingdom to
other. The great drift of his policy was, to make more of the
niture of religion than of the thing itself, and to put down all
ses of persons who were not prepared to do likewise. His
iand was for the tithe, the anise, and the cummin; and if he had
reasons for saying a little, he had also reasons for saying only
ittle, about the weightier matters—judgment, mercy, and
l.

Not content with the power which he possessed as Archbishop,

Laud, to the great umbrage of many of the nobility, procured the appointment of Juxon, Bishop of London, to the place of Lord Treasurer, the highest secular office in the state. Juxon was a man of exemplary character, but of small ability in the duties of his proper calling, and of none at all in any thing else; nor was he ambitious of such a trust. But the primate had his ends to accomplish, by placing such a person in the near intercourse with the king inseparable from that office. For the same reasons he would probably have been rash enough to have recommended another churchman to the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, had such an arrangement been possible. But that place was assigned soon after the death of Buckingham to Sir Francis Cottington.

Cottington was an old diplomatist and courtier—a man possessing a marvellous command of temper; fond of money, so as not to be very scrupulous about the manner of getting it; an expert hypocrite, whenever there was any thing to be gained by putting on the mask; and always prepared to supply the royal wants by means of illegal exactions to any extent consistent with safety. His tyranny in the court of Wards, which was also committed to his management, made him exceedingly unpopular with a large portion of the nobility and gentry through the kingdom. After the meeting of the Long Parliament, Cottington resigned his offices, as the means of propitiating his enemies. Subsequently, he was active among the exiled royalists who attended the court of Charles II. He began his public life during the last reign as an agent of the English court at Madrid, where he resided twelve years, and in the end indulged both his political and religious bias by choosing to close his days in Spain, where he died a professed Catholic, in 1651, having accumulated a large fortune while holding his various offices.

During some years previous to the meeting of the Long Parliament, there was a lesser cabinet, among whom nearly all state matters were digested, before being submitted to the meetings of the council; and in that circle, Laud and Cottington, little fitted as they seemed to be for acting together, divided the government in a great measure between them. Strafford was prevented taking the lead in that connexion which would otherwise have fallen to him, by his duties in Ireland. The Earl of Northumberland was invited to such conferences on the ground of his rank, more than on account of any disposition evinced by him to become active in public affairs: the Marquis of Hamilton possessed great influence with the king, but exercised his subtle and selfish policy more with regard to particular projects, than to the general machinery of the government; and Vane and Windebanke, who completed this fraternity, were present as Secretaries of State, their assistance being necessary to the shaping, and par-

ticularly to the execution, of the measures agreed upon. Vane was one of that numerous class of worthies who become the willing servants of a court, purely in consequence of having learnt to look upon it as the quarter in which they can best serve themselves. Windebanke was governed by the same species of virtue, but prosecuted his objects with a bolder temper than his colleagues, particularly as it respected dispensing with the penal laws against Catholics. When the Long Parliament began its work of retribution, Vane was deprived of his office. Windebanke would have suffered more considerably, had he not avoided the resentment of the House of Commons by making his escape to France.

In so doing, Windebanke followed the example of Sir John Finch, the lord keeper of the great seal. This last person was the man who, as speaker of the Commons in 1628, rufused to put to the vote the protest moved by Sir John Eliot, though supported by a great majority of the house. His conduct on that occasion, was the effect of a secret understanding between him and the king, and was a crime never to be forgiven by the patriots. But the court was not unmindful of its instrument, and Finch proclaimed his sense of the favour which it shed upon him, by the boldness and activity with which he supported its most extravagant pretensions. On the question of ship-money he canvassed the judges, and extorted the votes of ten in its favour:—Crook and Hutton being the only men who had virtue enough to avow themselves dissentients, and even they did so but in part. Finch, indeed, had the audacity to say in open court, that he hoped to see the day when no man would be found saucy enough to question the authority of an order in council, any more than of an Act of Parliament. In short, this man began his career with little law and less principle; and from 1628 gave himself up to prosecute the objects of an arbitrary government at all hazards. His head would probably have been the price of his temerity, had he not fled from the laws he violated, and the country which he betrayed.

Such then was the character of the persons who were confided in by the king when he dismissed his third parliament, and addressed himself to the perilous enterprize of governing the people of England without the intervention of such assemblies. If we except Laud, there is not one of these men, so far as our memory serves us, of whom Clarendon himself has not spoken in terms of disparagement or censure, as strong, or even stronger, than we have ventured to employ. In the men of business, including Sir Richard Weston, Sir Francis Cottington, Bishop Laud, the Earl of Manchester, Sir John Finch, and their subordinates, Cooke, Carleton, and Windebanke, we see parties with whom the will of the king was in fact every thing, and the community nothing,

except so far as its resources might be made to subserve the royal pleasure. From the pampered sensuality of Carlisle, and the profligate selfishness of the Earl of Holland, no man could expect anything better than ensued. The Marquis of Hamilton was always ready to abet the most illegal proceedings, when of a kind to promise him some personal advantage, and such as might be pursued without any very manifest or immediate danger; and in this temper he would not have lacked countenance from Arundel, had the habits of that haughty personage allowed of his frequent attendance at the meetings of the council. Northumberland, also, was too often absent on such occasions to operate as any check on irregularity; and Pembroke, if we may credit Clarendon, was wanting too generally in the disposition to do so; while Juxon, feeble in every thing, was never allowed to forget that his staff as Lord Treasurer had been entrusted to him purely from the reliance which Laud placed on his subserviency. In the presence of such colleagues, it is hardly surprising that the moderate homage to the sovereignty of the law sometimes expressed by Coventry, should have been checked as a note of discord. Certain it is, that the reception given to a tone of patriotism so very discreet, was such as disposed him to hold his peace, as the only means of retaining his office.

But into such hands principally, did this noble country fall, during the twelve years which preceded the year 1640. Charles appears to have looked with some misgiving on this doubtful array of supporters, when contemplating, as he did at the commencement of that period, the abeyance of the constitution. It was at that juncture that the monarch endeavoured to detach some of the patriots from their course by the offer of court favour, and this new policy,—new because in our history the government had generally been so strong as not to need its aid,—was not put into requisition in vain. These overtures were accepted by Sir Dudley Digges, a member of the Commons, whose advocacy of popular rights had subjected him to imprisonment, and who subsequently became Master of the Rolls; and by Lord Saville, who had been for some time distinguished as the great opponent of the Wentworth family in Yorkshire. But, concerning the former of these persons, little subsequent mention is made; and the latter became remarkable, as a man more and more avoided and disowned, by every thing honourable and decent in the party to which he would have given his services. The bait, however, which allured such men, was placed with no less success before others whose services promised to be of high value. Noy, the most erudite lawyer on the popular side, after Sir Edward Coke, was thus seduced; Littleton followed his example, and accepted the office of Solicitor-General, Noy being made Attorney-General. In the wake of these persons followed Sir Thomas

Wentworth, whose talents and eloquence seemed to point him out as the future leader of the great party which he appeared to have chosen.

Noy, while he brought his legal ability to the cause of the people, was not a popular man in his temper or manners. His diligence in the service of his new friends, led to the discovery, among the records in the Tower, of certain ancient documents, which were made available as a precedent in support of the memorable impost known by the name of ship-money. His recommendation indeed, founded on the authority of these obsolete writs, proceeded no farther than to advise that the ports should each be required to furnish a certain number of vessels, for the protection of the trade and the coasts of the island. He did not venture to urge that they should be required to pay a pecuniary tax for that object, still less that the impost should be laid on all the counties of the kingdom, and that, at such times, and to such an extent as the sovereign should determine; nor did he live to see his precedent made subject, in this manner, to a latitude of application, which rendered the maxim, that Englishmen are not to be taxed without their consent, an utter mockery.

Of Sir Thomas Wentworth, as of Laud, we need say little, inasmuch as nearly every thing that can be said about him has been said so often. Brodie has shown that Wentworth's avowal of popular principles was not so early as we had been accustomed to suppose; and Guizot, we believe, was the first writer to point out the particulars which show that the loud patriotic professions in which it was the pleasure of Wentworth to indulge during the discussions of 1628, had been preceded by a cautious neutrality, connected with such indications as leave us no room to doubt that his declarations as one of the patriotic party at that juncture, were the effect, not of any real sympathy with popular freedom, but of circumstances which seemed just then to have shut the court against him. That he meditated nothing less, when in the height of his power, than the destruction of the constitution, and the setting up of an arbitrary monarchy in its room, after the manner of the most despotic states on the continent, is now unquestionable. We indeed possess evidence to this effect, much more decisive than was available in that age. Enough, however, appeared, even then, to make almost any penalty short of death a punishment greatly below the enormity of his offences.

But the patriot men who retained the beginning of their confidence—where are they? Some, before 1640, had finished their course. Others, having made their stand in successive parliaments against a government by court favouritism and arbitrary power, employed the interval during which there were no parliaments in a closer study of the questions at issue between them and their opponents, and in silent efforts to diffuse their sentiments, and to

cherish the hope that the visible triumph of a herd of parasites over the rights of the people, would not be of long continuance—though in this latter respect they sometimes appeared to themselves as men hoping against hope. Among the men who had acquitted themselves with great honour in the cause of freedom a little previous to the death of Buckingham, and of whom little or no mention is made at a later period, we may name Sir Edwyn Sandys, Sir Robert Philips, Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Walter Earle, Sir Peter Hayman, Sir Miles Hobart, Sir Henry Martin, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Edward Coke, Sir John Eliot; and Messrs. Alford, Malory, Coriton, Long, Stroud, Valentine, Glanville, Kirton, Sherland, and Rouse. Most of these persons suffered imprisonment, exile, or other inconveniences, at the pleasure of the crown, as the punishment for their alleged misconduct, as members of the House of Commons. Great thanks were due in particular to the learned labours of Sir Edward Coke; and much admiration and gratitude to the unflinching heroism of Sir John Eliot, a man who, notwithstanding the sneer of Hume, taken up so readily by Mr. D'Israeli, is entitled to the full homage of 'a martyr to English liberty.'

Of Sir Edward Coke it is unnecessary that we should now speak, having recently treated so largely of his character and services. Though by no means a faultless man, we are free to say of him that, as the patriarch of his vocation, he laid the fruits of his advanced age upon the altar of his country, and did so with the warmth and energy of a youthful devotion.

At the close of the third parliament in this reign, Eliot was committed to the Tower, and as the 'greatest offender and ringleader' in the proceedings of the House of Commons for some time past, was sentenced to be imprisoned at the king's pleasure, and to pay a fine of £2000. Sir John Eliot was a native of Cornwall. Having completed his education at Oxford, and at one of the inns of Court, he spent some time on the continent, when he chanced to make the acquaintance of George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham; and this acquaintance did not wholly cease when Villiers became the court favourite. It did not lead, however, to anything on the part of Eliot, so far as we can see, tending to justify the slightest suspicion of the sincerity of his political professions at a later period. His private character was not without its imperfections, his passions being generally so ardent that, according to his own admission, he sometimes found it exceedingly difficult to control them. In a dispute on one occasion with a neighbour, he drew his weapon, and inflicted a wound on the person of his opponent. Mr. D'Israeli has been disposed to give the darkest colouring to this act, but cannot prevent the dispassionate reader from perceiving that this outbreak of youthful passion was provoked by taunting words, that it was

been deplored, and followed by so sincere a reconciliation between him and Moyle, the injured party, as could never have taken place, had the proceeding been accompanied by those base circumstances which Echard's malignant partizanship disposed him to connect with it. The daughter of Moyle states, that, subsequent to the occurrence adverted to, the private character of Sir John Eliot was as free from fault as his public conduct. Echard describes him as going to London to beg the interference of the Duke of Buckingham on the affair between him and the Moyles, and talks of the conduct of the duke on that occasion as the cause of Eliot's subsequent feeling of hostility, while, in fact, at that time, Villiers had to commence the trial of his fortune as a courtier. Mr. D'Israeli, to whom any appearance of infirmity in the career of a patriot, is one of the most precious things in the whole circle of possible discovery, has given full credence to this mendacious story.

Eliot had distinguished himself in the popular cause before Charles ascended the throne, and after that event no trace of intimacy between him and Buckingham is observable. He was not formed for subserviency to the minion of a court, and a little of that proud neglect which is so natural to the manners of favourites, would suffice to prevent his placing any reliance on such friendships. It is plain that when the king assembled his first parliament, Eliot had so far imbibed the general feeling against Buckingham, as to have become one of the most active and formidable of the party who made the overthrow of that minister the great object of their policy. No man did so much to expose the weakness and misconduct of the government, and to make the granting of supplies depend on the redress of grievances. When it became known that Charles meditated a sudden dissolution of the third parliament, Eliot, in an elaborate and impassioned address, called upon the Commons to place the barrier of their most solemn protest in the way of any proceedings on the part of the government inconsistent with the power and privileges of parliament. Charles, expecting something of this sort, had instructed the speaker, Sir John Finch, to vacate the chair, should any such matter be introduced; and the speaker, as all our histories relate, refusing to put the prepared protest, was detained by force in the chair, until the expressions of that paper had received the formal sanction of the House. This act, together with the severity of his temper and proceedings against Buckingham, exposed Eliot in a peculiar degree to the resentment of the king; and when it became known that Charles intended attempting to carry on the government without the aid of parliaments, it was obvious that a person so committed against the court, had everything to apprehend from the possible success of such an experiment. Eliot, it appears, had provided against all reverses of this sort, by settling his property

on his sons, so that the sum imposed on him as a fine, though eagerly sought after, could not be obtained. In the 'dark and smoky room' allotted him in the Tower, he gave his time to reading, reflection, and composition, and to correspondence with his children and his friends, particularly with the patriot Hampden, then little known beyond the walks of private life, to whose wise oversight he committed the education of his children. Some of the letters which passed between these remarkable persons have happily reached our time, and show them to have been men of extraordinary parts, of various knowledge, of refined imagination and feeling, and governed by a highly enlightened piety, and the purest sympathy with every thing morally beautiful. But the health of the mind is no security for that of the body, and while Charles found it possible for a time to taste the sweets of power, and to surround himself with the pastimes of a court, his victim was gradually sinking under the progress of consumption. Once and again the king was assured, that nothing but greater liberty and a better air could save the life of his victim. But he was so assured in vain; and even when death had come upon the sufferer, the prayer of his children that they might be allowed to place his ashes in the tomb of his progenitors, was not to be complied with. 'Let Sir John Eliot's body be 'buried in the church of that parish where he died,' was the royal answer. During the last two months of his life, the restraints laid upon him were even greater than before, and in the month of November, we find him expressing his gratitude for the use of candle, but complaining of being left almost without fire! Mr. D'Israeli cannot conceal his regret at this inhumanity, but avoids censuring the king by indulging in a very convenient exercise of the imagination in his favour. 'The harshness of Charles the 'First towards Eliot,' says this writer, 'indicates a cause of 'offence, either of a deeper die, or of a more personal nature, 'than probably we have yet discovered!'

The long parliament met on the third of November, 1640, and Strafford was executed in the following May. To that interval, belongs the impeachment of Laud and others; the extinction of the courts of star-chamber and high-commission; and the removal of a multitude of alleged grievances in the practice of the civil and ecclesiastical government. These measures were prosecuted by the popular leaders with little or no opposition, and with the general concurrence of the Lords. What should be done with the bishops, was the first question that called forth a marked difference of opinion. All agreed in loudly condemning the late conduct of the ruling clergy, and in urging that their power in future should be materially limited. But two parties soon became distinguishable—the one calling for the entire abolition of episcopacy; the other maintaining that the functions of the order should be much abridged, but that the order itself should be religiously

preserved. This difference prepared the way for another, which led also to important consequences—we refer to the division of opinion respecting the penalty due to the high crimes of the Earl of Strafford. There was much in the temper and proceedings of the leaders in the Commons in relation to the trial of that grand delinquent, and in the spirit of change every where working through the country, which tended to excite suspicion and alarm with many well-meaning persons in both Houses. So great was the impression thus produced, that, strengthened by a few subsequent occurrences, it sufficed to shape that ultimate division of parties which placed the king in a condition to hazard a civil war, and to render the issue of it so long doubtful. It was maintained by those who fell off from the popular party at that juncture, that the king had now gone far enough in the way of concession, and that the excess of power from which danger to the general liberties of the country might be apprehended, had gone over from the monarchial to the popular side. On the other hand it was insisted that the concessions of the king had been made with so much visible reluctance and insincerity, as to leave no room for confidence in the constitutional professions now made by him, and to render it indispensable that the men who from a regard to the public interests had exposed themselves to his displeasure, should provide against the probable resentment of himself and his future advisers, by such a division of the powers of the state as might be adequate both for that purpose, and as a provision against any recurrence of the alarming evils which had been so long attendant on the course of his government. The great question, accordingly, between these parties, related to the new adjustment that should, or should not, be deemed wise and satisfactory towards the monarchy on the one side, and the people on the other.

Among those who had opposed themselves to the exorbitant power of the crown and the hierarchy, and who at this time, or soon afterwards, began to look on the real or supposed designs of the patriots with so much jealousy as to change sides, mention should first be made of Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, in whose train followed Lord Falkland, the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Hertford, the Earl of Bristol, Lord Digby, Sir John Colepeper, Lord Paget, Lord Lovelace, Sir Hugh Cholmely, and we may add, Colonel Goring, not to mention others who acted only a subordinate part in the subsequent posture of affairs. Several indeed of the persons we have named proved to be feeble men.

Paget appears to have been one of the most active among the peers in supporting the prosecution of Strafford, and similar measures, but as the war approached, was among the first to join the royal standard. He raised a regiment of infantry at his own cost, and further to propitiate the court, made disclosures of every

thing he knew concerning the intentions and plans of the men with whom he had acted, imputing designs to his former colleagues which their enemies are said to have treated as too bad to be worthy of credit. Lovelace concealed his altered preference, and endeavoured to serve the royal cause by acting as a spy on the proceedings of the parliament. Cholmely wore the mask until the arrival of the queen, when he betrayed his trust as governor of the castle of Scarborough. But these circumstances include nearly all we know of the history of these persons.

Goring intrigued much with the leaders of the parliament on the approach of the war, but always for purposes of deception. The old associations of this man, and his rooted profligacy, should have been a sufficient prognostic of his designs. In no man of that time were the bad points in the character of the cavalier more strongly marked. His profanity, debauchery, and licence of all sorts, had scarcely any bounds. These habits—and nothing a jot more reputable, made him a royalist, and made him reckless of principle and decency, whenever the cause of royalty was concerned. When taken in his own snares, or exposed by his excesses or duplicity to the rebuke of his superiors, no man could put on the shy, awkward, contrite delinquent with so much effect. It is not easy to say which was the most remarkable in him—his power of acting the knave, so as to impose on the most prejudiced and incredulous, or the buoyant ingenuity of his temper, which served him in every exigency. He no doubt felt a pleasure in being able to place the town of Portsmouth in the hands of the king, but we may rest assured that to relate over his cups, the manner in which he had outwitted the godly hypocrites who placed him in the trust which he thus betrayed, afforded him an infinitely greater delight. The excesses of his followers in the west—of his 'lambs' as this precious innocent was wont to call them—made his name infamous for several generations.

But if there was little in the character of the four persons last mentioned, to add weight to any cause, a different estimate must be formed of the other names which we have classed with them. Hyde, on the meeting of the long parliament, denounced ship money, and many similar abuses, with a vehemence hardly inferior to that of the most sturdy of the patriots. But when the proposed reform of the church was carried so far as to appear to him to threaten its existence; and when the excitement connected with the trial of Strafford betrayed the popular leaders into the use of language, and the adoption of measures, which partook more, in his view, of violence, than of equity or law, he withdrew, first secretly, and afterwards openly, to the side of the court. In what followed, there is evidence enough that his principles and sympathies were nearly all in favour of vesting a greater power in the crown than had been ceded to it by the constitution, and that his

being found among the advocates of popular principles, even for a few short months, is to be attributed solely to the extravagance of the abuses which had become prevalent during the preceding period. No sooner had he found, or imagined, an occasion for falling back from that unnatural position, than he employed himself with much ardour in support of the prerogative. His pen was his only weapon, but with that alone, he did more than any man in England to break the force of the adherence to the cause of the parliament, which, in consequence of the late arbitrary conduct of the king, had manifested itself in every part of the country; and was the person beyond all others whose labours tended to place the royal cause on the footing which enabled Charles to look with confidence of success to the chances of a civil war. The style of his various papers, circulated under the royal sanction everywhere through the kingdom, would be described in our day, in common with that of his history, as massy and cumbrous; but his argument was generally characterized by clearness, continuity, and force, such as his opponents could rarely equal, and which wanted but a better cause to have been irresistible. Few men became parties to the civil war with a more fixed hostility to the popular elements of the constitution; and notwithstanding the pious-seeming talk in which he frequently indulges, and the general propriety and gravity of his deportment, his moral scruples in regard to the means which might be employed to place the power of the Commons in strict subordination to that of the peerage and crown, were not of a very delicate description. He was better acquainted with the histories of Greece and Rome, than with the course of events which had generated and matured the principles of the constitution of his country. His erudition in this respect, rarely passes beyond the age of the Tudors; and his selection of precedents even there, often betrays lamentable ignorance, or gross partiality. It is reported, as a good deed in his history, that he opposed a project at the Restoration, which, if acted upon successfully, would have made Charles II. independent of parliaments. But if the language which he is said to have used on that occasion be correctly reported, his conduct would seem to have resulted from a love of office, more than from any regard to the liberties of the people. His argument with Southampton was, that in such circumstances Charles might govern by the agency of profligates, without the support of men of character, and that they might both calculate on being dismissed as soon as the king should be thus placed in independence of their services.

Falkland was the intimate friend of Clarendon, and if inferior to him in compass of understanding, and power of observation, was his equal in learning, and much his superior in the refinement and impartiality of his moral sentiments. Clarendon himself never appears to more advantage than when paying his sincere tribute

of admiration and affection to the memory of this rarely gifted person, and it is, in fact, to the elaborate efforts of his friendship in this way, that Falkland is chiefly indebted for his fame. The ample fortune placed at his disposal in the twentieth year of his age, was not allowed to divert attention from his studies. Avoiding the court and the capital, he fixed his residence within ten miles of Oxford, and by his tastes and hospitality made his home a favourite resort of the most learned and estimable persons in the University, many of 'those grosser propositions, which laziness 'and consent made current in vulgar conversations,' being examined in the intercourse which took place there, with the freedom proper only to such select conferences. Falkland's first appearance in public was as a member of the parliament assembled in 1627. He was a close observer of what passed in the House of Commons then convened, and became more than ever attached to the institution of parliaments, so that his previous dissatisfaction with the policy of the court was much increased by the abrupt dissolution which followed. But the ideal world which his books and his secluded life had contributed to place around him, was subsequently much shaken and disordered by the violence of the collisions between the parties of the real world in which he now began to act his part. If we give Clarendon credit for the sincerity of his avowed dissatisfaction with the spirit and measures of the long parliament from about the time of the publication of its 'remonstrance,' it is less difficult to make the same concession in favour of Falkland. It is certain that from that time they began to oppose themselves to the policy of the leaders of the Commons; that in so doing, both were laid open to the overtures of the court; and that by both those overtures were, ere long, accepted. But the causes which unsettled the mind of Falkland as a parliamentarian, soon began to operate upon him to the same effect as a royalist. He must, we think, soon have felt, that the maxims and temper of the majority among those to whom he had gone over, were not less at variance with the elements of his own character, than those of the least moderate men in the party which he had forsaken. In fact, his uneasiness, arising in a great measure from this source, is so manifest, that, had his life been spared, it is not easy to say what his ultimate course would have been. He fell in the first battle of Newbury, in the thirty-fourth year of his age.

The secession of the Earl of Southampton from the popular cause was a more serious loss to that interest than the defection of Falkland, whose youth and indecision naturally prevented his making any strong impression on the times. Southampton was held in general and high estimation. He was a nobleman of excellent parts, and ready elocution; governed by moderate views, and by a more enlightened sense of honour, and more humane

feeling than the greater number even in the better class among the party to which he joined himself in 1642. His aim was to bring about a moderate adjustment of the claims of both parties, and not to favour the absolute triumph of either. No man did more to prevent the unsheathing of the sword, and when that event could be no longer deferred, he never failed to echo Falkland's frequent call for peace. Southampton lived to the time of the Restoration, and did good service in checking the profligate confidence of bad men at that perilous juncture.

The Marquis of Hertford was a person of more scholarship than Southampton, but less able in council, less active, and though somewhat prominent in the early part of the war, was too much attached to private life, and not sufficiently aided in his new policy as a royalist by those who were dependent on him, to become very formidable as the antagonist of his old friends. The lethargy of his habits, was the principal objection to his appointment, through the influence of the popular party in 1642, as the superintendent of the education of the Prince of Wales; but in the field he was never accounted deficient in energy or courage.

Few noblemen had been placed in circumstances more unfriendly to a favourable estimate of the character of the king than the Earl of Bristol. His part in the negociations with regard to the Spanish match, and the treatment which he experienced in connexion with that business, both from Buckingham and from Charles, called into exercise the lofty pride, the high physical and moral courage, and the experience in affairs, by which he was distinguished. Bristol was, moreover, a person of good presence; and his parts, which were considerable, had been improved by education; but as a speaker, he was much too prolix to produce impression, and too readily betrayed into passionate language when opposed.—He acted for a while with the improvement party in the upper House, but more as the effect of the position in which he happened to be placed with regard to the court, than in consequence of any fixed principle or real solicitude about matters of good government. Having uttered some strong expressions in his place in parliament which gave great umbrage to some of the liberal party there, he was committed to the Tower; and though his release took place only two days later, the occurrence, as might have been expected, was enough to decide the withdrawment of his doubtful allegiance from those who had so dealt with him. There was much, however, in his temper, and still more in the nature of the public disagreement which had taken place between him and the king, to make it hardly possible that anything like a feeling of attachment should exist on either side. In the rank of the patriots, he was a person out of place from the want of any real sympathy with the spirit of freedom; and in the councils and operations of the royalists he was always

impotent, from the want of cordial association with the king, and with those most favoured by him.

Lord Digby, the eldest son of the Earl of Bristol, took a more effective part in public affairs than his father, both during the civil war and for some time before. As the second Earl of Bristol, he exhibited articles of impeachment against Clarendon soon after the Restoration, and the account given of him in the History of the Rebellion, which was written subsequently to that proceeding, should always be read with this fact in mind. On the whole, however, Clarendon has given a more just report of his antagonist, than we should have expected from a person so liable to the influence of strong prejudice. It is admitted that he was a person of eminent parts and acquirements, and that the care bestowed on his education had enriched his mind with such various knowledge, that he could offer pertinent observations on nearly all subjects. We learn, however, from other sources, as well as from Clarendon, that the ability of Digby in some respects, was not more remarkable than his infirmity in others. In the House of Commons, his clear, bold, masculine eloquence, generally produced a powerful effect; but the ardour of his passions, and the force of his imagination, which contributed to his efficiency as a speaker, were not sufficiently controlled by the calm and comprehensive views, or by the sound moral feeling, so important to the statesman. His schemes, in consequence, were always verging on the romantic and impracticable, much to the detriment of the king's affairs:—for though Charles was not likely to act upon extravagant suggestions, he was so far disposed to entertain new projects, as to be frequently detained by some *ignis fatuus* of that sort, from pursuing the course, at the proper moment, which circumstances had placed before him. Sir Philip Warwick remarks that this eccentric tendency in the genius of Digby, was so obvious, that sober men often spoke of his cogitations as an apt illustration of the saying of Lord Bacon, who observes, 'there are 'some things which have more wonder in them than worth.' It is clear that ambition was his ruling passion, and that it often took the form of a preposterous vanity, or of a desire to be wondered at—a result which can occasion no surprise when we take into consideration the practical weakness of his judgment, the loose texture of his principles, and his total want of generosity, connected as these defects had always been with great energy of temperament in all other respects, and with a restlessness which nothing could control. His amours, and other irregularities, involved him in expense and embarrassment, which attended him to the end of his days, and often irritated him almost to madness.

The weak points, however, in the character of Digby, were not such as to prevent the king from placing much confidence in his judgment, particularly in the direction of military affairs, and on

he death of Falkland he was raised to the office of secretary of tate. After the battle of Naseby, he made a fruitless attempt to ain the standard of Montrose, in Scotland—a chief whose passion r the daring and the marvellous was kindred to his own, but dere likely to attract admiration at a distance, than to have conuced to harmonious operation, had two such geniuses been called o act together. Subsequently, Digby joined himself to the tiled court; engaged in the wars of the continent; applied himself to the study of astrology; and returned at the Restoration an owed Catholic. The best apology for his credence in the old ience of the stars—next to that afforded by the prevalent notions f his times—is found in the events of his own life, for in the case f few men has destiny appeared to have had more to do, often aking his fate apparently desperate at one moment, and extricaing him by the most improbable expedients the next. Mr. D'Israeli says, that from his eloquent speech on the trial of Strafford, to his last on the Test Act, 'he poured forth the feelings of a patriot, with the calm sagacity of a statesman,' a flourish of words, which is contradicted by nearly every thing adduced by this same writer concerning this same Lord Digby.

Digby, whose early opposition to the court, like that of his father, sprung more from the circumstance of having quarrelled with it, than from any higher consideration, was among the first to desert the cause of the people, and spared no pains to induce Hyde, Falkland, and Colepeper to follow his example, and to prevail on the king to turn the balance of hesitation on the part of those distinguished persons, by some distinct assurance of his favour. Colepeper, though made master of the Rolls, was a man of more experience in military than in civil affairs. He was a person, however, of some learning, possessing a clear and comprehensive understanding, a most tenacious memory, and distinguished by a facility in stating all that might be conceived as telling for or against a measure. By this schoolman method of viewing questions, he often generated doubt in the mind of others, and greatly impeded the decisions of his own judgment; but when satisfied himself, it was sure to be on such grounds as tended to the same result in the mind of those whom he was desirous to carry along with him. He needed all these better qualities as means of providing against the impression likely to result from the imperfections of his temper, and the roughness of his elocution. He never forgave the late ambitious meddling of the ruling clergy, and it was the habit of Charles to regard a want of zeal in the cause of the bishops, as the same thing with a want of religion.

When it is remembered that of the eighty peers who sat on the trial of Strafford, thirty-five only were consenting to his death, not more than forty-six being present when the House came to its

decision; and also that more than fifty commoners were denounced by the populace as Straffordians, and betrayers of their country, because they had voted against that course of proceeding, it must be clear that the secession from the constitutional party which soon followed, was in effect much more considerable than the list of names to which we have just now adverted would indicate. These names, however, include the persons whose change attracted most observation, and produced the greatest effect, and our next step will be to glance at the general complexion of the party with which these leading men became now associated.

On the side of the royalists, no man drew his sword more promptly, or wielded it with more determination, than the Earl of Northampton, though until the approach of the war he had rarely given much attention to public affairs. As that crisis came on, he relinquished the ease and license in which men of his rank and fortune so generally passed their time; and before the king had set up his standard at Nottingham, Northampton appeared at the head of his followers in Warwickshire, to watch the motions of Lord Brook. He raised a troop of horse and a regiment of foot at his own cost, and appointed his four sons as officers under him. All the perils and hardships of a soldier's life he endured with the readiness of one who had grown up among them. His high feudal temper taught him to look with no small contempt on the band of commoners at Westminster, who had dared to talk of placing the power of his order, and of the crown, in subordination to their upstart notions about freedom and its securities. He often spoke of falling in such a contest as the noblest end that could await him, and soon after the commencement of the war he reaped the honour which he professed to covet. At Hopton Heath, his horse was shot from under him in a charge, which separated him from the main body of his followers, and left him at the mercy of his enemies. When called upon to surrender, he answered in the fulness of his scorn that he was not born to accept of favour from 'base rogues and rebels,' and irritated by this return, as the said rogues thought, of insolence for clemency, they speedily numbered him with the slain.

Loyalty like that of Northampton, the effect almost entirely of early feeling and association, prevailed widely, we may perhaps say generally, with his party. It was commonly the ally of a chivalrous courage, which, like itself, partook more of ardour than reflection, and, in some instances, as in the case of Sir Bevil Grenvil, was wedded to dispositions the most honourable and generous. The gentleman last mentioned closed his short career at the battle of Lansdown. His brother, Sir Richard Grenvil, long survived: the worthy being taken, and the worthless left. This Sir Richard was a man without principle or humanity, both

in public and private life. Treachery, cruelty, and rapine, seem to have been his element. He affected to be a zealous parliamentarian until the moment arrived in which he might betray his party with the greatest advantage to himself; and from that time his military talent sufficed to procure him frequent employment in important trusts, until the complaints preferred against him from all parts, and his refusal to obey the orders of the Prince of Wales, led to his dismission. In Ireland, and through the West of England, he was accustomed to fine, imprison, and execute on the most false and frivolous pretences. He saw five men leaving a coppice near Plymouth, bearing away bundles of fire-wood without permission, and he spared the life of one, on condition of his hanging the other four upon the spot. In Ireland he dragged the aged from their beds to hang them in front of their own dwellings, on the charge of refusing to discover their treasures. Monstrous as this may seem, even this man had his friends in the royal household, and in the army, who raised loud complaints at his being put aside; and Charles himself bestowed upon him large estates in the West, belonging to Lord Roberts, and to the Earl of Bedford. All these facts we learn from Clarendon.

Lord Wilmot shared too largely in the license which disgraced the conduct of Sir Richard Grenvil; but was not chargeable with his want of honour, and was much less disposed to cruelty or oppression. He was in fact a finished cavalier, excelling in the gaiety, the address, and the good fellowship, which distinguished that character, and was a royalist as the consequence principally of being a complete man of fashion. He was active and courageous, but his impatient temper unfitted him for taking a comprehensive view of affairs, and gave so much uncertainty to his judgment, that his views to-day, were always liable to be changed by new considerations to-morrow. His agreeable manners gave him considerable influence in the army, particularly with the cavalry; but his ambition and vacillation made him an object of distrust even with his friends, and exposed him to so many instances of mortification, that he withdrew from the war some time before its close. In the reign of Charles II. Wilmot is but too well known as the licentious Lord Rochester.

Prince Rupert and Wilmot rarely agreed, except when some censure was to be passed on persons who interfered with military operations without experience in them. The prince had grown up a military adventurer amidst the wars of Germany, and brought more impetuosity than discretion to his intercourse with society, and to his duties as a soldier. His self-confidence was boundless, and his bearing toward those with whom he acted, haughty and reckless. But his never-failing courage, his military skill, and his exhaustless energy, raised him to the chief command

after the second battle of Newbury. The liberties of the country were with him a matter of no concern. He would have laid them prostrate at a stroke. We scarcely need remind our readers that Rupert was nephew to the king. When the issues of the war compelled him to leave the country, he betook himself to the sea, partly for the purpose of inflicting damage on the commerce and navy of the Island, and partly with the hope of facilitating the introduction of succours to the royalists from the continent. His powers of mischief, however, were too narrowly watched to be exercised with much effect.

When we turn from men of this description to some of their confederates, it is not difficult to fix on those concerning whom a very different language may be employed. Such persons were the Earl of Carnarvon, Sir Jacob Astley, and Sir Ralph Hopton, all of whom appear to have become parties to the war from a conviction of its social justice, their conduct being such on all occasions as to bespeak their high sense of honour, and their opposition to all unnecessary severity. The Earl of Carnarvon was a nobleman whose parts had been cultivated by study, but much more by travel, in which he had indulged to a greater extent than was usual in that age, even with persons of his rank. His conduct previous to the beginning of the war had not been without its license and frivolities; but infirmities of that sort all disappeared as he became engaged in the great national conflict. He possessed much of the courage which distinguished Rupert, but with it a self-possession in action which that otherwise expert captain was never to acquire. His early death, in 1643, was, in many respects, a sensible loss to his party. Sir Jacob Astley was a man of few words, but added to his excellent moral qualities great promptitude and energy as a soldier. The want of the same readiness and decision was almost the only defect in the character of Sir Ralph Hopton; and on this account, he never rose to those more responsible offices in the army, that might, on every other account, have been safely committed to him. His understanding, though good, seemed to be deficient in the grasp and quickness necessary to satisfy his moral scruples, and to give steadiness to his plans. His industry was unceasing, and he stood alone among his coadjutors in the exhaustless generosity of his temper. On the whole, Sir Ralph Hopton was the most popular man in the army; and that he was so, is a circumstance which speaks more to the credit of that body, than almost any other in its history, since we learn from Clarendon that he was a man who 'abhorred enough the license and levities with which he saw too 'many corrupted.'

The terms in which history has spoken of these estimable men, may be applied with little modification to Sir George Lisle, and Lord Capel, who became prisoners on the surrender of

Colchester, in 1647. Lisle, who always displayed the most admirable courage in the field, so as to inspire his followers almost beyond any man, with the sort of confidence which so often leads to success, is said to have been one of the most mild and amiable of mankind in his general manners. In common with Capel, he appears to have governed by a loyalty more the effect of conventional and hereditary feeling, than of any intelligent principle. But nothing could be more generous or devoted than the service which these persons rendered to their sovereign. Capel joined the king at York: he had been a stranger to the court previously; but from that time placed the ties which bound him to an affectionate wife, and an interesting family of children, in constant subjection to his sense of public duty. These excellent men suffered death, as offenders against an ordinance which had declared all parties who should appear in arms against the existing government, liable to the penalties of treason.

Over the northern counties, until the battle of Marston-Moor, the chief command was vested in the Earl of Newcastle, a nobleman whose time had been given to poetry and music, and to some kindred amusements, more than to the command of armies, or the study of politics; and whose mind, moulded by no independent reflection, but wholly by the circumstance of birth and station, made its selection, as matter of course, on the side of monarchy and the church, those institutions being regarded as supports of each other, and of his own order. By the influence, and the ample resources of the Earl of Newcastle, a formidable army was soon brought together for the purpose of securing the northern counties in their allegiance; nor was he to be removed from that quarter of the kingdom by any of the exigences which pressed elsewhere, though commands to that effect sometimes came in the name of the king. This spirit of insubordination, led to serious differences between the earl and Prince Rupert, on the eve of the battle of Marston-Moor; and after the disastrous issue of that day the earl consulted his taste by relinquishing the profession of arms, and his safety by leaving the kingdom.

In the course of this very general view of the character of the men who acted with more or less efficiency as royalists, mention should be made of the Duke of Richmond, and of the Lords Pawlet and Seymour. Richmond was related to the king, and was much indebted to the royal favour and bounty. On the breaking out of the troubles in Scotland, he opposed the popular feeling with so little consideration as to make himself very obnoxious. But while his temper disposed him to act with decision, his want of judgment, or of moral courage, exposed him to much hesitation in regard to the best means by which to seek the accomplishments of his wishes; and he failed, on this account, to produce any feeling of confidence in the minds he was sometimes

concerned to influence. He attended the remains of the king when laid in the royal chapel at Windsor, having expended the greater part of his fortune in support of the war.

The Lords Pawlet and Seymour were persons of much influence in the western counties; and acted with advantage to the royal cause in that division of the kingdom during the early part of this contest. Seymour was brother to the Marquis of Hertford; and if he brought less activity and energy to the duties of his profession than Pawlet, the cause may be found in his case, as in that of many beside,—in the strength of his attachment to domestic and private life. Of Sir Marmaduke Langdale little more can be said, than that he was, perhaps, a better soldier than either of these persons, and a devoted royalist. Of the Earl of Derby, too, it may suffice to say, that he was a nobleman of integrity and courage, but as remarkable for his pride as for his loyalty. The former passion made him a person of little influence; the latter as every history records, cost him his life.

The names we have mentioned include, we believe, all the royalists who were distinguished by their talent or conduct during the civil war. The king could boast of many more who brought with them the influence of rank and fortune, but who had little beside to place at his disposal. Such were the Earls of Leicester and Salisbury, during the short time in which they could be regarded as royalists: men whose titles lead the imagination back to the times of the great men who rose high in the councils of Elizabeth, and in the enterprizes of her reign. But Charles saw little in the possessors of those titles to remind him of the splendour and power which had distinguished the men from whom they were derived. The Earl of Berkeshire, and Lord Dunmore, were men of no capacity or influence; the former was indebted to his connexion with Southampton, who had married his daughter, for the little respect paid to him—and, with the exception, perhaps, of Sir Charles Lucas, was the least endurable specimen of ill temper to be found in his party. Concerning Lord Ferdinando Hastings, sixth Earl of Huntingdon, we only know that he joined the royal standard soon after it was set up at Nottingham, and was among the first to run away from it at Edgehill. The Earl of Westmoreland gave in his adhesion to the royal cause at York, but whether he did anything either in the council or the field to make his adhesion of value, we find not. The same may be said of Lord Rich, and of the Earl of Newport; and Lord Rivers is distinguished from these personages only as having made himself in some way more obnoxious to the Parliament. The Earl of Bath appears to have been one of those little calculators, who sometimes find, that there are occasions when a rash ultraism, would not have been so costly as hollow pretences to neutrality. Lord Mohun, also, seems to have been

much inclined to this trimming school of politicians. Lord Conway, whose valorous doings at Newburn left him little chance of being trusted with any military enterprise, chose to act the spy at Westminster, until it became necessary to his safety that he should seek an asylum in Oxford, where, the treason having served its purpose, the traitor was allowed to sink into obscurity. Of Lord Newark, we can report little more than that he was deemed worthy of a place among the royal commissioners during the treaty of Uxbridge. Herbert, better known as Earl of Glamorgan, and afterwards as Marquis of Worcester, was a person of more consideration than any of these parties. Though a Catholic, he was entrusted by the king with the command of the forces raised in South Wales; but, he is best known to us by the part he was induced to take in the treacherous negotiation between Charles and the confederate Catholics in Ireland in 1645. It is evident that the king placed much confidence in the ability and integrity of Glamorgan, though in the affairs of Ireland he suffered much from his well meant exertions. The Earl of Monmouth was son to one of that class of persons who, in their idolatry of a court, forget that they have a country, and who do homage to the idol of their choice for one avowed object—self-advancement. We know of nothing in the history of the second Earl of Monmouth tending to show that he was any great improvement on the first. We only know that his dignity died with him. In an enumeration of this sort, mention should be made of Lord Jermyn—a gentleman who knew how to please the queen, and who, building on that stock of merit, appears to have supposed that it was only necessary to make the effort in order to please every body else. He sometimes drew his sword in the cause of the king, but was much more at home in the little gallantries and intrigues of a court, than in the service of the camp, or the conduct of affairs. Sir John Berkeley also was a courtier, and nothing more. Ashburnham was a feeble person, of the same class, and not capable of any efficiency even in that character.

So great was the diversity of character, among the persons who became associated for the one object of aiding the king in his effort to lower the pretensions of the Parliament. But the attraction of the one object which had brought these parties together, was not such as to render them of one mind in regard to the manner in which it should be pursued. Divided counsels were inseparable from so much difference in ability and temper; loyalty becoming subordinate, too frequently, to faction and intrigue. The letters of the king, and the general correspondence of the age, show that Charles had to lament the prevalence of these evils among his followers from the beginning, and that he found them multiply as he became familiar with difficulties and reverses. Officers and men looked on their position about

the sovereign as the result of their own free choice; and there was, in consequence, more of self-will in their proceedings, than of that prompt obedience which is of so much importance to the success of military operations. Measures concerted amidst jarring counsels not unfrequently proved disastrous, as at the siege of Gloucester, and then the time and energy that should have been employed in repairing the injury, were wasted, or rather much worse than wasted, in the work of recrimination. Men not accustomed to have to do with their fellows in circumstances somewhat similar, can form but an inadequate idea of the trial to which the constancy of the wiser and better meaning must have been exposed by such occurrences. The necessity of humouring ignorance, conceit, selfishness, and ill-temper, is, at all times, a hard necessity, but especially so when the object at stake is felt to be of the greatest moment.

It is observable in this retrospect, that the royalists of most general ability, were, for the greater part, men of moderate views. Such were Falkland, Southampton, Hertford, Hopton, and Astley. We cannot assign Clarendon or Digby a place in this honourable list; and the loyalty of Capel, of Lisle, and of some others of the same class, was too indiscriminate to merit the praise of wisdom or sobriety. It is equally evident, however, that the notions of these less considerate men, which were of course the more dangerous from being frequently allied with a reputation for integrity and talent, represented the feeling of the royalist army more nearly than those of their less partial coadjutors, and would no doubt have prevailed in the future counsels of the monarch had he been successful in the field. The language in which this party was accustomed to speak of their opponents, accorded more with that which the king was always disposed to employ; and while their patriotism or their policy would have led them to recommend a sober and salutary exercise of the prerogative, they would gladly have restored that instrument of so much misrule to its full power as in the days of the Tudors, heedless of any custom or statute that might seem to point to such power as a gross usurpation on the liberties of the people. Southampton witnessed so much of this spirit, that, next to the absolute prostration of the royalists, he would have lamented their uncontrolled ascendency. The attempt of the king to seize the five members is admitted by Hume as evidence of his insincerity in his previous compliances, and the obnoxious terms to which he clung with such hold during the war, when setting forth the character of his antagonists, could not but strengthen all their feelings of distrust.

We shall now endeavour to state, in few words, the testimony of history with regard to the character of some of those persons whose principles and conduct made them so little

acceptable to the sovereign. Among the peers who chose their place with the Parliament, when appeal was made to the sword, the most considerable were the Earls of Bedford, Northumberland, Pembroke, Essex, Manchester, and Warwick, and the Lords Say, Brooke, and Wharton.

William, Earl of Bedford, at the commencement of the war, must be distinguished from Francis, Earl of Bedford, who died while the fate of Strafford was pending. The former Earl, from his large wealth, his intelligence, and his moderation, was a person of great influence with the liberal party, and the medium of all important negociations between them and the court. He was attached to the constitution, both in church and state, but the enemy of all arbitrary power. His liberal contributions toward matters connected with the splendour and welfare of the church, and the urbanity of his deportment toward the ruling churchmen, gave him a place in the favour of many who lamented his opposition to the persecuting laws against the non-conformist clergy, and the popular temper of his political preferences. At the time of his death, he was much occupied in endeavouring to reconcile his party to something less than capital punishment in the case of the Earl of Strafford, as the price of their own elevation to the offices of government. The next Earl of Bedford possessed neither the judgment, nor the decided sympathy with liberal principles, which distinguished his predecessor. He became General of the Horse under the Parliament, and fought in that capacity at Edgehill, but displayed little aptitude for such a trust on any occasion, and withdrew to the court the following year. The reception given to him there, and also to the Earl of Clare and the Earl of Holland, who accompanied him, was cold and distrustful. He was engaged on the side of the king in the first battle of Newbury, where he gave proof of courage, and subsequently made some advances in the royal favour; but returned soon afterwards to the Parliament, professing to have been much more dissatisfied with the course of affairs at Oxford, than with any thing he had witnessed at Westminster. The Earl of Clare joined him in this return to his former confederates, and the Earl of Holland, not finding, as we have before remarked, the advancement among his old friends which his vanity had taught him to expect, followed their example.

It is said, but is more matter of conjecture than certainty, that this injudicious treatment of these fickle personages, prevented 'the manifestation of a similar defection on the part of the Earl of Northumberland. Clarendon speaks of this nobleman as a person who, in 1641, possessed 'the most 'esteemed and unblemished reputation, in court and country, of 'any person of his rank throughout the kingdom.' His separation from the court at that time, did much to confirm the reports

which were so widely circulated to its prejudice. Charles had conferred on him the order of the garter, had raised him to a place in the privy council, and, in 1637, had made him Lord High Admiral; in short, there were few persons whom the king had appeared to regard with so much esteem and confidence. So decided, however, was the stand which he made in favour of popular liberty, that he did not scruple to declare in the Upper House, that all persons opposed to the measure which required that the military power of the country should be placed at the disposal of Parliament, were enemies to the commonwealth. During the change, intrigue, and violence, which followed, he no doubt saw much on both sides to disapprove; but he never forsook the cause of the Parliament, and so long as any fragment of the Upper House remained, appeared in his place. His opponents found so much difficulty in accounting for his conduct in any manner agreeable to themselves, that they commonly spoke of it as the effect of his being the proudest man in England, incapable of doing homage to a superior even in the person of his sovereign. But it should be remembered that it was the father of the present nobleman, who, as Earl of Northumberland, had been placed under arrest on suspicion of being concerned in the gunpowder treason. The heavy fine, and long imprisonment, imposed on the ground of that suspicion, were not likely to produce any strong attachment to the house of Stuart, or to leave the sufferer insensible to the evils of a government by prerogative and by such engines as the star-chamber, in the place of a government by law: and the son may be well excused if found manifesting a sympathy in this respect with his sire. He is described as a person of graceful presence, though we do not derive this impression from the representation of him by Vandyke. The greatest decorum was observable in his general conduct, and in the government of his household; and the same idea of regularity, and habitual self-control, was conveyed by his measured conversation, and by the manner in which he acquitted himself in debate. His observations, which were never trivial or impertinent, appear to have derived much weight from the deliberation which characterized his manner as a speaker, and which tended to strengthen the favourable estimate generally entertained with regard to his understanding and integrity. In the dispute between the army and parliament in 1647, he withdrew to the former, not with the view of setting up the power of the sword, but in hope of accomplishing a more equitable settlement by means of the council of officers, and the independent minority which accompanied him from the Commons, than could be expected from the king, or from the presbyterian majority which ruled at Westminster. It was natural, when all such expedients had failed, that a man who could boast of having the blood of

Charlemagne in his veins, should concur in the measures which led to the restoration of the exiled family.

Of the Earl of Pembroke we have spoken elsewhere. The Earl of Essex was a person of much higher reputation. Before the meeting of the Long Parliament Essex had been engaged in the Palatine war, and in the service of the United Provinces. His strong feeling as a Protestant, which led him to the Palatinate, was connected with an ardent love of liberty. No argument or persuasion could prevail on him to concur in the adoption of any middle course toward Strafford; and when the moment for unsheathing the sword arrived, no man hazarded his life more willingly in the cause of the Parliament. His enemies were constrained to speak of him as a person devoid of all selfish ambition; as little concerned about titles or preferments of any sort; as constant and ingenuous in his friendships; and as incapable of a dishonourable action toward his greatest enemy, or for the sake of any possible object. His great defect, according to these persons, was a weakness of judgment, which taught him to think too favourably of his confederates, and of their intentions, and also of his own power to control the elements which he did much to put into motion. But these errors, if such they may be called, were those of a generous nature, and such as a wiser man in the same circumstances might well have entertained. The two houses, by a unanimous vote, appointed him commander-in-chief of the army raised by their authority, and he entered upon his high trust amidst the acclamations of his whole party. He felt, however, in regard to the power of the Parliament, much as Southampton, and some others, felt in regard to the power of the king,—and was, in consequence, more desirous of augmenting it only so far as might be necessary to secure a salutary adjustment of the questions at issue, than of seeking the absolute ascendancy of either party. But it was soon found that the slow hesitating policy which was the natural effect of such views, tended to hold the war in a perpetual oscillation, rather than to bring about a peace of any kind. It was to put an end to this timid and dangerous policy that the self-denying ordinance was passed, the immediate effect of which was to deprive all the then existing members of parliament, and Essex among the rest, of their military commissions, leaving them, at the same time, eligible to subsequent re-election at the pleasure of the two Houses. There is reason to believe that this proceeding was not agreeable to Essex, and the Parliament endeavoured to guard against his probable displeasure by recording its grateful testimony to his past services. He had indeed always acquitted himself with fidelity and courage; and though he lived to see the constitution in church and state broken in upon to a much greater extent than he approved, he never betrayed the slightest disposition to forsake his

old friends. He died in the early part of 1646, and was honoured with a stately funeral at the charge of the nation.

The Earl of Manchester possessed all the integrity, the sense of honour, the love of freedom, and the manly generosity of temper, by which Essex was distinguished, and excelled him in the urbanity of his manners, and in a polished mildness of sentiment, which he retained unimpaired amidst the excess and violence inseparable from civil war. No man drew his sword with greater confidence in the justice of the cause in which it was to be employed, and no man was more concerned to limit the evils attendant on such contests by every possible exercise of humanity and courtesy. On his first appearance in public life, he was known as Lord Mandeville; and subsequently, through the influence of Buckingham, with whom he had become connected by marriage, he was raised to the peerage during the life-time of his father, as baron of Kimbolton. Soon after the death of Buckingham, he married a daughter of the Earl of Warwick; and, during the twelve years of misrule which preceded the Long Parliament, he entered so fully into the spirit of the popular party, that we find Lord Kimbolton the only peer impeached by the king with the five members. In religion, he was a Presbyterian, and if liable to censure at all, it was mainly on the ground of his leaning too readily to the side of intolerance, from his sympathy with that party. He was also of the same mind with those who were not so much desirous of conquest, as of that moderate amount of advantage, which they flattered themselves would suffice to bring about the most desirable settlement. The course of events tended very soon to show the fallacy of such hopes, and he would at any time have gladly resigned a commission, which he had accepted with reluctance, and which demanded a sort of ability and experience that his modesty and good sense would not allow him to suppose he possessed. But to be removed by the self-denying ordinance was so little palatable to him, that he retired from that time to private life, and kept himself wholly free from the struggle of parties, until the moment arrived for restoring the monarchy in the person of Charles II. Of Manchester, as of Falkland, we may say, that he was so far a wise and good man, as generally to discern where the path of justice and humanity lay, and was disposed, in ordinary times, to walk in it; but he lacked that deeper knowledge of human nature, and that firm texture of intellect, which was so necessary to the steady prosecution of a great object, when it is not only opposed by the most determined and reckless temper on the part of the enemy, but placed, perhaps, at imminent hazard by the weakness or treachery of avowed friends. The infirmities of our poor nature do not often take the sagacious by surprise, and

'his passions or conscience swayed him, he was, undoubtedly, one 'of those who could with most difficulty have been reconciled to 'the government of Church or State; and, therefore, his death was 'looked upon as no ill omen for peace; and was exceedingly 'lamented by that party; which had scarce a more absolute con-'fidence in any man than in him.' He displayed great activity in Warwickshire, and in other parts of the kingdom, but was shot in 1643, when about to besiege a party of royalists who had taken possession of Lichfield cathedral. Charles named him in one of his proclamations as a person whom he had determined to prosecute for treason.

Of Lord Wharton, it may suffice to say, that he was a person of unblemished reputation, that he always acted with Brooke, and appears to have shared in his sentiments in nearly all respects. In the second year of the war, not more than twenty peers were in the habit of attending the upper house. Of this number we have mentioned seven, and of the remaining thirteen history has nothing very material to report:—they were, the Earls of Kent, Lincoln, Rutland, Salisbury, Suffolk, Mulgrave, Denbigh, Stamford, and Bolinbroke; and the Lords Dacres, Grey, of Warke, Willoughby, of Parham, Howard, of Eserick, Rochfort, and Robarts.

It is to the lower house that we must look for the men who were most aware of the extent and bearing of the principles involved in this contest, and who were alone capable of prosecuting their objects with vigour in the hour of disaster, and amidst the infirmities and changes of popular feeling. The conduct of the king on his return from Scotland, could not fail to generate strong suspicion with regard to the fair promises which were so freely made by him soon afterwards; and the popular leaders were accordingly resolved, as we have before observed, on preventing any settlement, which should leave their own fate, or that of the constitution, dependent on the temper of the monarch. This determination they avowed freely in their private conferences, and it appeared in effect in all their documents and proceedings. To question the general integrity of their conduct in acting on this policy, is to dispose of evidence so as to reduce the story of the past to a chaos of uncertainties. Something of the humane regard which served, in many cases, to sober the ardent adherence felt by these men to the public interests, we may perceive in a letter adressed to Sir Ralph Hopton, by his old friend Sir William Waller—an able parliamentary general, whose successes at the commencement of the war procured him the name of William the Conqueror. Hopton solicited an interview, after the two friends had drawn the sword on opposite sides. Waller returns for answer; 'My affections to you are so unchangeable, 'that hostility itself cannot violate my friendship to your per-

assistance of so wise a head in prosecuting his new policy. But two natures less adapted for co-operation could hardly have been brought together. Say spoke of the experience of antiquity as a school of instruction in the mystery of government; and that, in the esteem of the shallow personage whom the king delighted to honour, was to become a pedant. He dwelt also on the necessity of carrying out certain vigorous plans of reformation and improvement, but to act on such bold projects was to revolutionise the state, and to hazard its existence. All hope of any change for the better by means of such an instrument being vain, Say turned from the court to the country, and watched with solicitude every incident which seemed to promise that the time would come in which it might be possible to place the arbitrary temper of the government under some wholesome control. During the gloomy interval from 1628 to 1640, no man did so much to sustain the hopes, and to regulate the proceedings of the popular party through the kingdom; nor was his reputation as a person of eminent capacity, of sound views, and of great firmness of temper, confined to that party. In parliament, he always spoke with effect, and was the first peer who declared against episcopacy. But in dispensing with the bishops, he was far from meaning to destroy the whole fabric of the church, as Clarendon is pleased to assert; nor was it ever his purpose to detract from the real strength of the monarchy or of the peerage. The king, however, learnt to regard him as so hostile to the just pretensions of the crown, that in a royal proclamation issued soon after the commencement of war, the name of Say appears in a list of persons excepted from pardon, and, on that account, he was refused a safe conduct when appointed by the parliament to treat with the royal commissioners at Oxford. His last effort to save the constitution was at the treaty of Newport, where, had his advice been taken, the king might have regained his throne, and, by degrees, as much of his power as would have been compatible with any feeling of safety on the part of his opponents. Say lived to see the Restoration, and the noble doings that followed.

Lord Brooke entered into the views of Say on all the points we have mentioned. He had not the same acquaintance with books, but participated more freely in the views and the spirit of the puritans, so as to be governed in his public conduct in a greater measure by his religious feelings. He not unfrequently prayed extempore in the presence of his chaplain and soldiers; and is described by Richard Baxter, as one of those superior natures who pass from the disorders of the best social system on earth, to contemplate the perfect economy of a celestial commonwealth. 'They who were acquainted with him,' says Clarendon, 'believed 'him to be well natured and just; and rather seduced and corrupted in his understanding, than perverse and malicious. Whether

'his passions or conscience swayed him, he was, undoubtedly, one 'of those who could with most difficulty have been reconciled to 'the government of Church or State; and, therefore, his death was 'looked upon as no ill omen for peace; and was exceedingly 'lamented by that party; which had scarce a more absolute con- 'fidence in any man than in him.' He displayed great activity in Warwickshire, and in other parts of the kingdom, but was shot in 1643, when about to besiege a party of royalists who had taken possession of Lichfield cathedral. Charles named him in one of his proclamations as a person whom he had determined to prosecute for treason.

Of Lord Wharton, it may suffice to say, that he was a person of unblemished reputation, that he always acted with Brooke, and appears to have shared in his sentiments in nearly all respects. In the second year of the war, not more than twenty peers were in the habit of attending the upper house. Of this number we have mentioned seven, and of the remaining thirteen history has nothing very material to report:—they were, the Earls of Kent, Lincoln, Rutland, Salisbury, Suffolk, Mulgrave, Denbigh, Stamford, and Bolinbroke; and the Lords Dacres, Grey, of Warke, Willoughby, of Parham, Howard, of Escrick, Rochfort, and Rebarts.

It is to the lower house that we must look for the men who were most aware of the extent and bearing of the principles involved in this contest, and who were alone capable of prosecuting their objects with vigour in the hour of disaster, and amidst the infirmities and changes of popular feeling. The conduct of the king on his return from Scotland, could not fail to generate strong suspicion with regard to the fair promises which were so freely made by him soon afterwards; and the popular leaders were accordingly resolved, as we have before observed, on preventing any settlement, which should leave their own fate, or that of the constitution, dependent on the temper of the monarch. This determination they avowed freely in their private conferences, and it appeared in effect in all their documents and proceedings. To question the general integrity of their conduct in acting on this policy, is to dispose of evidence so as to reduce the story of the past to a chaos of uncertainties. Something of the humane regard which served, in many cases, to sober the ardent adherence felt by these men to the public interests, we may perceive in a letter adressed to Sir Ralph Hopton, by his old friend Sir William Waller—an able parliamentary general, whose successes at the commencement of the war procured him the name of William the Conqueror. Hopton solicited an interview, after the two friends had drawn the sword on opposite sides. Waller returns for answer; 'My affections to you are so unchangeable, 'that hostility itself cannot violate my friendship to your per-

'son, but I must be true to the cause wherein I serve. I should wait 'on you according to your desire, but that I look on you as en- 'gaged in that party beyond the possibility of retreat, and conse- 'quently incapable of being wrought upon by any persuasion. 'That great God, who is the searcher of all hearts, knows with what a sad fear I go upon this service, and with what perfect hate 'I detest a war without an enemy. But I look upon it as '*opus Domini!* We are both on the stage, and must act those 'parts that are assigned to us in this tragedy; but let us do it in 'the way of honour, and without personal animosity.' And from what we know of Hopton, we may well believe, he shared fully in his friend's high sense of duty, and in the generous reluctance that attended the performance of the service which it inspired.

On no character in our history have the enemies of freedom looked with a more evil eye than upon John Hampden. His good points stand out so beautifully, and his too short career was so singularly cautious and faultless, as to render him a most unwelcome object to the diseased vision of his assailants. It is, indeed, a rare thing to meet with a patriotism so bold and determined, in alliance with so much reflection, self-possession, and urbanity. The several parts of his character might be found in different men in many countries, but where to look for them all combined in such admirable proportions we hardly know. Mr. D'Israeli's labours have tended rather to augment than diminish the fame of this extraordinary person; particularly, by showing that his religion, instead of consisting of the 'mysterious jargon, 'and vulgar hypocrisy,' which Hume has imputed to him and his coadjutors, was a system which embraced the most lofty theism, chastened and regulated by the discoveries peculiar to Christianity, and expressed on ordinary occasions in a language which the most refined taste must approve. Warburton has justly observed, that Clarendon's account of Hampden shows, in every line, that the historian believed him to be a man of virtue and honour, but acting upon wrong principles—that is, upon principles which led him to assert the rights of the parliament, and to limit the power of the crown so far as should appear necessary to preserve the liberties of the community against future injuries from that quarter. But we find nothing in the solemn reasoning of the historian, or in the boisterous dogmatism of his commentators, to satisfy us that the principles of the patriot were at all more vulnerable than his conduct. Clarendon describes Hampden as the most popular man in parliament, at a time when he is obliged himself to acknowledge, that the Commons manifested 'a most 'excellent spirit.' But when the crisis arrived in which the historian and the patriot chose different sides, the wisdom of the latter is described as 'cunning, deep design,' and 'craft;' his self-government and courtesy become a 'mask;' his opposition to the

court, the effect of a determination to reign over it, and, in part, because not admitted, with others, to a place of trust there; while his ability in council; his address as a speaker; his skill in governing individuals and parties; and his rare admixture of farthought and activity, are all viewed as so many attributes empowering him to do 'mischief.' When 'the chancellor of human nature,' was employed in furnishing this elaborate and artful account of the mind of Hampden, he was far, we may suppose, from suspecting the kind of curiosity that would be presented to the men of future times by this working of his own. It is plain, from all that he has said about Hampden, that he had no real fault to lay to his charge; and that in the total absence of facts to his mind, he restricted himself to the kind of insinuations that may be conveyed by single terms, or by that artful mode of expression which leads the unsuspecting to conclusions which it would not be expedient directly to assert. Much of this wily course of proceeding we may put down to prejudice; but more, to a narrow feeling of mortification, on seeing so much worth on the side of an enemy. Falkland, more calm, and less liable to be misled by ill-regulated feeling than Clarendon, always judged more correctly of the character of Hampden.

Among the leading men of that age who did a willing homage to the almost faultless combination of intellectual and moral qualities in the character of Hampden, particular mention should be made of Pym—a statesman whose influence in the Commons and the capital was so great, after the meeting of the Long Parliament, as to have procured him among his enemies, the sarcastic appellation of 'king Pym.' Mr. Forster has done good service by concentrating our hitherto scattered information relating to the history of this distinguished patriot. Pym was a native of Bedfordshire, and educated in Pembroke College, Oxford. Under the patronage of the Earl of Bedford, he obtained a place in the Exchequer, and a seat in the parliaments of 1614 and 1620. In the year 1614, he was committed to the Tower, with Coke and Selden, as the punishment of advocating the 'rights and franchise' of the Commons with a zeal which made him obnoxious to the crown. In our parliamentary history of the next thirty years his name is of constant occurrence, and his course as a public man exhibits no shadow of change, except that of a growing attachment to the principles of his early days. In the short parliament of 1640, and in the long parliment soon afterwards assembled, he made his appearance with the reputation of possessing admirable talents for business, and a better acquaintance than any other man with all the forms of parliamentary proceedings. His physical, as well as his mental energies, were known to be extraordinary; and, together with his unsullied integrity, his searching and comprehensive views of public

questions, his leonine courage, his firmness of purpose, and his natural, earnest, and often most commanding eloquence, tended to place him in 1640 in the distinguished position which he filled from that time in the view of three kingdoms. He not only led the prosecutions against Strafford, to which scarcely any of his contemporaries would have been competent, but did more than any other person to urge his party onward, unawed by the opposition of the court, or the popular agitations of that crisis. Two years, however, of such labour as devolved on Pym subsequent to the death of Strafford, often leaving him not more than two hours of the twenty-four for repose, proved sufficient to break down even his capability of exertion. The beautiful Lady Carlisle, sister to the Earl of Northumberland, was the most conspicuous person in a numerous class of females, who meddled considerably in that age with political struggle and intrigue; and having, in order to gratify this unwomanly passion, cultivated the friendship of Strafford, she afterwards, for the same object, bestowed similar attention on Pym. That her acquaintance with either of these great men was formed with any impure intention, will not be supposed by those who are acquainted with the little we know concerning the history of that singular woman. Scandal, however, of this sort, was insinuated at the time; but that it was not credited by Baxter, is manifest from the confidence with which that strict divine has spoken of the religious character of this patriot, assigning him a place with Lord Brooke, in the better commonwealth of the skies; and, it is certain, that he died giving expression to sentiments which breathe the spirit of a sober Christianity and a sound patriotism.

Sir Harry Vane, who acted with so much effect during the twenty years which preceded the restoration, was son of the Privy Counsellor of the same name. Having graduated at Oxford, as a student of Magdalen College, he visited France, spent some time at Geneva, and returned to England much dissatisfied both with the worship and polity of the English church. The posture of affairs at that juncture afforded him little opportunity for diffusing his principles with any prospect of success, and he found no man more opposed to his uncourtly novelties than his father. But his nature was of that bold and ardent complexion, which generally creates occasions for action in one direction, if shut out from them in another. Under this impulse, Vane transported himself to New England, and so far commended himself to the exiled puritans and nonconformists of whom that colony was composed, as to be elected governor the year after his landing. There is reason to believe that his views at that time concerning the province of the magistrate in matters of religion, were in substance those which he defended with so much ability at a later period, and on that point the pious settlers in New England had still most of them something to learn. The majority were

not prepared to adopt his more perfect theory of liberty of conscience, though many embraced it with great earnestness, as the one thing necessary to the harmony and stability of their infant state. Vane, dissatisfied apparently with the measure of his success in the New World, soon returned to England; where he married a lady of good family; listened to the lectures of his father on the importance of avoiding all singularity of opinion or conduct; and, through his influence, was appointed treasurer of the navy. His subsequent friendship with Pym, and adherence to the popular party, are attributed by Clarendon to the 'disobligation' put upon his father, who coveted the title of Baron of Raby, but was doomed to see that honour conferred on Strafford. The historian, however, has said enough before concerning Vane, to place us in possession of a more adequate explanation of his conduct. The man who found his views on the subject of religious liberty but imperfectly realized in Geneva or New England, and who was withal a man not to be deterred from avowing his opinions by little calculations of loss or danger, was not a person to be long in deciding as to the choice which it became him to make when the struggle had really commenced between the parliament on the one side, and the crown and the hierarchy on the other. That he was 'a man of great natural parts, of quick 'conception, and very ready, sharp, and weighty expression;' and altogether an extraordinary person, is admitted by Clarendon. The same writer further describes him as a man of 'very pro-'found dissimulation.' We have no knowledge, however, of any thing of this description, as proved against him, in reality so censurable as are some things of the same kind which Clarendon has proved against himself. In fact, the self-complacency of this statesman appears to have led him to the conclusion, that when he has once imputed duplicity to his opponents, the practice of that vice to almost any extent on his own part must become venial and even praiseworthy. We much suspect that the charge of concealment and cunning so often preferred in the 'History of the Rebellion' against the most virtuous men of those times, owes its origin, in a great degree, to the distrust which the patriots were soon obliged to entertain as to the political integrity of the author of that work. According to his own confession, he kept up the appearance of a coadjutor, that he might act with more effect as an enemy, by taking upon him the office of a spy; and the double dealer is not a man to be pleased with being outwitted. We do not mean to insinuate that Vane was a person of such nice moral sentiment as to be incapable of opposing craft to craft—the manner in which he conducted the treaty with the Scots, might, perhaps, be appealed to as showing the contrary. All we mean to affirm is, that he was not more a dissembler than almost any man of the same general capacity, and in the same circumstances,

would have been, and that Clarendon is, by no means, the individual entitled to cast the first stone at him on that account. On the whole, he was a man of good average virtue; an independent, from his hatred of all ecclesiastical intolerance; a republican, from the force of untoward circumstances, more than from abstract preference; and a visionary in theology, from having learnt to view religion as an object of feeling and imagination, more than of the understanding; the latter faculty, made to bear with so much force, in his case, on questions of policy, being rarely extended beyond that circle. As a religious reformer, his first position was that of an opponent of the bishops; his next, as an antagonist of the presbyterians, as soon as that party betrayed a disposition to act upon the persecuting policy of their predecessors. In regard to the state, his first object was the reformation of abuses; but as the anger of parties became more intense, he joined in the demand for new securities in the shape of inroads on the old landmarks of the constitution; and, in the end, avowed himself the advocate of a republic, as being the only available government which could hold forth to the people the promise of an equal liberty. He would have been a party to the deposition of the king, but was opposed to his execution. When, however, the commonwealth was established, it was pre-eminently the influence of his genius, industry, and generous example, that made it so formidable at home and abroad, and to the enmity which he thus incurred, we must attribute his judicial murder at the Restoration.

Oliver Saint-John, was one of the many persons who, while Charles governed without a parliament, were accustomed to hold private conferences on the state of affairs, in the hope of bringing back the constitution from its abeyance. Some political papers which passed between him and his friends exposed him at that time to trouble in the star-chamber. Soon afterwards, he distinguished himself as counsel for Hampden, in the case of ship-money. Subsequently, he was called into frequent practice in similar questions, which made him increasingly obnoxious to the court, and tended to strengthen his feeling of hostility against it. He was much confided in by the Earl of Bedford, and by nearly the whole of the liberal party, but was a man of extreme views from the beginning, gloomy in his aspect, and reserved and unamiable in his manners. His language when engaged in the prosecution of Strafford, bespoke him a person who would not scruple to put violence in the place of law, when any plausible excuse might be urged for so doing. He continued to influence the current of affairs, in some degree, until the ascendancy of Cromwell, always manifesting the same harsh uncompromising temper.

Saint-John excelled as a popular advocate. He had no pretension to the general erudition of Selden, or to the ecclesiastical learning of Prynne. The judicial and scholar-like impartiality of

the former, was not at all to his taste; and the impassioned temperament of the latter, particularly when referring to questions purely religious, was hardly more acceptable to him. Both these lawyers, however, were capable of producing strong impressions on the party with which they acted, though they rarely acted together. Prynne, as a leader of the presbyterians, imbibed their spirit of intolerance to the full. Selden was placed at the head of the Erastians, who would have destroyed priestly power of every sort by vesting all authority, both ecclesiastical and civil, in the hands of the magistrate. Prynne, indeed, was indebted to his sufferings under the tyranny of Laud, and to the dogged hardihood with which they were endured, for much of the respect which he enjoyed. Selden, who was known to be deficient in courage of that description, based his pretensions on his wider compass of knowledge, on his more comprehensive views, and on that tone of moderation which Prynne could never be induced to regard as a virtue. In short, the characters of these men, though, for another reason, we have mentioned them together, have more in contrast than in common.

When fighting the battles of presbyterianism in the commons, Prynne was accustomed to look for aid to Denzil Hollis, and Sir Philip Stapleton. Hollis was the youngest son of the Earl of Clare, and had so far distinguished himself as an opponent of Buckingham in the parliament of 1628, as to have suffered considerably from the resentment of the court. In the new House of Commons assembled in 1640, he was much esteemed, as a man of courage, of accomplished parts, and liberal views. He took no part in the prosecution of Strafford, the earl having been the husband of his sister; but in other respects, he manifested so much opposition to the late government, that the name of Hollis occurs in the list of the five members impeached by the king. Nothing, however, could reconcile him to the self-denying ordinance; and no sooner was that regulation passed, than he gave abundant proof that neither his attachment to presbyterianism, nor his aversion to the court, were at all so strong as his hatred of the independents, and of their kindred sectaries. He retained his place, indeed, as a leader of the Presbyterians so long as it was possible, but principally because he regarded that body as the only power by means of which it would be possible to bring the king to reasonable terms, on the one hand, and to crush the Independents on the other. But he did not acquit himself well in this new position. The ungenerous scorn with which he treated the army, always describing them as a mere band of mercenaries, contributed not a little to place the sovereign power in the hands of the council of officers. As that crisis approached, he withdrew to France. Sir Philip Stapleton, who had acted with him in all his measures, but without being remarkable for either good or evil, or for talent of

any kind, followed his example, and died soon afterwards at Calais.

From the time when the military become ascendant, the reins of government pass virtually, if not formally, from the hands of senators to those of soldiers. But those soldiers were still citizens, and such as no nation in Europe beside had seen. We have already occupied so much greater space with this subject than we had intended, that we must not touch upon the character of the military chiefs, who come into prominence as we approach the time of the commonwealth. Were we to speak at all of Cromwell, we should be disposed to do so at some length, inasmuch as we regard a full and impartial view of the character of that extraordinary man as still a want in our literature; and with regard to the characters of his leading coadjutors in the field, we know not where to look for them developed and grouped with an adequate degree of attention and fairness. Viewed in connexion with the masses whom they governed, the mind of such men as Ludlow, Hutchinson, Ireton, Lambert, Fleetwood, and Harrison, is among the most instructive matters presented to us in the history of that remarkable period.

But, according to one class of politicians, the lesson preeminently conveyed by the reign of Charles the First, is that which points to the necessity of always looking toward the popular elements of the constitution with the greatest possible degree of watchfulness and suspicion. That our weak point is *there*, is said to have been clearly demonstrated by the events of that period. We are, however, unreasonable enough to believe that nothing can be more fallacious than the narrow hasty reasoning which has led to this conclusion. We should rather say, that the great lesson suggested to rulers by the occurrences of that age, is one which calls upon them to regulate their course by a due regard to the land-marks of law and usage; and to exercise their high powers, even within those limits, with caution and moderation; and one pointing, above all, to the importance of a character for sincerity and truth-keeping, in the case of the governing, no less than of the governed. It is mainly to the neglect of such things that we must look for the origin of popular excesses. It would not be hard to show that the extent and permanence of such disorders have been determined in nearly all cases by the prevalence and power of the causes we have mentioned. In time of commotion, if parties are without a character for truth, the ground for mutual trust is wanting, there can be no equal adjustment, and nothing remains, but conquest to the one side, and subjection to the other—and when this issue is realized, a state of society exists which has ever been incompatible with equal laws or good government. All these causes of inquietude, convulsion, and disaster, are but too manifest in the character and proceedings of the king, and of many, who, from time to time,

exerted much influence over him. We say not that his opponents were faultless; but we would be understood distinctly to affirm, that the excesses of democracy in that age were the natural effect of previous excesses elsewhere; and that those high-minded politicians, whose ruling passion would seem to be the fear of their fellows, if they would provide against the occurrence of such evils, have only to be careful not to furnish occasion for them.

Art. II. *Home Education.* By the Author of 'Natural History of Enthusiasm.' Large 12mo. London: Jackson and Walford. 1838.

A WORK upon almost any subject from this popular writer, would command public attention; and we are glad that, in the present volume, he has invited it to a topic of the first importance, and treated it, as it ought to be treated, not rhetorically, but practically. The subject deeply concerns every parent, whatever course or system of education he may propose to adopt for his children; and the principles and method of instruction expounded in this work, are deserving of the consideration of every private and every public teacher.

Mr. Taylor does not attempt to decide in favour of Home Education as abstractedly and universally preferable to the opposite system, or as practicable by the generality of families; and he has shown his good sense in not making war upon schools and school discipline. In fact, all education worthy of the name, must *begin* at home; and it may be practicable to combine home education and school education, not only by making the one succeed to the other at a period sufficiently advanced to allow the initial development of the faculties to be completed by domestic culture, but, by means of day-schools and preparatory schools, they may be rendered collateral. It is no disparagement of school education, to say, that it cannot take the place, or supply the want of home education; any more than it derogates from the importance and value of the public ministry, that it cannot make up for the want of religious education and domestic example. Too much may be devolved upon the pastor, as upon the schoolmaster, through the criminal neglect, or incompetence, or vice of parents; and in either case, without attaching blame to the teacher, society must suffer in its vital interests from the prevalence of the mistake.

Were we called upon to discuss the comparative advantages of home and school education, there is a previous question which would demand our consideration, and which we wish that the

Author had adverted to; a question relating to the rights of children and parental responsibility. Cowper has expressed a poet's feeling in the often cited line—

'God made the country, and man made the town.'

Yet, town may, under many circumstances, be preferable to the country. So we may be allowed to say, God made families, man made schools,—without implying any condemnation of such subsidiary institutions. Still, the domestic economy being a part of the Divine constitution under which we are placed as subjects of the moral government of God, and parents being immediately responsible to God for the training and welfare of their offspring, it is a question not wholly unreasonable—'Am I at liberty, as a 'parent, to devolve that responsibility upon a stranger? Can I 'discharge a parent's duty by proxy? Have I a right to send 'away a child from under my own eye, and to deviate so far from 'the law and design of the domestic economy as established by 'Infinite wisdom? Can I answer to God for sending my child 'to school?' That these questions will admit, in perhaps a majority of cases, of being conscientiously answered in the affirmative, we will not dispute; but, admitting this, it does not follow that they ought not to be put, or that the affirmative ought to be taken for granted. We cannot but deem it of vast importance, that the sending of a child from home in order to be educated by the public step-father, should at least be determined upon religiously, with a distinct recognition of the right of the child to have its happiness consulted in the arrangement, and with the consciousness on the part of the parents that they are transferring their proper business and duty to another, without thereby discharging themselves from accountability to God for the results. The question would be a startling one, in many cases, and, if brought home to the conscience, would often lead at least to the postponement of the child's exile from the native sphere of his affections; —'What right have you to decline the task which nature has im-'posed upon you? What crime has the poor child committed, 'that deserves to be visited with this penalty?' The answer would be, that it is sent to school, not as a punishment, but for its benefit—it will be happier at school; happier, undoubtedly, than in being spoiled at home, whether by blind and selfish fondness or by mistaken and indolent severity. Keeping a child from school, does not insure its being *educated* at home.

'If there be not,' remarks the present writer, 'in the natural dispositions of parents and children, kindly warmth of feeling enough to effect implicit obedience by the means of the gentle affections, and without frequent recurrence to measures of severity, home education had better not be attempted. Children may be governed at school by

motives of fear, without entirely depraving their sentiments, because school is not their ALL; they have still a home and a sphere of love to think of. But to rule them in any such way at home itself, is to wind out of their hearts, by a slow but certain process, every root and fibre of the affections; nor will it fail to render them, in the seed, murky, obdurate, crafty, selfish, and malign. In mere mercy send children to school, who must be so schooled if kept at home.'—p. 62.

We can easily imagine that the perusal of this work, though illustrative of the superior advantages of a home education conducted upon sound principles, may lead some persons to decline an attempt for which they feel disqualified, and to decide, conscientiously and not unwisely, upon sending their children to school as the preferable method of training, under all the circumstances, though not absolutely the best. Even where the perusal leads to this determination, it will have a useful result. What we contend for is, that the disposal of a child for the all-important period of education ought not to be determined by light considerations or unworthy motives,—by an unintelligent deference to some inexorable law of custom or fashion,—by a wish to get rid of troublesome duties,—or by worldly and sordid calculations as to the chances of advantage in after life from school connexions. A step that may be justifiable as the result of due consideration, may be criminal if taken in sheer recklessness. The motive not only makes all the difference in the moral character of the action, but would give direction to it, by governing the parent's choice of the instructor to whom he should decide upon consigning the object of his anxiety. The schoolmaster's vocation and business would be viewed by parents in a far more honourable light, were the importance of the trust reposed in him duly appreciated. But a school is a school; and if the boys are well fed, and *get on* in their learning, the generality of parents are well satisfied. Hence,

'Honourable as is the profession, and upright as may be the intentions of the teacher, there will, from obvious motives, be far more regard had to immediate and ostensible results, to the tangible product of the process of instruction, than to its remote influence and future effect, as bearing upon the adult development and actual employment of the faculties. Ordinary teachers, and even the most efficient and distinguished of them, must, almost inevitably, be impelled by the wish, whether confessed or not, to make it appear, and in no questionable manner, that they are fairly earning their remuneration, and are honestly rendering the *quid pro quo* to their employers. However conscious they may be of aiming always at the real advantage of their pupils, they can hardly have stoicism enough to sustain, in silence, the imputation, likely to be thrown upon them by inconsiderate and ignorant parents, of not having imparted an amount of learning equivalent to the stipend received.'—p. 11.

To an instructor of youth who has any adequate notions of the duties of his profession—a most honourable one when not taken up as a mere trade—and who unites to conscientiousness any sensibility of feeling, nothing is more discouraging and disgusting than the heartlessness with which children are, in a large proportion of cases, abandoned, rather than entrusted to them, and the thankless, grudging manner in which the account is discharged, as if the payment cancelled all obligation. For any reward beyond the pure satisfaction arising from the self-denying discharge of duty, such an instructor must look to the gratitude of his pupils, rather than of their fathers or mothers. But the average character of schools can scarcely be expected to rise above the requisition of the generality of parents; hence, a low estimate of parental responsibility will not only vitiate the early home education, but will extend its influence to the future training of the child at school, and tend to lower the standard of public education.

We must insist, then, that the education of children is the primary duty of their parents,—their proper duty and business according to the economy of nature, which is only another term for the ordinance of God;—and that whatever foreign assistance they may find it expedient or necessary to call in, they are responsible, through every stage of the process, for the training, intellectual and moral, which is imparted. Well would it be if adequate notions of parental responsibility were chargeable only upon the irreligious. They are but too prevalent among the professors of religion, and are the dry-rot of our churches. This is the day of institutions; but the most sacred of all institutions, the domestic, is too much overlooked or superseded. May we be allowed here to digress from our immediate subject so far as to bring under the consideration of our readers some striking remarks of John Howe upon this subject. 'Consider God's original, supreme, and sovereign interest in families, as he is the Founder of them, and as they are His plantation. 'He sets the solitary in families.' Psalm lxviii. 6. Consider this together with the design of his forming of them; to wit, that He might have a godly seed still arising from age to age. Mal. ii. 15. It was the very end and design of that fundamental relation in families, and unto families,—the conjugal relation. 'Wherefore did he make but one, when he had the residue of the Spirit? Why, that he might seek a godly seed.' As if it had been said, These plantations are mine. This, the constitution of families (in which the conjugal relation is the fundamental relation) speaks upon the first design of settling such a constitution as this. There lay open (as we must be sure) to the foresight of the Divine eye, what a general apostacy and defection there would be; and that a corrupt nature would be transmitted from age to age,

'from generation to generation. But God did determine with 'himself not therefore to abandon all to one common ruin: as if 'he should have said, 'I will have an interest in this world not-'withstanding.' And therefore, as this was the original design 'of the constitution of families, that he might have a godly seed, 'though the apostacy has intervened, he will not quit his design '. . . . and this we must understand him continually to insist upon 'as a sacred right to himself. . . . He will have all endeavours 'used for transmitting of religion, as well as corrupt and sinful 'nature is transmitted, from age to age; though the one is done 'by a natural, the other is done by instituted means, followed with 'a blessing, and by influence from above: he will have this latter 'design carried on by the mutual and joint endeavours of parents 'under the influence of his grace, as well as the former course is 'carried on unavoidably. But when no care or concern is had 'about this, the foundations of families are laid in a curse.'*

By whom can the *religious* education of children be efficiently conducted but by parents? If not commenced at home, how rarely can that fatal neglect be repaired at school! Where can the religious affections of a child be developed, and religion become the object of affection, but in the native sphere of a pious family? Where else can a Sunday be enjoyed?—that most important means of home education; at school, too often, a listless blank. Referring to the happy influence upon the intellectual faculties, of 'a due and fervent attendance upon religious exer-'cises, public and private,' the present writer says:—

'I am prepared to affirm, that, to the studious especially, and whether younger or older, *a Sunday well spent,*—spent in the happy exercises of the heart, devotional and domestic,—a Sunday given to the *soul,* is the best of all means of refreshment for the mere intellect. . . . If this be true, the general inference it suggests is easily applied to the business of education; and the recollection of it will have its weight with parents in cherishing the religious and social affections among their children. It is very certain that young persons may be shorn of their happiness, and may be chilled in their affections, and yet be made scholars, or mathematicians, or what else we please, in particular departments; but I deny that they can have the benefit of a vigorous development of the mind, as a whole, except in the sunshine of happiness, and love, and piety.'—pp. 77, 78.

We could dilate upon this subject; but it is necessary that we should proceed to give some account of the plan and contents of the present volume. The first chapter treats of the 'points of 'comparison between Public and Private Education.' The dis-

* Howe's Works, (Bungay Ed.) p. 1247.

tinguishing recommendations of the latter are stated to be, 1st. 'That the stress of the process may be made to rest upon sentiment and principle, and the deep reciprocal affections of the teacher and the taught, instead of its falling upon law, and routine, and mechanism:' 2d. That both the method and matter may be exactly adapted to the capacity and taste of the pupil: 3rd. That it may be exempted from the despotism of irrational usage; and 4thly, That it may be conducted upon the principle of *retarded development.* This last advantage is principally insisted upon, the Author being strongly opposed to the prevalent system of favouring the expansion of the faculties at an early age.

'The principle of *delayed* development supposes a vigilant regard to be had to the spontaneous germination of the several faculties; and a due care also that the vitality of each should be preserved throughout the period during which its expansion and exercise are deferred. The rule we have to recommend enjoins that excitement should be postponed, while nutriment is supplied; and in a word, that the mental force should be husbanded, much rather than used.'—p. 14.

In plain words, education ought to observe and adhere to the order of nature in the development of the faculties; and the growth and expansion of the mind ought never to be *forced.* In the second chapter, the Author lays down the principle, that 'happiness is the necessary condition of home education.' This is a doctrine very much at variance with the prevalent notion, that the trials and childish adversities of school are beneficial as a preparation for the struggles of after life. From the fact, that the Author of our nature has made a special provision for securing the happiness of childhood, Mr. Taylor thinks, it is a just inference, that what the Creator in his beneficence so plainly intends, we are bound to promote;—that it is 'a religious duty to 'make the happiness of infancy and childhood our main care in 'whatever relates to early education.'

'The recollection of a thoroughly happy childhood (other advantages not wanting) is the very best preparation, moral and intellectual, with which to encounter the duties and cares of real life. A sunshine childhood is an auspicious inheritance with which, as a fund, to commence trading in practical wisdom and active goodness. It is a great thing only to have known by experience, that tranquil, temperate, felicity is actually attainable on earth. How many have pursued a reckless course, because—or chiefly because—they early learned to think of *happiness* as a chimera, and believed momentary gratifications to be the only substitute placed within the reach of man. Practicable happiness is much oftener wantonly thrown away, than really snatched from us: but it is the most likely to be pursued, overtaken, and husbanded by those who already, and through some considerable portion

of their lives, have been happy. To have known nothing but misery, is the most portentous condition under which human nature can pursue its course.

'Due care being taken to elicit the benevolent sensibilities, it is the happiest children who (natural dispositions allowed for) will be the most sympathetic, and the most ready to forego personal gratifications for the relief of the wants of others. The substantial principles, or habits of feeling, whence, in after life, a course of self-denying beneficence should take its rise, are best bottomed upon the personal experience of much felicity. If angels are more benevolent than men, it is, we may believe, because they are themselves conversant with the highest happiness. Continued gloom and depression during childhood and youth, debilitate as well the body as the mind; and whatever enfeebles the constitution, vitiates it. Under the irritation or the melancholy that attend harsh treatment and a want of natural enjoyments, the animal secretions receive a poison which breaks out in the temper, and constitutes at length malignant character. It is in the sunshine literally, and the sunshine metaphorically, that the human body and mind reach their blooming perfection.'—pp. 39, 40.

Chapter III. treats of 'Family Love and Order,' as both essential and 'absolutely inseparable in relation to the domestic 'system.' These three chapters may be considered as preliminary. In the fourth and following two chapters, the Author proceeds to distinguish the three stages of development to which education applies; *infancy*, terminating with the sixth year; *childhood*, ordinarily extending to the eleventh or twelfth; and *youth*, to the seventeenth.

Infancy being the period during which the *animal* organization of the mind is advancing most rapidly, every thing should be made subservient, during that period, to the healthy growth and consolidation of the brain. It does not fall within the Author's plan, to treat specifically of the *moral* culture. We agree with him, that 'very little *book-learning* ought to be attempted during this stage;'—that an infant or young child ought to be read to, rather than allowed to read much; and better still, conversed with; and that all is accomplished that ought to be attempted, 'if *mental vivacity* be maintained.' But during this early stage, the foundations of the moral culture must be laid in the discipline of the infant *will*, the quickening of the conscience, and the awakening of the heart to the emotions of piety. These initial processes of moral education cannot be commenced too early; and if the season of infancy is suffered to elapse before they are accomplished, the time can scarcely ever be redeemed. The question cannot too soon be settled, which is to govern, the will of the child or the authority of the parent. If the will of the infant is *broken in* by mild, judicious firmness on the part of the mother, sustained, when necessary, by the authority of the father,

the instinct of obedience may become so habitual and pleasurable, as to preclude all occasion for having recourse to severity of discipline at a later period, when punishment is apt to degrade and vitiate the mind which it is employed to subdue. A sense of accountableness is instinctive alike in infants and in the domestic animals; but, in both, so far as it is mere instinct, it respects, as its object, only the authority of the immediate superior—the nurse or the master, whose eye is feared, but may be evaded; and this *animal* conscience, although a means of government in reference to conduct, has in it nothing of moral character. But, with the first idea of the Creator, the Omnipresent and All-seeing, the sense of accountableness *to God*, which is the *moral* conscience, is indissolubly connected; and we say that it is during infancy, that the conscience may be, and must be, quickened into a determined and vital principle or faculty of the moral being. And as the will and the conscience admit of being so far brought under education at the earliest period of conscious existence, so do the affections; and not only towards those who are seen, but also towards Him who is unseen. Faith, or the spiritual principle, whether considered as instrumentally produced by human teaching, or as efficiently generated by Divine influence in connexion with the subject matter of religious instruction,—is found to be in fact more readily and more certainly the result of early education, than of any after process of moral culture. We dare not say that faith in God is strictly natural to the infant:—'that 'which is born of the flesh is flesh.' But, as there is less in the heart of the infant to resist Divine influence, than in those who have been suffered to grow up habitually callous to religious impressions, we may be allowed to say, that the natural and proper influence of religious truth, so far as the intellect can receive it, is more likely to manifest itself in the regeneration of the child than in the conversion of the adult. Infant piety is neither a forced production, nor a phenomenon. Baptismal regeneration is a monstrous and pernicious fiction; but infant regeneration may be considered as the natural result of the regenerative efficacy of religious training at the earliest stage of intellectual development.

But, if the spiritual principle should not be thought capable of being quickened into vitality in the heart of an infant, at least let it be an object of parental solicitude, that, during the first years of life, no *obstruction* should be created to its development in early childhood, when both the intellectual and the moral culture must be directed more systematically to the training of the rational nature. Not to pursue this view of the subject any further, we shall transcribe the Author's remarks upon the phenomena which sometimes attend the transition from childhood to youth.

'The tenth and eleventh years are, I think, the times when internal revolutions often take place as well in the dispositions as in the intellectual conformation. By *internal* changes, I mean such as seem to arise from occult causes, probably of a physical kind, and which are to be distinguished from modifications of the character plainly attributable to certain external influences. These changes, as affecting the moral condition, demand often the nicest regard, and the most skilful treatment, on the part of parents: but, to speak of such as belong to our present subject, it is about this time, if ever, that remarkable faculties, and the rare endowments which constitute genius, if they have been latent during infancy and early childhood, begin to make themselves perceptible. That which shows no bursting bud in the twelfth year, probably will never be found to belong to the mind at all.

'It is about this time, therefore, that, with little hazard, parents may so far calculate the future course of their sons, as is requisite for determining the sort of education they are to receive. Not that the particular calling or profession need be, or can be, fixed upon; but it may then pretty well be known, whether a boy is to follow the common gainful occupations of an ordinary course, or is to devote himself to some one of the intellectual professions. This forecast of the future course regulates every thing in the quality and quantity of instruction to be imparted.

'Again: the middle, as distinguished from the earlier, or even the later periods of childhood, is not unfrequently marked by a sort of thoughtfulness, or pensive tendency to muse on the conditions of human life. It is as if the mind, in just reaching the first hillock on its journey, were halting a moment to ponder the landscape before it. The infant does not reflect in any such manner; and as to the youth of fourteen, the ripened vigour of the animal system, the higher energy and wider range of the desires, and the greater pressure and variety of all sorts of engagements, dissipate effectively the meditative humour; and in truth, vulgarize the mind, and impel it to accept whatever it finds suited to its tastes, without inquiry.'—pp. 154, 155.

There is something fanciful in the Author's notion, that 'it 'seems as if each marked era of human life were preceded by a 'season of thoughtfulness;' but persons who have watched the unfolding of the mind and character in children, will be at no loss to recollect *instances* similar to those which have suggested his remarks. In the following observations, Mr. Taylor appears to *hold* the scales, rather than to 'strike a balance,' between the two methods of education.

'The practical difference between a public and a private education becomes broadly apparent about the time when boyhood succeeds to childhood. In their eleventh or twelfth year, children who have been reared beneath the paternal roof, and who have lived in the society of well-informed adults, are found to be very unlike, in tastes and habits, those of the same standing who have already passed several years at school. They will be *less childish, and more child-like:* they will, in

a sense, be too *adult*, and too *infantile*: there is an advantage they will possess, and a disadvantage also; and we must be prepared at once to avail ourselves to the utmost of the former, and to find means for obviating, as far as possible, the latter.

'I do not profess to strike the balance between the two methods; but, simply keeping my eye fixed upon that which I have adopted, and which I undertake to treat of, shall labour to point out the means of doing the best with it.

'Home education, when it reaches its later stages, is not unlikely to present an apparent, and perhaps to some extent a real inconsistency with the leading principle professed in this volume;—I mean that of a retarded development of the mind; for it may often be found that intelligent children, who are constantly the companions of well-informed parents, and who may have been their father's assistants in literary or scientific pursuits, have become, notwithstanding his intentions to the contrary, far more mature in tastes and habits than they would have been if they had passed the same years at school. If, however, the home system be in all respects judiciously conducted,—if animal health and hilarity are maintained by the proper means,—and if severe exactions in the course of study are scrupulously avoided,—few, if any, of the ill consequences of this early ripening of the mind will have been incurred. Yet I will not say that a father may not sometimes wish to see his sons a little more *boyish* than they probably will be, if they have conversed much more with him than with their peers.

'*The school-boy of fourteen is what his comrades have made him; but the home-bred boy is what his parents have made him;* and there is a balance of advantages between the two kinds of character. The former is the creature of vehement and instantaneous impulses, and he acts under the guidance, not of the individual, but of the conventional reason. Whatever may be his acquirements, and whatever the assumed manliness of his bearing, he is the *child* still, and is more sensual, and more frivolous, and more wilful than a home-bred boy five years younger than himself. In relation, however, to the engagements of common life, he is not ill prepared to brunt the world as it is. He is not too thoughtful, or too wise, or too nice in his tastes, or too considerate of the feelings of others, to take up the rough work of professional or commercial life; and he is saved not a little of the torture which those must pass through, who enter upon the broad paths of business with their own individual sense of right and wrong, and their own feelings all about them.'—pp. 159—161.

Leaving our readers to draw their own conclusion, we hasten to complete our analysis of the contents of the volume. Chapter VII. illustrates 'some diversities of mental conformation considered in relation to methods of culture.' Chapter VIII. contains 'a practical analysis of the intellectual faculties, with a 'view to the culture of each.' The culture of 'the conceptive faculty' is the subject of the next two chapters; that of the

perception of Resemblance and Analogy is then treated of; and finally, in Chapter XII., the expansion of the abstractive and reasoning faculties. As, in this part of the work, the explanation of what our Author deems the method most consonant with the philosophical principles which he lays down, necessarily runs into details, and we have no room for entering into minute discussion, we shall content ourselves with expressing our cordial approbation of his general views, without pledging ourselves to an agreement with him in every particular. Those persons whose duties require them to be more immediately occupied with the business of education, will be grateful for the hints he has thrown out; and the main features of his plan will recommend themselves to the good sense of all intelligent readers; being founded on the importance of bestowing a well-considered culture upon the several faculties of the mind in the order of their natural development. In the present volume, he has professedly 'gone no fur-'ther than to open the subject of a systematic culture of the mind, 'by suggesting some method for eliciting and for enriching those 'faculties that are passive and recipient chiefly, and which, as they 'are developed early, demand the teacher's attention before the 'time when any strenuous labours ought to be exacted from 'children.' The subject of Moral and Religious culture is deferred, as we gather from the Preface, for separate consideration.

Art. III. *England and Wales, from Drawings of J. M. W. Turner, Esq. R.A. With Descriptive and Historic Illustrations.* By H. E. Lloyd, Esq. Royal 4to. Each No. four plates. Twenty-three Nos. published. Longman and Co.

ELEVEN years have passed away since the appearance of the first Number of this work, accompanied by a notice, that a number would be 'published punctually at intervals of three 'months.'

Within so long a period, not a few of the original subscribers must have finally closed their accounts, with artists, publishers, and the world itself; leaving the unfinished series to the chances of the taste and means of their descendants, for going on with it to its completion in some perhaps distant year. Others, who could discern all the finer workmanship of the prints in the first number with the unassisted eye, will have been reduced to seek the aid of glasses to do justice to those in the latest; and may be beginning to apprehend that even that will be a defective help for such inspection, by the time the work shall reach its conclusion,

should they live so long. No probable term for such an event is assigned; there is no assurance of greater despatch; nor are we aware to what length the series is projected to be drawn out. The circumstance that fifteen parts are made to constitute a first volume, affords a conjecture that an equal number may be intended for the second. *Subjects* would not be wanting for an indefinitely longer course of graphic illustration. But the possessors of such elegant articles are apt to feel a particular and somewhat impatient interest to have them in a state of completeness, even, on the condition of foregoing a sequel of equal beauty, that might be made by a prolonged allowance of time. The idea of *completeness* has, though not distinctly reflected on, considerable power over the imagination. It is gratifying to have the loose and confused treasures adjusted, compacted, and consolidated into *one thing;* with appropriate grace of exterior; in a shape fitted to facility of inspection by themselves or their admiring friends.

This extreme slowness of publication, therefore, is an error on the score of policy; is it attributable to necessity? Has the admired draughtsman become too opulent by his art to be disposed to work, except when the fancy happens to come on him? Or does he (such a whisper has been heard), exact too high a premium? Or have the excellent engravers too many things in their hands at once? Or is it, that the undertaking is too little favoured by the public to stimulate and reward a more expeditious progress?

Of the taste and discernment of that public, in this department of fine art, the work may certainly claim to be a test; for it is one of the very foremost, if we should not rather say, the one foremost, of its class. It has two advantages over that eminently fine preceding work of the southern coast, also, after Turner's drawings—a less uniformity of subjects, and a greater variety of able engravers. We have the diversified characters of execution of a considerable number of our first-rate workmen. And if national pride be the virtue for which every nation applauds it in its own behalf, we may well indulge it on a comparison of our engravers with any others in the world. Let any one compare these plates with, for example, those of the same class in the imperial *Musée Francais*, or later and better single prints from the continent. It hardly needs a practised eye, still less, that of an artist, to perceive the striking superiority. The solidity, prominence, and natural surface of the nearer masses and substances in the view, worked in a graceful irregularity and combination of lines, instead of being shaped as if of bare straight iron wires (we describe without any pretension to technical skill and language); the delicious softness, the slight shadiness without loss of distinctness, in the receding parts: the natural truth of water, in all its

states, from that of a tranquil mirror to the most violent agitation; the seizing of the visionary caprices of cloud-scenery, leaving it as if still floating and changing—such things as these may furnish for foreign artists a school, in which they will soon rival their masters.

The plates, in the present work, are on a much larger than the usual scale for quarto publications, and all in the line manner. Respecting this richest mode of engraving, there have recently been made, with perfect truth unfortunately, representations of the extreme deficiency even among the cultivated classes, of qualification to appreciate its superior excellence, and the talents required in the artist; or to take any account of his immense labour, and of what would be an adequate reward. As to the taste, invention, and varied contrivances of adaptation, there can of course be generally no notion at all. And as to the mere manual labour, though, any one who looks attentively at a print of moderate size must know, that so many tens of thousands of cuts and touches, considerately and deliberately made, must bind down the operator to the most fixed attention through very long spaces of time, it is little imagined that whole years may be consumed on one plate. The unknowing casual inspector, first wondering at what he thinks the extravagant price put on a single impression, is next amazed if he hear it said, that many hundreds, or if the piece be very large, perhaps, several thousands of pounds, were paid for figuring three or four square feet of copper. He exclaims at the exorbitancy of the artist; and says, *he* will not, by being a purchaser, contribute to encourage any such monstrous exactions. And he is quite incredulous, when further told, that the sums in question are a very inadequate reward for the talents, the industry, and the wasted health, of an ingenious man, whose excellence in the work has not been attained but through many years of assiduous study and practice, as a painful education of his fine native talent, of his eye, and of his hand.

We know no help for it, unless some of the wealth now lavished on grosser luxuries and ostentatious show, shall, one of these days, chance to fall under the command, and be converted to the indulgence of an intellectual and refined taste.

But there is an untoward circumstance in the nature of the material chiefly used hitherto as the basis of the work. If a copper-plate can render, but considerably less, than a thousand good impressions, and an improving taste and discernment in the patronizing public, shall reject as valueless all the deteriorated ones, there cannot be that enlarged circulation which we are supposing as the means of a more adequate reward to the artist. The resource must be a more general employment of steel. This, we understand is adopted for the forthcoming Royal Gallery of British Arts; which sends before it the promise of first-rate

excellence at a more moderate price than that of any rival exhibition. In consequence of the almost endless labour, so indifferently remunerated, the line engraving, on any considerable scale, is in danger of being supplanted by mezzotint and lithography. It is so, in a great degree, in France.

But to return from this digression to the work before us. The series of nearly a hundred plates, already produced, may apprise lovers of the picturesque that all manner of interesting scenery, short of giant Alps and cataracts, may be found without quitting the island. We have here exhibited mountains, vales, gorges, torrents, gloomy recesses, vistas, ruined castles, solitary wilds, wide horizons, scenes of bustle, inland cities, seaports, marine prospects; with all the advantages of the point of view, characteristic accessories, calm and storm, sunshine and moonshine, that the genius of Turner could give them. Sometimes he revels in those violent *effects* in which he so much excels, and they say, exaggerates. Exaggeration or not, we avow that we are delighted at the horrid grandeur into which he sometimes blackens his skies, rends them with thunder, and throws a lurid gloom on the scene beneath; a spectacle analogous to tragedy in the moral world, to the contemplation of which who does not eagerly turn from a prolonged detention on the view of a tranquil, unexciting, though, perhaps, agreeable, order of things? But he is not, like another eminent painter, in a department partaking of landscape (imaginary landscape indeed) almost constantly embattling the elements of darkness and tempest. He introduces all the homely realities belonging to any of his subjects. There are rustics, fishermen, sailors, cottages, crowded market-places, amusements, labours, utensils, and accommodations of ordinary life. If the original drawings had any of the wanton perversities of colouring latterly charged on Turner's pencil, they could, of course, but little affect the engravings.

His list of engravers includes a majority of those who are carrying the art, in landscape, to a pitch of excellence, which we cannot conceive it possible to surpass, Goodall, Wallis, Miller, Willmore, Brandard, and a number of others worthy of the fraternity and the rivalry in a band of artists, whose associated and whose separate performances will be the admiration of a distant age, and in distant regions of the globe. It were invidious to make comparisons. They have all acquitted themselves meritoriously; many of them in other works, as well as this. We only take the liberty of suggesting to one of them a modification of the manner of representing water impelled by storm. Let the example be the plate, 'Long Ship's Light-House,' in No. 20; where we think it will be seen that the delineation is much too hard for imitation of any action of a fluid. It stands out in dry springy lines, some as if forced down with difficulty to drive on a level;

others darting up in sharp distinct points and ridges, and sheaves, instead of bursting into spray. It is an effect that suggests the idea of something different from a simply passive commotion of the water; and as if it had under the assault of the blast a certain rebellious force of its own. It somewhat reminds us of representations we have seen of the rank stout rushes and flags of a jungle, in tumult and *re-action* under an impetuous wind.

In so large a number of views, there would be more difficulty than use in singling out any that we might fancy more specially attractive, at once by the character of the subjects and the beauty of the representation. In making a slight trial to do so, we soon found that the selection must be nearly at hazard, among a multitude of competitors of equal or nearly equal claims. The eye is sure of its gratification, open wherever we may.

After all, it may be questionable, how far we should congratulate the possessors of such a work, except those of them who possess, also, that rare combination of advantages, health, patient vigour, liberty, and money—the last not least. As to some of the others, our own experience would not assure us, that the pleasure of looking round this gallery, representative of spectacles which its very production implies, it would be gratifying to see in their reality, may not be partly counterveiled by the reflection, how much there is of what is beautiful, striking, and romantic, within a few hundred miles of them, which they must never behold.

The neatly *written* portion of the work, by Mr. Lloyd, giving a brief account of the subject of each plate, is of good service as far as it goes. But is it become a law of fashion, or artistical etiquette, that the description of the place or object depicted, however remarkable for local features or historical associations, shall seldom exceed the amount of about a quarto page in large type! Would it have a vulgar look, too much like a leaf of a gazetteer, if both the pages, to the full breadth of the press, were discoloured with lines, and of somewhat smaller print? Is the blank left in compliment to the inspector's imagination? The following account of Stone-Henge accompanying one of Turner's conjurations of storm and thunder, is of considerably more than the average quantity.

'This very remarkable, and on the whole, unique monument of British antiquity, has been the subject of so much antiquarian research and learned discussion, that it would far exceed our limits even briefly to notice the variety of opinions, theories, and suppositions which have been published, concerning its origin and purpose. It consists of a great collection of stones of an immense size, which from their positions appear to have formed one great building. Their present appearance is that of a complete ruin, a confused heap of standing and fallen stones; but by attentively considering their relative situations, the shape and dimensions of the original structure may still be traced. The most probable opinion is, that it was originally intended for a Druidical

temple; but its founders, the date of its erection, and the means by which these enormous masses of stone were brought to this desolate spot, and raised to their respective situations, are circumstances all which are buried in obscurity. The whole building appears to have consisted of two circular and two elliptical ranges of upright stones, with horizontal stones lying on the outer circle, in a continued order all round; and five imposts, or horizontal stones, on ten uprights of the third row. The whole is surrounded by a ditch and vallum of earth; connected with which are three other stones; the vallum does not exceed fifteen feet in height, and is interior to the ditch. The diameter of the whole area within the vallum is about three hundred feet. The ditch is three hundred and sixty-nine yards in circumference, and about fifteen feet in the slope on the scarp side. The entrance through this line of circumvallation is on the N. E., and is marked by a bank and ditch called the avenue. The total number of the stones which composed Stone-Henge in its complete state, seems to have been one hundred and nine; namely, thirty in the outer circle, forty in the inner circle, fifteen in the first ellipsis, and nineteen in the second. The remaining five are, one in the centre of the whole, called the altar-stone, fifteen feet in length; one immense rude stone in the avenue, now in a leaning position, and sixteen feet in height, called the *Friar's Heel*; and three others within the vallum, one of which, exactly one hundred feet from the 'Friar's Heel,' and the same distance from the outermost circle, is twenty-two feet two inches in length. Seventeen stones of the outer circle are still standing; but there are only six imposts, each of which has two mortices, to correspond with two tenons on the top of the vertical stones. The uprights are from thirteen to fifteen feet in height, and eighteen in circumference. Of the second circle, eight feet three inches within the other, and consisting of smaller and more irregular stones, only eight are now standing. The grandest part of Stone-Henge is the outermost ellipse, consisting of five separate pairs of trilithons, or two large upright stones with a third on the top as an impost. These stones are more regular in their shapes, and more carefully formed, than those of the outer circle. The interior oval consisted of nineteen upright stones without imposts. At a distance, this extraordinary monument appears a trifling object, its bulk and character being lost in the vastness of the plain by which it is surrounded; and, even, on a nearer approach it often disappoints the expectations of strangers, who visit it with preconceived and exaggerated ideas. But its vast extent, its peculiar character, quite distinct from the temples of upright stones found in various parts of the British islands, and other countries of Europe, and, even, on the Asiatic coast of the Black Sea, justly entitle it to be considered as one of the wonders of antiquity.'

Reverting to the languid progress of this work, the total uncertainty as to the length of the intervals in the remaining course of publication, and the extent to which it may be expected to be prolonged, we would suggest, whether the publishers would not do well to afford some precise information, conveyed in the publisher's circular, or other channel of public notices.

Art. IV. *The Life of William Wilberforce.* By his Sons Robert Isaac Wilberforce, M.A., Vicar of East Farleigh, and Samuel Wilberforce, M.A., Rector of Brightstone. In 5 vols. Murray: London, 1838.

THE appearance of these volumes will be hailed by a large class of readers. They are happily appropriate to the times, and can scarcely fail to exercise a salutary influence over the tone and direction of public feeling. Mr. Wilberforce was, in many respects, an extraordinary man. He was made up of generous impulses, happily controlled, and guided by a nicely balanced judgment. His natural endowments were rich and varied, while the unsophisticated kindness of his heart, gave him a high place in the esteem and love of all who knew him. His biography, therefore, must necessarily present many points of interest, and we shall best fulfil our duty as journalists, by devoting as large a portion of our pages as is practicable, to the details of his instructive and eventful life. The lessons which that life embodied, are of the last importance to his countrymen, and cannot be duly appreciated without an intimate knowledge of his history.

Mr. Wilberforce was born at Hull, on the 24th of August, 1759. His father, a man in opulent circumstances, was a merchant in that town, and his ancestors had long been resident in the surrounding county. His constitution was feeble, and his stature short, and considerable fears were entertained for his life during some years. He himself acknowledged it as one of the mercies for which it became him to be grateful, that he 'was not 'born in less civilized times, when it would have been thought 'impossible to rear so delicate a child.' Little is known of his childhood, save that his disposition was eminently affectionate, and his elocution remarkable. At seven years of age he was sent to the grammar-school of his native town, where Isaac Milner, afterwards dean of Carlisle, tells us, 'we used to set him upon a table, 'and make him read aloud as an example to the other boys.' The future senator was thus preparing for those effective bursts of eloquence, which ultimately succeeded in forcing the claims of humanity on the reluctant attention of a torpid, selfish, and ill-informed parliament. His father died before young Wilberforce had completed his ninth year, and he was, in consequence, transferred to the care of a paternal uncle, residing in the neighbourhood of London. The school where he was placed, though equal to most of that day, was far from being of a high order. The following sketch of it is supplied by Mr. Wilberforce in one of his private papers, and is any thing but creditable to its domestic economy and literary pretensions. 'Mr. Chalmers, the

'master, himself a Scotchman, had an usher of the same nation, 'whose red beard—for he scarcely shaved once a month—I shall 'never forget.' They taught writing, French, arithmetic, and 'Latin; with Greek we did not much meddle. It was frequented 'chiefly by the sons of merchants, and they taught, therefore, 'every thing and nothing. Here I continued some time as a par-'lour boarder: I was sent, at first, amongst the lodgers, and I 'can remember, even now, the nauseous food with which we were 'supplied, and which I could not eat without sickness.' His aunt with whom he now resided at Wimbledon, was an excellent woman, deeply imbued with a religious spirit, and warmly attached to the ministry of Whitefield. Young Wilberforce was, in consequence, brought into association with a new class of influences. He saw religion in a different form from that under which it had been exhibited to him at Hull, and he yielded himself to its solemn and vital convictions. His mother, whom he describes as 'an Archbishop Tillotson's Christian,' was alarmed at the religious tendencies of his mind, and repaired to London, for the purpose of removing him from his uncle's family. 'I 'deeply felt the parting,' he said, when recurring in future life to this circumstance, 'for I loved them as parents: indeed, I was 'almost broken-hearted at the separation.'

There can be little doubt, that his residence at Wimbledon was mainly conducive to the formation of those religious views which gave so decided a complexion to his future life. His first impressions, indeed, were obliterated amid the gaiety to which his friends introduced him on his return to Hull. He lost the solemn convictions of his childhood, and became thoughtless and ambitious like others; but the seed of the kingdom, though latent for a time, sprung up in happy season and bore much fruit. His irreligious relatives rejoiced in the change, and did their utmost to promote it, and their object was greatly facilitated by the social habits then prevalent at Hull. 'The religious impressions 'which I had gained at Wimbledon,' he himself records, 'con-'tinued for a considerable time after my return to Hull, but my 'friends spared no pains to stifle them. I might almost say, that 'no pious parent ever laboured more to impress a beloved child 'with sentiments of piety than they did to give me a taste for the 'world and its diversions.'

It would be useless to speculate on the probable consequences of his having remained longer under his uncle's roof. There is no saying, what changes might, in that case, have been wrought,—how different a complexion might have been given to the whole of his life,—how altered might have been his moral position, his alliances and political views. The churchman, would, probably, have become a Dissenter; and the friend of Pitt, the political opponent of Fox, have been known in St. Stephen's

as the consistent advocate of liberal politics and the rights of conscience. He himself, at the age of thirty-eight, when his churchmanship was rife and his views of Dissenters were far from being so candid as they became subsequently, has remarked, 'If I had 'staid with my uncle, I should probably have been a bigoted, 'despised Methodist.' Soon after his return to Hull, he was placed at the endowed grammar-school of Pocklington, where he remained till his removal to Cambridge, October 1776. An interesting anecdote is recorded of him during this period, by a surviving school-fellow. Amid the thoughtlessness of his boyhood, and the self-indulgence to which the mistaken kindness of friends invited him, a remarkable indication was given of his future course. It is interesting as marking the early development of his ruling passion, and shows the happy harmony there must have been between his sympathies and convictions. A youth of fourteen must have had a generous heart, as well as a clear and manly intellect, to have addressed a letter to the editor of the York paper in condemnation of the African slave trade, then connived at by all classes, and pouring its ill-gotten wealth into the bosoms of a thousand families.

A removal to Cambridge at the age of seventeen,—'the 'master of an independent fortune under a mother's sole 'guardianship,'—would have proved fatal to most youths. The habits then prevalent in the University were eminently pernicious, and must have constituted his college life a scene of great temptation. 'I was introduced,' he says, 'on the very first night 'of my arrival, to as licentious a set of men as can well be con-'ceived. They drank hard, and their conversation was even 'worse than their lives. I lived amongst them for some time, though 'I never relished their society, ... often, indeed, I was horror-'struck at their conduct. . . . and after the first year, I shook 'off in a great measure my connexion with them.' Dissenters as we are, we can well appreciate the literary advantages attendant on a college life: yet if those advantages are to be purchased at so costly a price, we infinitely prefer that our youths should forego them. It is too much to expect that they should pass through such a process uninjured,—that they should come forth from such an ordeal with virtuous habits and unimpaired convictions of the importance of religion. In some rare instances this may be the case, but their infrequent occurrence, and obvious contrast to the general result, present a lamentable view of the social working of a university life. In Mr. Wilberforce's time the whole system was corrupt and enfeebling. The gownsmen freely indulged in the vices of the day, while the fellows and tutors conspired to foment the pride and indolence of every man of fortune. 'Their 'object,' he remarks, 'seemed to be, to make and keep me idle. 'If ever I appeared studious, they would say to me, 'why in the

'world should a man of your fortune trouble himself with fag-
'ging?' Whilst my companions were reading hard and attending
'lectures, card parties and idle amusements consumed my time.
'The tutors would often say within my hearing, that they were
'mere saps, but that I did all by talent.' We trust that things are somewhat better now, though we have our misgivings. The spirit of reform has forced an entrance, but as yet its advocates are few and feeble. It is some consolation, under the indignity and wrong of an exclusion from these national institutions, to know that our youths are exempted from the moral poison which pervades them, and which has served in ten thousand instances to deprave the hearts and to destroy the fine promise of others. The hopes of many families have been withered, the hearts of many parents saddened for life, by the reckless and licentious habits which have sprung from a college life. And, yet, these institutions are to be regarded as the nurseries of religion,—the school where piety and talent are consecrated to the public weal, or to the still higher duties of religion. It may answer the purpose of party writers, so to represent them, but we point in refutation of the statement to the disclosures made in the biography of such men as Mr. Wilberforce. Facts are stubborn things, and will tell on the public mind, when the most plausible theories are forgotten or despised. Let the tone of public sentiment be raised; let parents become duly solicitous for the moral training of their sons, and Oxford and Cambridge must be made different from what they are, or their halls will be deserted.

Mr. Wilberforce having resolved to enter on public life, offered himself as a candidate for the representation of Hull, at the general election, in 1780. The constituency of his native town sustained at that period much the same character as at present. Two guineas were given for the single vote of a resident freeman, and four for a plumper, while the expenses of those brought down from London averaged about ten pounds each. Mr. Wilberforce conformed to the custom of the place, and was returned by a large majority, having spent between eight and nine thousand pounds. He, subsequently, regretted having done so, declaring, that rather than so enter parliament again, he would prefer remaining a private man for life. His success, on this occasion, constituted a favorable introduction to London society. He was, at once, elected a member of the leading clubs, was on terms of warm friendship with William Pitt, and associated in easy familiarity with Fox and Sheridan, and other noted political men. The manner in which he was weaned from gambling, was highly characteristic, and gave promise of something better than had yet been realized.

'It was by this vice,' say his biographers, 'that he was himself most nearly
ensnared. A brief diary of this period records more than once the loss of

£100 at the Faro table. He was weaned from it in a most characteristic manner. 'We can have no play to-night,' complained some of the party at the club, 'for St. Andrew is not here to keep the bank.' 'Wilberforce,' said Mr. Bankes (who never joined himself,) 'if you will keep it I will give you a guinea.' The playful challenge was accepted, but as the game grew deep, he rose the winner of £600. Much of this was lost by those who were only heirs to future fortunes, and could not therefore meet such a call without inconvenience. The pain he felt at their annoyance cured him of a taste which seemed but too likely to become predominant.'—Vol. I., p. 18.

His subsequent election for Yorkshire, in opposition to the powerful Whig aristocracy of that county, greatly increased his political celebrity. Pitt having displaced the coalition ministry of Lord North and Mr. Fox, had, for some time, been struggling with an adverse majority in the commons, and was now permitted by George the Third to appeal from that majority to the nation. The result answered his most sanguine expectations, and completely established his ascendancy. Mr. Wilberforce was warmly attached to the minister, and rejoicing in his success lent him a zealous and disinterested support.

They were on terms of the closest intimacy, and much of their leisure time was spent together. Most of the readers of these volumes will be surprised at the light thrown on the social character of this extraordinary man. His general carriage was cold, reserved, and haughty,—a fit emblem of the system on which, with such fatal energy, he ruled the country. Yet, it would appear, there were elements of mirth and joyousness in his constitution which occasionally showed themselves in all the playful moods of childhood. He was a frequent visitor at Wimbledon where Mr. Wilberforce now resided, and the following account is given of his social unbendings.

'Little was it known, by those who saw him only in his public course, that the stiffness of Mr. Pitt's ordinary manner could thus at times unbend, and wanton in these exuberant bursts of natural vivacity. The sports of the rigid Scipio and meditative Lælius in their ungirded hours were equalled by the 'foinings,' of the garden at Wimbledon, where Pitt's overflowing spirits carried him to every height of jest. 'We found one morning the fruits of Pitt's earlier rising in the careful 'sowing of the garden beds with the fragments of a dress hat, in which 'Ryder had overnight come down from the opera.' It was in this varied and familiar intercourse that their mutual affection was matured; an affection which Mr. Wilberforce retained through life in spite of difference in politics and on yet more important subjects, and the remembrance of which would often cast a momentary sadness over the habitual cheerfulness of his aged countenance.'—ib., p. 28.

The time was now come when an important change was to be effected in Mr. Wilberforce's character and views, and the cir-

cumstances by which it was brought about are highly characteristic of the inscrutable ways of divine providence. Hitherto, he had been the mere man of the world, ambitious but well-disposed, with much kindliness of heart, a deep sympathy with all that was human, but no reference to a higher code than was prevalent in the circle where he ordinarily moved. His early impressions had wholly disappeared; the promise of his spring had been blighted; and the rank growth of subsequent years afforded no ground to hope for the harvest yet to be gathered. But there was an agency at work which he did not recognize, and the time of its development was drawing near. Upon the prorogation of parliament in 1784, he determined on a continental tour, and applied to a friend at York to accompany him. To his great surprise the invitation was declined, and meeting shortly afterwards with Isaac Milner the offer was transferred to him, and accepted. The whole affair, apparently so casual, would be passed over as one of the trifling occurrences of a busy and crowded life, were it not for the consequences which followed. Milner was no ordinary man. He united great strength of intellect with equal kindness of heart, was free from the artificial refinements of polite society, and had imbibed a theological creed much more evangelical than was generally prevalent. Yet he was far, at this time, from being a spiritual man. Religion was his profession, and he had studied its doctrines as such, but his heart was uninfluenced by its spirit. His creed was correct, but his conduct was worldly. He was one of those instances, not infrequent at the present day, though then extremely rare, of evangelical sentiments dissociated from practical godliness. 'He was free,' says Mr. Wilberforce, 'from every taint of vice, but not more attentive than others to religion; he appeared, in all respects, like an ordinary man of the world, mixing like myself in all companies, and joining as readily as others in the prevalent Sunday parties.' His companion was wholly ignorant of the fact that his views differed from those of the clergy generally, and was first apprised of it, by his defence of a clergyman, of whom Mr. Wilberforce had spoken 'as a good man, but one who carried things too far.' 'Not a bit too far,' replied the future dean of Carlisle, and to this opinion he adhered when the conversation was subsequently renewed. In the course of their journey, frequent reference was made to religious topics, and Mr. Wilberforce, occasionally, treated them with lightness and raillery. This was rebuked by his graver companion, who would sometimes remark, 'I am no match for you, Wilberforce, in this running fire; but if you really wish to discuss these subjects seriously, I will gladly enter on them with you.' A copy of Doddridge's 'Rise and Progress of Religion,' was possessed by one of the party, and having been casually taken up by Mr. Wilberforce, the opinion of his friend was,

asked repecting it. 'It is one of the best books ever written,' said Milner, 'let us take it with us and read it on our journey.' His advice was followed, and Mr. Wilberforce determined, at some future period, to examine the Scriptures for himself, in order to ascertain if they coincided with the representations of the nonconformist author. This was done during the following year in company with Milner, when they journeyed from Genoa to Switzerland. Their conversation now became more impressive and absorbing; the Greek Testament was their daily companion, and its doctrines the subjects of thoughtful study. The result was a deep impression on Mr. Wilberforce of the reality of religion, and the correctness of the views which Milner defended.

'By degrees,' he says, 'I imbibed his sentiments, though I must confess with shame, that they long remained merely as opinions assented to by my understanding, but not influencing my heart. My interest in them certainly increased, and, at length, I began to be impressed with a sense of their importance. Milner, though full of levity on all other subjects, never spoke on this but with the utmost seriousness, and all he said tended to increase my attention to religion.

'Often, while in the full enjoyment of all that this world could bestow, my conscience told me, that in the true sense of the word, I was not a Christian. I laughed, I sang, I was apparently gay and happy, but the thought would steal across me, 'What madness is all this; to continue easy in a state in which a sudden call out of the world would consign me to everlasting misery, and that when eternal happiness is within my grasp!' For I had received into my understanding the great truths of the gospel, and believed that its offers were free and universal; and that God had promised to give his Holy Spirit to them that asked for it. At length, such thoughts as these completely occupied my mind, and I began to pray earnestly.' 'Began three or four days ago,' he says, Oct. 25th, 'to get up very early. In the solitude and self-conversation of the morning had thoughts, which I trust will come to something.'—'As soon as I reflected seriously upon these subjects, the deep guilt and black ingratitude of my past life forced itself upon me in the strongest colours, and I condemned myself for having wasted my precious time, and opportunities, and talents.'—ib., pp. 87, 88.

Such was the process through which he was led to the more serious consideration of religious truth. As yet little progress was made, but he had entered on the course which was destined to effect a thorough revolution in his views and conduct. It may accord with a shallow and pretending philosophy to decry the reality of conversion and the agency of the Deity in its production, but the less prejudiced inquirer after truth will be staggered by such facts as are here presented. A marked change was wrought in the sentiments, habits, and conduct of Mr. Wilberforce, a

change which descended to the deepest seats of feeling,—which embraced the whole man in all his sympathies and relationships. This change resulted from no ordinary and skilful appliances, shaped by a profound sagacity, and designed from the first to be productive of such an end. It sprang up at a time when it was least to be expected, and owed its origin under God to a man who was ignorant of its nature, and unconscious of its importance. It was opposed to all the natural prepossessions of the individual in whom it took place, threw a dark and repulsive shadow over the whole of his past life, subjected him to a thousand internal struggles from which he had hitherto been exempt, and brought forth peace and joy only as the fruit of protracted disquietude and deep self-humiliation. And this change was as permanent as it was radical. It did not pass away with the circumstances that produced it, but continued to distinguish the man in every occupation, and amid all possible varieties of company. It was a new element admitted to his moral constitution, and it spread on every hand, subduing prejudice, rectifying mistakes, and ennobling his spiritual nature with the higher growth of God's spiritual creation. But we must return to the narrative.

The new class of sentiments which had sprung up in his mind during his continental tour, were greatly deepened on his return to England. For some months he was in a state of painful depression, and engaged in a course of religious exercises, with a view of relieving his overburdened heart. Still his convictions were gathering strength, the seed was germinating, and a good harvest was speedily reaped. He determined on frankly announcing to his friends that his views were changed, and that they must look for a corresponding alteration in his deportment. Mr. Pitt was one of the first to whom the announcement was made, and he instantly replied, proposing to visit him at Wimbledon the next day. The prime minister was true to his appointment, and the following brief account is given by Mr. Wilberforce of the interview.

'I had prayed,' to God, I hope with some sincerity, 'not to lead me into disputing for my own exaltation, but for his glory.' Conversed with Pitt near two hours, and opened myself completely to him. I admitted, that as far as I could conform to the world, with a perfect regard to my duty to God, myself, and my fellow-creatures, I was bound to do it; that no inward feelings ought to be taken as demonstrations of the Spirit being in any man (was not this too general? 'Witnesseth with our Spirit,' &c.) but only the change of disposition and conduct.' 'He tried to reason me out of my convictions, but soon found himself unable to combat their correctness, if Christianity were true. The fact is, he was so absorbed in politics, that he had never given himself time for due reflection on religion. But amongst other

things he declared to me, that Bishop Butler's work raised in his mind more doubts than it had answered.'—ib., pp. 94, 95.

He now sought to renew his acquaintance with old John Newton; he withdrew his name from all the clubs of which he was a member; and began to realise the peace which accompanies an unreserved surrender of the heart to religion. The aspect of his piety was highly characteristic of the man. Without any deficiency of strength or compass, it was mainly visible in the growing benevolence of his spirit, the stricter regulation of his temper, his desire to subdue opposition and to overcome prejudice by a consistent display of the milder and more attractive features of the Christian character. This was shown in his solicitude to remove the impressions which his mother had received respecting his change. 'It may tend,' he remarks, when anticipating a meeting with her in 1786, 'to remove prejudices . . . . . if I am 'more kind and affectionate than ever—consult her more—show 'respect for her judgment—and manifest rather humility in my-'self than dissatisfaction concerning others.' So completely did he accomplish his views, that a female friend of his mother, commenting on his cheerfulness and command of temper, remarked, 'If this is madness, I hope that he will bite us all.'

Some of his religious friends imprudently urged his retiring from public life, but—happily for the interests of humanity—their counsels were opposed by the sounder advice of others. It is strange, that men should permit their judgments to be so warped, as to take up the notion that the duties of a legislator are incompatible with the vocation of a Christian. The practical evils which would flow from the general adoption of such a theory suffice to expose its unsoundness. It is the growth of an unthinking and short-sighted piety; the dictate of a conscience more alive to a sense of danger, than solicitous for the discharge of duty. There are specific and appropriate obligations devolving on each member of society, and he fails to discharge them, who being summoned by the providence of God to the avocations of public life, refuses to enter on his appropriate sphere of labour. He may veil his reluctance under what plausible pretext he pleases, but in the eye of the great 'task-master,' he deserts his proper station, and forfeits the reward of a faithful servant.

Mr. Wilberforce remained at his post and the happiest consequences followed. Events had, for some time, been drawing public attention to the atrocious character of the African Slave-trade. Granville Sharpe, James Ramsay, Ignatius Latrobe, and other like-minded worthies had sought to arouse inquiry, and to diffuse information; while the Society of Friends, on several occasions, passed resolutions at their annual meetings, condemning the traffic, and warning their members against embarking in it.

It became, in consequence, the subject of remark, its nature was inquired into, and a growing feeling of repugnance and detestation towards it was springing up. In this work of philanthropy, Mr. Clarkson, then in the prime and vigour of his days, was actively engaged, and we cannot but express our deep regret at the course which the Messrs. Wilberforce have adopted towards this venerable man, now bending with age, and oppressed by grievous afflictions. We would willingly avoid recurrence to this theme, but justice to Mr. Clarkson, and what is of still greater importance, justice to the future interests of humanity, demand that we take some notice of it. The venerable apostle of Africa, who sacrificed fortune and health in its service, must not be surrendered to the splenetic attack to which he is here subjected. His reputation is the property of his species; and it must be protected, as such.

Since the first agitation of the question of the Abolition, in the year 1787, two names have been inseparable, and united in honour; that of Wilberforce, as the great parliamentary leader; and that of Clarkson, as the indefatigable labourer out of parliament. We never before heard of rivalry between them, or of conflicting claims by their respective friends; and it is with equal sorrow and surprise that we have read in this life of Mr. Wilberforce, a studied depreciation of his still surviving and revered associate. Scarcely any form of contempt is omitted, and in order to effect the purpose of degradation, the most unwarrantable expedient has been resorted to,—that of selecting from the mass of Mr. Wilberforce's papers, one or two letters by Mr. Clarkson of the most confidential character, for which act the authors make an apology far more offensive than the act itself; the consciousness of which they betray by an apology which appears to us unfounded in fact and illogical in conclusion. In bitter aggravation of this wrong, there appeared in the 'Edinburgh Review' several weeks before the publication of the Life, an article which that early appearance (independently of the current report ascribing it to a near relation of the authors), would justify us in considering as an arrow from the same quiver though drawn by a different hand.* We feel ourselves under such circumstances well warranted in examining the allegations thus advanced. But we mean not to put our sickle into another man's harvest. We draw our materials solely from the Life, the review, and Mr. Clarkson's 'History of the Abolition.' Whether the good old

* In the interest of a publisher, this is no rare occurrence; and, therefore, had the review appeared in the 'Quarterly,' the inference would have been unfair; but when a publication from Albemarle-street is reviewed before its appearance in the 'Edinburgh Review'—a connexion between the author and reviewer must be inferred.

man, the repose of whose latter days is thus assailed while suffering under grievous afflictions of body and mind, will have the strength or even the will to vindicate himself as he only can, is more than we know; but, in the meanwhile we will discharge a debt due to his great services, by showing the case as his very assailants leave it. Happily in vindicating the honour of the one good man, we need run no danger of wounding the reputation of the other; we disclaim the design of instituting any comparison between them. Unless, we greatly err, the biographers will be found in these portions of their work to have mistaken the character of their father, no less than that of his colleague, and if we might without presumption imagine his disembodied spirit as aware of earthly occurrences, and sharing human sensibility, we should conceive of him as feeling more acutely than any living man, an act at utter variance with his last best character, and most uncongenial with the sort of fame they would confer on him. For the sake of our young readers it may be necessary, briefly, to state the history of Mr. Clarkson's connexion with Mr. Wilberforce, and the Abolition as it appears in this book — requesting our readers only to bear in mind, in order that they may feel no distrust in the perusal of the few extracts we may make, or, facts we may borrow from the History, that the very Edinburgh reviewer himself, in an article in which the cause of Mr. Wilberforce against Mr. Clarkson—we regret to use such language—is urged with all the zeal of a partisan, remarks: 'Remembering the vast 'age, the eminent services, and the spotless character of that vener-'able and excellent man, we must be permitted to express our very 'deep regret, that the ill-judged encomiums of his friends should 'have contributed to the publication of anything which could for a 'moment disturb the serenity of the closing scenes of a life distin-'guished, as we believe, by the exercise of every social and do-'mestic virtue, and the most unwearied beneficence to men of 'every condition and every country.'

Mr. Clarkson, who, we understand, was born a few months after Mr. Wilberforce, being in 1785 a junior bachelor at Cambridge, was, from the mere desire to obtain a university prize, induced to write a Latin dissertation on the question, 'Anne liceat in-'vitos in servitutem dare?' In the course of his inquiries into the nature of the slave-trade, his youthful sensibility and zeal were so wrought upon, that having gained the prize he resolved [1786] to abandon the church, in which he had taken Deacon's orders, and to devote himself to the effecting an abolition of the trade. He had had the education of a gentleman; inherited from his father a patrimony, which though small was amply sufficient for a country clergyman; and enjoyed the prospect of a handsome provision in the church. He repaired to London, where he found in addition to a few scattered individuals of all religious

persuasions, the Quakers, as a body, earnest in their desire to effect the Abolition. This occasioned an intimacy with the body of friends, which had a decisive influence on the whole of his life. He became the advocate and biographer of their William Penn. It determined his own literary character; for his habit of feeling as well as his style received a strong infusion of quakerish simplicity and *naïveté*, to which we believe much of our author's depreciation is owing.

It was on the 22nd of May, 1787, that that committee was formed who organized the society for the Abolition. The History and the Life alike inform us, that it consisted of twelve persons, of whom all but three, were quakers. The Life, we are sorry to remark, omits to state the material fact, that Mr. Clarkson was a member of this committee. Their chief, Mr. Granville Sharpe, already advanced in life was 'the father 'of the cause in England.' The other ten were merchants. Mr. Clarkson alone combined youth, zeal, and in consequence of the voluntary abandonment of his profession leisure for the office. In a word, he was *the working partner* in this noble firm, though the biographers are careful to designate him always as the *agent* of the society. And, in what sense they wish this to be understood, may be inferred from a passage in the fourth volume, in which Wilberforce speaks of some one acting under agency, as having no will of his own. But whether it were partner or agent, it is beyond all doubt, that from the first formation of the committee till his health was broken in the service, Mr. Clarkson was by far the most hard-worked of those persons whom Mr. Pitt called (and it is the only joke we recollect of the great minister) Wilberforce's *white negroes*. He repaired to Paris at an early period of the revolution, where he found among the revolutionists the most zealous *amis des noirs*, became, in consequence, intimate with La Fayette, Gregoire, &c., and, perhaps, a sort of Jacobin which harmonized ill with the Pitt-politics of Mr. Wilberforce. The sad course of the revolution was the great cause of the temporary failure of the Abolition cause. It was 1795-6, that the cause seemed for the moment desperate, and it was then that, utterly broken down in health and spirits, he was compelled to retire from the committee. After an affecting statement of the condition to which he was reduced, he says, 'For seven years I had 'a correspondence to maintain with four hundred persons with 'my own hands. I had some book or other, annually, to write on 'behalf of the cause. In this time, I had travelled more than '35,000 miles in search of evidence, and a great part of these 'journeys in the night. All this time, my mind had been on the 'stretch. It had been bent too to this one subject; for I had not 'even leisure to attend to my own concerns.' About this period he married, retired into the country, first, Westmoreland, and

then Suffolk, and never afterwards resided in London, though after nine years of absence he returned to the committee, and renewed his labours. They were become comparatively easy as they were short, for that which Mr. Wilberforce's great friend, Mr. Pitt, could not effect, was executed by the Whigs on their accession to power in 1807. In the following year, Mr. Clarkson published his 'History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition,' of the Slave-trade. Had this book borne the title of *Memoirs* instead of *History*, no man could have taken exception to anything contained or omitted in it; for by 'Memoirs,' are properly designated such works as record facts, more especially within the knowledge and on the personal authority of the writer. Mr. Clarkson has ever since been removed from the public eye, except when the ulterior interests of the negro race required his occasional interference. While the sovereigns were at Paris, on the restoration of the Bourbons, and at the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, he was found at his post. On the questions concerning the foreign slave-trade emancipation, &c. he has seldom failed to make himself heard with the authority his name conveys. We recently read with pleasure an eloquent eulogy on him from Lord Brougham; and his individual petition to the House of Lords was distinguished by being read *in extenso* in the house; a distinction due to his exemplary character and services. But the press was then teeming with more than one work, written with the tendency as to both, and the undoubted design as to one, to degrade that character, and under-rate those services.

In the first volume of the Life, page 141, we find the following note on Mr. Clarkson's 'History of the Abolition.'

'Of this book it is necessary to declare at once, and with a very painful distinctness, that it conveys an entirely erroneous idea of the Abolition struggle. Without imputing to Mr. Clarkson any intentional unfairness, it may safely be affirmed, that his exaggerated estimate of his own service has led him unawares into numberless mis-statements. Particular instances might be easily enumerated, but the writers are most anxious to avoid any thing resembling controversy on this subject. Contenting themselves, therefore, with this declaration, they will henceforth simply tell their own story, without pointing out its contradictions of Mr. Clarkson's History.

'Mr. Wilberforce himself looked into the book and saw enough to induce him to refuse to read lest he should be compelled to remark upon it. With a ready forgetfulness which they who knew him will understand at once, he told Mr. Clarkson, when obliged to give his opinion, that he was entirely satisfied with what was said about himself, but that, undoubtedly, justice was not done to Mr. Stephen.'

That is, Mr. Wilberforce, whose conscientious character was then formed and in full force, is supposed to have borne by his silence a negative testimony to the truth of the numberless mis-statements, and to have falsely asserted entire satisfaction. And

it is after a silence of thirty years, that his sons come forward to assert loudly what the father does not appear to have whispered. In other men it would be mere simplicity to say, they will 'simply tell their own story.' They can have no story of their own to tell. They can but compile a story from their father's papers. While Mr. Clarkson's narrative is entitled to full credit, having remained for thirty years uncontradicted by their father and all others, their story is entitled to no other credit than that which testimony may give it. The declining to point out particular mis-statements is a demand of implicit confidence by men writing, to say the least, under the influence of strong passions. No feeling leads to more injustice than contempt. They invite a comparison which they well know not one reader in a hundred will have the inclination and means to make. Their book, they are aware, will be in every house, the owner of which makes pretension to both religion and gentility; while Mr. Clarkson's history is to be met with chiefly in the houses of a few quakers. His style being characterized only by quaint simplicity renders it unattractive to worldlings, and the Messrs. Wilberforce may be quite certain the field will be their own.

The invitation, however, was not lost on us. We have perused the History. Not knowing how to look for them, we, at least, have found no inconsistencies; and were there any, we should be far from thinking the credit due to the later writers. But the perusal has left on us an impression the very opposite of what the biographers may have anticipated. We were by nothing so much impressed as by the author's conscientious desire, to give to every man his due. The undeclared but indubitable source of all the acrimony towards Mr. Clarkson, betrayed by the sons of Mr. Wilberforce, is their impression, that he did not do full justice to their father. We wish our space permitted us to copy the whole of chapter 16, vol. i. p. 267—275, in which the author, imbued with the spirit of John Woolman and the other auto-biographic quaker-writers, anticipates and repels the charge of egotism. We can only abridge the characteristic image by which the Committee are likened to the human body, one man being an eye, another a head,—'As every limb is essentially necessary for 'the completion of a perfect work, so, in the case before us, every 'one was as necessary in his own office as another. For what, 'for example, could I myself have done, if I had not derived so 'much assistance from the Committee? What could Mr. Wilber-'force have done in parliament, if I, on the other hand, had not collected that great body of evidence to which there was such 'a constant appeal? And what could the Committee have done 'without the parliamentary aid of Mr. Wilberforce?' And in mentioning this necessity of distinct offices and talents, he proceeds, 'and I feel myself bound by the feeling of justice to de-

'liver it as my opinion, that knowing as I have done so many 'members of both houses of our legislature, for many of whom I 'have had a sincere respect, there was never yet one who ap-'peared to me to be so properly qualified, in all respects for the 'management of the great cause, as he whose name I have just 'mentioned. His connexions,' &c. 'his habits also of diligent 'and persevering inquiry, made him master of all the knowledge 'that was requisite for conducting it. His talents both in and 'out of parliament made him a powerful advocate in its favour. 'His character, free from the usual spots of human imperfection, 'gave an appropriate lustre to the cause, making it look yet 'more lovely, and enticing others to its support. But most of all 'the motive on which he undertook it insured its progress. For 'this did not originate in views of selfishness, or of party, or of 'popular applause, but in an awful sense of his duty as a Christian. 'It was this, which gave him alacrity and courage in his pursuit. 'It was this which made him continue in his elevated situation of a 'legislator, though it was unfavourable, if not to his health, at 'least to his ease and comfort. It was this which made him incor-'porate this great object among the pursuits of his life, so that it 'was daily in his thoughts. It was this, which, when year after 'year of unsuccessful exertion returned, occasioned him to be yet 'fresh and vigorous in spirit, and to persevere till the day of 'triumph.' This may appear to the family of Mr. Wilberforce a 'damning with faint praise,' but assuredly to no one else: and we cannot credit the insinuation of the biographers, that his expression of satisfaction was but forced from him, and not quite sincere!!! On the contrary, we deem this eulogy more congenial with his purified nature than the testimonies of Madame de Staël and other worldlings so carefully collected in the life. A more positive evidence how uncongenial the History is with the spirit of the authors of the Life, appears in a sarcasm which would have been in its place in a leading article of a party paper. Speaking of Mr. Clarkson's journey to Paris, at an early period of the revolution, it is said, vol. i. p. 230; 'Mirabeau withstood a bribe in his zeal for abolition; and the amiable Louis gave a no less em-'phatic pledge of favour in his unwearied perusal of one of Mr. 'Clarkson's volumes.' Oh, how utterly extinct must the spirit of the father have been in the breasts of his *Reverend* sons when they penned this paragraph, which seems introduced, only, that no form of contempt might be wanting! It is, on our parts, a charitable construction, that the biographers could not sustain the fatigue of perusing the History; and therefore are, in fact, ignorant that Mr. Clarkson has anticipated them in every topic of eulogy by which they have laboured (not dishonourably) to do their father honour, except in his social and courtly qualities.

This is but a skirmishing before the main attack. This con-

sists in their having ferretted out of the mass of letters which Mr. Clarkson must have written to Mr. Wilberforce whether preserved or not, they only know, two confidential letters. By way of introduction to one, they remark that Mr. Wilberforce was annoyed by applications for the employment of his interest with the government on behalf of abolitionists. Such is, we believe, the fate of all ministerial members. And to illustrate this notorious fact, which needs neither illustration nor statement, the authors publish, not a whole letter, but a few sentences from one, in which Mr. Clarkson asserts his opinion, that Lord Chatham had behaved to his Mr. Clarkson's brother in a very scandalous manner; and that Mr. Wilberforce's own timidity was the occasion of his miscarrying in his promotion. Then follows a letter, supposed to have been sent by Mr. Wilberforce, full of anger, but so mixed up with respect and kindness that we think it most probable the letter was never sent, for he complains of want of eye-sight, and says, 'this is a letter wherein I cannot employ my 'amanuensis.' Is it likely, then, that he would have copied such a letter? And copying machines were not then in use. The *sent* letter could not have been in his cabinet. But it is marvellous that Mr. Wilberforce's sons, seeing that their father would not suffer his own confidential secretary to know of the letter, out of delicacy to Mr. Clarkson's feelings, should yet think themselves at liberty to publish it to all the world, thirty years afterwards, while Mr. Clarkson was still alive to suffer whatever the disclosure might inflict, and which they suppose probable, from the attempted apology. The great probability is, that the letter was thrown aside and not sent, and through inadvertence left undestroyed. Certain it is, that if the letter be in any way creditable to Mr. Wilberforce for its style or sentiments, the name might have been concealed, as our authors have done on other occasions. It is, however, very probable that after all, Mr. Clarkson was fully justified in all he wrote of Lord Chatham. Mr. Wilberforce's great partiality towards Lord Chatham's brother was long a subject of animadversion, and his giving no reply to the charge of scandalous behaviour against Lord Chatham, is almost an admission of the fact. Thus this blow, besides being a foul one in its nature, fails in its aim. It is injurious only to the publishers.

Another and still more serious attempt to cover with disgrace a name which their ally, the 'Edinburgh Reviewer,' does not hesitate to say is, with that of Granville Sharpe, to be mentioned with '*peculiar veneration*,' will also be found offensive, less for what it actually discloses, than for the publishers' confession, in the way of apology, that they think the disclosure discreditable to Mr. Clarkson. It is thus introduced, 'Nor was it 'only by the violence of his opponents that his patience was tried. 'Many were the sources of annoyance which this cause furnished

'its leader. Thus in the course of this spring [1794], he had 'determined by a subscription amongst the adherents of the Abo-'lition to reimburse Mr. Clarkson, whose broken health compelled 'him to retire entirely from the contest in which he had taken so 'warm a part. The conduct of such a business must, under any circumstances, have proved distasteful to him, &c. . . .' Now every syllable of this seems to us penned by one utterly unable to appreciate the character of Mr. Wilberforce. It was *his own determination*, that Mr. Clarkson should be *reimbursed*. We should have thought that an act of such mere justice, would under no circumstances have proved *distasteful*. A letter is published from Wilberforce to Lord Muncaster which is the best exposition of his feelings. 'The truth is that he has expended a consider-'able part of his little fortune, and though not perhaps very pru-'dently, or even, necessarily, yet I think, judging liberally, that 'he who has sacrificed so much time, and strength, and talents, 'should not be suffered to be out of pocket too.' So delicately did Mr. Wilberforce feel—so unlike his biographers—in all respects, that his wish was that there should be 'no register of names or sums;' but that an annuity for Clarkson should be bought, and he kept in ignorance of the proceeding. Lord Muncaster concurred with Wilberforce in thinking the reimbursement a mere act of justice, but doubted of its policy on account of the prevailing idea of Clarkson's political prejudices, in other words, his *Jacobinism*—for so the radicalism of that day was called. This 'fine scheme' of concealment was spoiled. It reached Clarkson's ears; and then, he acting with the characteristic simplicity of his nature, wrote about this subscription precisely as he would have done if it had been for any one else: he wrote even to Lord Muncaster, as well as to Mr. Wilberforce, and the letters are carefully copied. Mr. Clarkson partaking of the impression of his correspondents, that the subscription was a mere act of justice, suggested the propriety of their applying to certain individuals; with what propriety or impropriety we are not told.

Now we will, before we close this subject, venture a remark without fearing the charge of refinement. It is obvious that though every man's character is formed from the result of all his actions, each individual action must be judged of from his character. These letters, from a man who was habitually selfish, would be justly deemed most selfish,—but, from one whose whole life was devoted to philanthropic and unselfish objects, must receive an opposite construction. They are proofs not of selfishness but of simplicity. In the habit of acting chiefly for others, he acted for himself as if he were another. It did not occur to him that he ought not to leave a written memorial of his interference, as it could not have occurred to Mr. W. that the privacy of his cabinet would be so abused by his sons and biographers.

Mr. W.'s answers to these letters are not given. We are merely told that £1,500 were raised,—what portion by Mr. W. does not appear. A silence that deserves remark, for either Mr. W. left a note of his own contribution, which his biographers thought it expedient to conceal, or he concealed the transaction altogether. And that concealment shows that they are acting in direct opposition to his feelings, and wishes, in the disclosure.

But, considering these letters solely with reference to the character of the writer, when we bear in mind that that writer had sacrificed his prospects in life, and worn out his health, his youth, and a considerable portion of his fortune, in the cause which the contributors to his *partial re-imbursement* professed to have at heart as much as himself, we think the authors need not profess so repeatedly much sorrow (vol. i. 141, ii. 38,) for the *necessity* of printing them. Far from *necessity;* there is not even *utility* in them; at the most they could illustrate the character of the writer, not the receiver.

Equally invalid is another suggestion in apology for these disclosures. 'They exhibit Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Clarkson in 'relations very different from any thing that the History of the 'Abolition would suggest.' (i. 141.) Undoubtedly they do,—so differently as to have nothing whatever to do with the history of the abolition. Mr. Clarkson did not think it becoming in him to advert to *pecuniary* matters, either obligations or sacrifices; he once only relates that the committee wished to buy up his books for circulation, and that he would not permit them to pay more than the trade price! In fine, we are assured of this, that all persons who have any delicacy of sentiment, will feel that, at all events they would infinitely rather have written such letters than so published them; that the end to be gained bears no proportion to the reproach which the use of such means draws after it; that an executor is bound by the same laws of honour which bind his testator, and that the garbling of extracts from letters, and the selection of a few from many letters written in the confidence of friendship, and that by persons under the manifest influence of ill will, expose the actors to imputations which it grieves us to see rest on the sons of so exemplarily good a man.

Having, we trust, sufficiently repelled the implied charge of injustice to Mr. Wilberforce himself in the History of the Abolition, we would say one word on the only expressed particular charge, that of injustice to Mr. Stephen. Again, we say, we cannot draw our materials of exculpation but from the volumes themselves. Now it is to be remarked, that Mr. Clarkson's history terminates nearly with that of his own labours, which is certainly a notable defect. And we find in the Life (ii. 255), that it was not till the year 1798, that Mr. Stephen was in a condition openly to avow his devotion to the cause of abolition. Per-

sonal relations had before that time obliged him to keep his feelings secret. This appears from a letter of his dated August 1, 1797.

As to the general charge of egotism against Mr. Clarkson's book, we smile at it as proceeding from one who has no sense of the worth of the History. Its only value is as a chapter of autobiography; and egotism is its charm. Mr. Latrobe is cited as an authority; and this gentleman is noticed with praise by the Edinburgh Reviewer. A long letter by him is quoted, containing a statement which the biographers themselves deny the truth of. He says that many Reviews had brought this charge against Clarkson's History. This is loose writing. We are quite sure that the biographers spared no pains to find out these Reviews. They are enabled to mention only one, the Christian Observer, which it appears was set on foot by Mr. Wilberforce and his personal friends, (ii. 338). In fact, (we mention it not in dispraise of the periodical) the Christian Observer was always reported to be conducted by a very intimate friend of Mr. Wilberforce, one of the individuals whom the Life as industriously elevates, as it depreciates Mr. Clarkson, for whom, however, we feel nothing but high esteem; still, as an authority in a question between the friends of Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Clarkson, the Christian Observer has the least possible weight. We will not oppose the Edinburgh Review of the present day to that of thirty years ago, because all but titular identity has been long lost. The last occasion on which Mr. Clarkson's name is introduced, is one which ill agrees with the preceding endeavours to represent him as a mere agent. It was in 1818, when Mr. Wilberforce was anxious that an endeavour should be made to obtain through the Emperor Alexander, at Aix la Chapelle, from the sovereigns there assembled, a declaration, that the slave-trade should be deemed piracy. There being objections to his own going, or to Mr. Stephen going, he writes: 'Clarkson seems formed by Pro-'vidence for the purpose; . . . . he is the only man that could 'go and carry our representations who may be suffered to go of 'his own impulse, and not deputed by us. Then he will be more 'acceptable than most to the Emperor Alexander [who probably 'had not undergone the penance of reading one of his volumes] 'and we may depend on his being in earnest: he would be re-'garded as half quaker, and may do eccentric things with less 'offence than you or I could.' We have learned elsewhere that Mr. Wilberforce would speak freely of the eccentricities of Clarkson; but so mingled with affection and esteem, as, while limited to private circulation, not to interfere with the indulgence and enhancement of the best affections: nor are we willing to believe that any other than our authors themselves are without a due sense of all those virtues and excellencies from

which eccentricities are an unimportant deduction. We would on no account except the Edinburgh Reviewer, who seems to labour with conflicting feelings; his conscience compelled him to bear testimony to the high character of Mr. Clarkson; but his main object still was to defend his friends; and for that purpose he makes use of suggestions to justify their conduct, which, with respect to them, at least, have the appearance of after-thoughts. We could forgive the Reviewer for his pleadings in favour of his friends, if it were not at the cost of the man whom he states to be entitled to peculiar veneration. Among the far-fetched arguments thus forensically brought forward, is one to prove that Clarkson himself claimed undue credit, which we consider most unfair. We are told that 'in a map prefixed to his 'History that gigantic evil [the slave trade] is represented under 'the image of a mound, placed at the confluence of four rivers, 'and of these streams one takes near its source the name of 'Clarkson, into which the rivulet of Wilberforce is seen to fall 'much lower down. His sons exclaim against this hydrography, 'and propose to correct the map by converting this tributary 'flood into the main channel.'

Here again, we mean not to impute to the distinguished reviewer a wilful misrepresentation. We, however, do not hesitate to say, with the map before our eyes, that this statement is grossly incorrect. There are some hundreds of these rivulets, each with a name, running into various larger channels. There is the name of Wilberforce to one, and it is a long rivulet before it joins the common stream. There the name of Clarkson to one of these rivulets, much shorter, but the engraver has printed it near the stream, through accident. It could not possibly have the meaning so invidiously put by the Reviewer, for otherwise there would be a rivulet without a name; and no name is given to any one of the larger currents, except that of William Dillwyn, who is named repeatedly, as he was the channel of communication between the American and English abolitionists. According to the map, neither Clarkson nor Wilberforce could be the main channel. We are almost ashamed to advert to such frivolities. They show how anxiously the advocate omits no argument, however slight, to support his friends—a solicitude betraying disquietude.

Another charge of undue assumption of influence is brought against Clarkson, because Wilberforce before he knew Clarkson had known Mr. Pitt, and even conferred with him on the slave trade, while Clarkson claims the credit of making a communication to Mr. Pitt. Here again the Reviewer seems to have read the text of Mr. Clarkson as inattentively as he slightly looked over the map. He states, History i. 472, that [illegible] had opened the way for him with Mr. Pitt; [illegible]

papers, and African productions, to the minister who had before little knowledge on the subject; he describes the premier as turning over, leaf after leaf, 'above a hundred pages' accurately; as confessing 'with some emotion that his doubts were 'wholly removed. He thanked me for the light I had given him 'on many branches of this great question, and I went away under 'a certain conviction that I had left him much impressed in our 'favour.' It is really discreditable to the Reviewer, as a man of business, that he should have supposed it a contradiction of such a statement as this, that 'years before' Mr. Wilberforce had conferred with Mr. Pitt. Years before, neither Mr. Wilberforce himself nor Mr. Clarkson knew of these things in their details. The facts had been in the meanwhile collected, and made available as evidence by the committee, and chiefly by Mr. Clarkson. In the Reviewer's summary there are other items which seem to us equally gratuitous; such as that Wilberforce was at the personal expense of some of Clarkson's labours, of which we see no evidence in the printed book. They may be family traditions. We must proceed to more serious and more exceptionable matter —the Reviewer's attempted justification of the unjustifiable breach of confidence in the publication of the letters. 'In these volumes 'will be found a correspondence, the publication of which we can- 'not condemn:' [but, unless the idea of condemnation had forced itself strongly on the Reviewer, he would not have framed such a sentence;] although we think that nothing but the filial duty of vindicating their father's highest title to renown could have justified his sons in giving it to the world.' This is a marvellous *non-sequitur*. As if the involuntary reception of letters of any description —for no act of Wilberforce's thereon of the least moment, is shown, were his highest title to renown! But this we have already refuted. The effect of it (the correspondence) is to show that Mr. Clarkson's *services were remunerated by a large subscription*. And what if it had been so, as far as Wilberforce's character is concerned? but in truth this is so flagrant a deviation from the text on which the Reviewer had to comment, that it distresses more, on account of our esteem for the supposed author, than any thing in the Review. On the one hand, the profession and official habits of the reputed writer forbid our supposing that through inadvertence he confounded remuneration for services with reimbursement of money out of pocket (the expression both of Lord Mancaster and Mr. Wilberforce): and on the other hand, his personal character will not permit us to ascribe to him a wilful misrepresentation. We confidently expect an explanation, at least, if not an apology, in the next number of the Review.

On the comparatively insignificant question, who first stirred in this great work, the Reviewer declines the discussion, and im-

mediately proceeds to give a decision in Mr. Wilberforce's favour. This question is embarrassed only by inattention to an obvious distinction. Mr. Clarkson was already a senior bachelor at Cambridge, when he first heard of the slave-trade; Mr. Wilberforce heard of it and wrote a letter about it to a magazine when at school; he therefore in that respect preceded Mr. Clarkson. And what then? It appears that Mr. Clarkson formed his heroic and magnanimous resolution to abandon his profession for this great work in 1786. An autographic note by Mr. Wilberforce shows that his like resolution was formed in 1787. But we do not think that we raise Clarkson a hair's breadth above Wilberforce in so saying. Nothing turns on the insignificant question of time. Indeed, we hold all comparison needless, and worse than useless, if made for the purpose of depreciation; but the question of *time* is absolutely unmeaning, even were it of importance to weigh the relative merit. That would depend on the degree of sacrifice made on the one hand, by a young gentleman of rank and fortune, who abandoned the usual pursuits of his age and station, and devoted rare and manifold talents to the conduct of a great cause of which he became the acknowledged head, and enjoyed all the distinction while he sustained the labour of the 'painful pre-eminence:' and on the other hand, by a young man without rank or fortune, who applied talents less varied and popular, but still rare, with a sacrifice of an honourable profession, and the means of advancement in life, to humbler and comparatively obscure labour in the same great cause. While the name of Wilberforce was bruited throughout Europe, by means of the public prints, Mr. Clarkson's influence was greatly owing to his personal demeanor. Without the aid of station or fortune, the gravity, great earnestness, and quakerish simplicity of his appearance—adding *eccentricities* if the authors wish it—made his presence a sort of phenomenon among great men, and men of the world. He was at home only among the quakers and other sectaries: thus there was as little personal as there was literary rivalry between Wilberforce and Clarkson. Yet it is on the pretence that Mr. Wilberforce has been defrauded of his fame that the Reviewer would justify his sons in their attack on Mr. Clarkson, as if it were a measure of defence. He goes so widely out of his way as to fix on a very idle word that has fallen from a modern writer, who we believe was never in Mr. Clarkson's company, and we are persuaded never thought of uttering a sneer or a sarcasm at Wilberforce's expense. Mr. Serjeant Talfourd, in his charming collection of Charles Lamb's letters, incidentally says: 'There he (Lamb) met with the true annihilator of the 'slave-trade, Thomas Clarkson. Lamb had no taste for oratorical 'philanthrophy, but he felt the grandeur and simplicity of Clark-

'son's character.' The Reviewer remarks, 'No man ever so 'little merited the condemnation which the language of Mr. 'Talfourd must be supposed to convey.' *Must be supposed!* By whom and why? We will not impute to the Reviewer so unworthy an artifice as that he affected an application to Mr. Wilberforce of the Serjeant's words in order thereon to hang an apology for his friends. But of this we are sure, that the application is gratuitous. Mr. Serjeant Talfourd is a young man, and can have no personal knowledge of the great abolition struggle; but he knows at least that Mr. Wilberforce was the parliamentary leader: he is an able man of business, and knows what it is to marshal evidence, to preside over committees, and conduct for many years a parliamentary investigation opposed to active and interested adversaries. He could not possibly have meant to designate such labours by the contemptuous phrase 'oratorical philanthropy.' We suspect that he alluded to a very different class of persons, towards even whom we cannot approve of directing any words of scorn—the speakers at public meetings, where certainly a cheap reputation may be gained by advocating a cause after it is won; at which an oratorical appeal is made to the sensibilities of an applauding audience, and who verily in such applause may have their reward.

The Reviewer then cites the great names of Southey and Wordsworth as of persons wrongfully exalting Mr. Clarkson to a station in public opinion to which he is not entitled. As to Mr. Southey we are not aware of what he has written; but, whatever it may be, we cannot but imagine that our authors have not adopted the fittest means to redress the injury. It appears, from frequent passages in the Life, that the laureat not only enjoyed the high esteem and even friendship of Mr. Wilberforce, but that he has been applied to by the biographers, and has contributed anecdotes of his intercourse with him. Now if the biographers really believed that he was among those who had injuriously given 'to Titus old Vespasian's due,' we cannot account for their not remonstrating with him, and obtaining from him a retraction of the unmerited praise. No one could possibly have blamed this, while the injustice is manifest of not resenting the wrong on the real offender, but of drawing from that wrong a plea by their advocate for a breach of that confidence which is held sacred among honourable correspondents and their representatives. One fine Sonnet has been penned by Mr. Wordsworth, but sadly diseased must the sons and friends of Mr. Wilberforce be if it should wound them as an implied detraction of their kinsman. It is probable that such imperishable words have not been, and never may be uttered in his praise. The Sonnet does assert the claim of Mr. Clarkson to priority in the struggle;

but we are very sure, without the slightest thought of giving an opinion on a disputed claim: nor does Mr. Wilberforce appear to have thought so, for he had frequent intercourse with Mr. Wordsworth, and we hear of no reproach or remonstrance for these lines,

> '——— thou who starting in thy fervent prime,
> Didst first lead forth that enterprise sublime.'

We have heard of prophecies that effect their own fulfilment. Grievously would the poet lament should his affectionate testimony have stimulated the evil passions that threaten to withdraw the promised reward—

> 'The blood-stained writing is for ever torn;
> And thou henceforth wilt have a good man's calm,
> A great man's happiness.'

We have faith in the prophecy, though we are well aware that this blow tends to the destruction of it. It falls on a head aged as well as honoured. We know that this venerable apostle of philanthropy has suffered severe bodily afflictions, of blindness—the frequent companion of old age—and bereavements of the heart, by which Providence tries its most exemplary servants. Yet we are assured that an approving conscience will enable him to sustain this attack, though inflicted by the sons of the man whom he had reckoned among the dearest and the most revered of his friends; and with whose name (in their despight) we fondly believe his own is destined to go down to posterity, among those of the best of men, in an age not unproductive of greatness and goodness of every description.

We regret the length to which our remarks have extended, but our sense of what was due to Mr. Clarkson has compelled us to proceed. We should not have done justice to our own feelings, nor have met the righteous demands of the case, had we said less, and we must therefore content ourselves with deferring to another month our notice of the multifarious and deeply interesting contents of these volumes.

Art. V. 1. *A Speech delivered by Thomas Noon Talfourd, Serjeant at Law, in the House of Commons, on Thursday the 18th of May, 1837, on moving for leave to bring in a Bill to consolidate the Law relating to Copyright, and to extend the term of its duration.* London: Edward Moxon. 1837.

2. *A Bill to amend the Law relating to Copyright. Prepared and brought in by Mr. Serjeant Talfourd, Lord Viscount Mahon, Sir Robert Inglis, and Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 27th of February, 1838.

3. *Remarks on the Speech of Serjeant Talfourd.* By Thomas Tegg, Bookseller. London: Tegg and Son. 1837.

4. *Observations on the Law of Copyright.* Printed for Scott, Webster, and Geary. 1838.

5. *Brief Objections to Mr. Talfourd's new Copyright Bill.* By W. and R. Chambers. Edinburgh.

LITERARY property is of comparatively recent date. It is since the invention of printing and the consequent power of indefinitely multiplying copies of a literary composition, that the writing and publishing of books have become common means of acquiring wealth. The consideration that every man is entitled to the fruits of his own labour gave rise to the legal protection of the proprietors of books in the retention of their exclusive privilege to print and publish them. This exclusive privilege appears to have been perpetual, and its perpetuity seems to have been undisputed, in this country till the reign of Queen Anne. It was usual 'to purchase from authors the perpetual copyright of 'their books, and to assign the same from hand to hand for valu-'able considerations, and to make them the subject of family 'settlements.* In the reign of Anne, however, an act was passed, professedly 'for the encouragement of learning,' but in reality to limit the term of copyright to fourteen years, and, if the author should be living at the expiration of that time, for another period of the same duration. How far the provisions of this statute affected the common law right of copy has been disputed, and there are several curious decisions of the Court of Chancery on record relative to particular cases. The universities and the public schools of Eton, Winchester, and Westminster, have never been robbed of their perpetual copyright. They enjoy it still. Clarendon's History is an Oxford book.

In the year 1814, by the statute 54 George III., c. 156, which mainly regulates literary property at present, the duration of copyright was extended; it was enacted, that after the passing of this act, the author of any book, and his assigns, shall have the

* Serjeant Talfourd's Speech, p. 2.

sole liberty of printing and reprinting such book for the full term of twenty-eight years from the day of publication, and if the author shall be living at the end of that period, for the residue of his natural life. In the words of Mr. Talfourd, 'the term of 'twenty-eight years, with the possible reversion beyond that time for 'life, is all authors have yet obtained in return for that inheritance 'of which the statute of Anne deprived them.' About a year ago, Mr. Serjeant Talfourd moved for leave to bring in a bill, the main object of which was to extend the term of copyright to sixty years beyond the death of the author. Mr. Serjeant Talfourd, though of opinion, that *perpetual* copyright *ought* to be restored, proposes this extension in compliance with the views on the subject, which have been so long entertained by others.

'Although,' he says, 'I see no reason why authors should not be restored to that inheritance, which, under the name of protection and encouragement, has been taken from them, I feel that the subject has so long been treated as matter of compromise between those who deny that the creations of the inventive faculty, or the achievements of reason, are the subjects of property at all, and those who think the property, should last as long as the works which contain truth and beauty live, that I propose still to treat it on the principle of compromise, and to rest satisfied with a fairer adjustment of the difference than the last act of parliament affords. I shall propose, subject to modification when the details of the measure shall be discussed—that the term of property in all works of learning, genius, and art, to be produced hereafter, or in which the statutable copyright now subsists, shall be extended to sixty years, to be computed from the death of the author; which will, at least, enable him, while providing for the instruction and delight of distant ages, to contemplate that he shall leave in his works themselves some legacy to those for whom a nearer, if not a higher duty, requires him to provide, and which shall make 'death 'less terrible.''—p. 8.

We propose to make a few remarks on the general principles of the bill, and to examine some of the arguments which have been urged against it. On this subject there are in the main but two opinions, 'the extreme point of one being, that, by giving 'his thoughts to the world, an author abandons all right to con-'sider the vehicle as private property: and of the other, 'that he 'has the right in perpetuity, that descends to his heirs and is trans-'ferable to those to whom he or they may assign it.'*

In refutation of the former of these opinions, in its broad and unqualified form, it is sufficient to say, that the public have no *right* to the work of an author at all. They have no claim on him

* (*Wordsworth's Letter to Mr. Serjeant Talfourd*, published in the Athenæum, May 5th, 1838).

to publish his book, he lies under no obligation to impart his ideas to them at all, and it is, therefore, absurd to say that they have a right to the free use of it as a property and means of acquiring wealth. It is pretended, that it is not for the public interest that authors should enjoy a perpetual copyright in their books, and, therefore, they should be robbed of it after a certain time. What would be thought of this mode of arguing in other things? If it were to be proposed to deprive a landholder of his estate after thirty years, because he had been sufficiently remunerated for his outlay and trouble in getting it, and that it would be more for the public interest and health to turn it into a common; the absurdity and injustice of the proposition would be manifest even to the dullest. Are books property, or are they not? The question is not, are they property till the author shall have been sufficiently remunerated? Are they property? Are they solid, genuine property? If they are, on what principle can we ever fix a point of time when the ownership is to cease? Doubtless, the public would *like* very well to be able to buy the 'Bridgewater Treatises,' for example, for a seventh of the actual price; but is that a reason, why the property should be alienated or thrown open altogether? Some who have written on the subject seem to imagine that if a book is cheap, that is every thing, all that is wanted. But are books to be made cheap by law? Are authors or other proprietors of copyrights to be robbed of their books, because they will not publish them cheap? Who has a right to fix the price, but the proprietor? The public are not obliged to buy, no injunction is laid on them to purchase any particular book. The matter is purely optional. If they do not think a book worth the price put upon it, they need not buy it. That it is politic in proprietors of books to publish them cheap, we do not deny; their utility is increased, and the profits are enlarged.

'Alison's History of Europe,' from the commencement of the French revolution, a work in seven octavo volumes, published at about fifteen shillings a volume, might, doubtless, have been printed in the form of 'Lardner's Cyclopædia,' at six shillings a volume. The three-volumed novels, at a guinea-and-a-half each, *could* be printed and published for a few shillings; but they are not. The public are not injured hereby; they only do not get what the proprietor did not see fit to give. The real and legitimate security for books being published at a *reasonable* price is to be sought in the tendency of everything to find its level. If a book was not published at a reasonable rate, no one would buy it; and knowing that, no proprietor of a book would be foolish enough to affix a price which would debar the public from the purchase of it.

But what *is* a reasonable price for a book or for a copyright? Mr. Tegg seems to think, literary labour as easy to be valued as

any other labour, and he regards it purely *as labour*. A book of ten sheets is worth so much, one of fifteen sheets is amply paid for by so much, and so forth. This is a mode of reckoning very well suited to manual labour, but not equally applicable to mental efforts. A celebrated Italian artist was once asked by a person in a coffee-house to draw a picture of a horse for him; he said, 'he should like exceedingly to have one of his drawing;' the artist sat down, and in five minutes, produced a beautiful picture; he asked thirty francs for it. 'What!' exclaimed the astonished amateur, 'thirty francs for that! why, it has not taken you above 'five minutes to do it.' True; it had not taken more than five minutes to produce that particular picture, but how long had it taken to acquire the skill which enabled him to produce it? Ought he not to be paid for that? This is a point which is often overlooked in estimating the value of a book. If an author receives a thousand pounds for a book which he has been only six months in writing, it is considered by ignorant persons an extravagant sum; but how much study, how many precious years of laborious research or of elaborate culture were necessary to enable him to write it, this is forgotten. This is a most important peculiarity in literary labour, and renders it often very difficult to estimate what *is* a fair remuneration. The notion that the mere time employed in the composition is a criterion, is most erroneous and absurd. It reminds us of the countryman who went to a regular dentist in London to have a tooth extracted; the dentist performed the operation very much to the bumpkin's satisfaction; the tooth was out almost before he knew what he was about; but when the dentist informed him that the charge was half-a-guinea, he demurred, and exclaimed, 'Half-a-guinea! Why, I could have 'had it done at home for nine-pence, and been dragged three 'times round the blacksmith's shop into the bargain.'

It is not meant to be insinuated by these observations, that publishers should give a price for books which would be ruinous to themselves, or that they should forego, still less, that they should be deprived of, a fair interest on the outlay of capital which they make in bringing works before the public: but it *is* meant to be implied that abundant argument is hereby furnished, why, after the expiration of the time for which the authors sold their copyright, *they* (the authors) should have the *chance* of additional remuneration, which, in fact, is nothing more than the voluntary homage paid by the public to literary talent. If *they* have no right to this *chance*, who has? Surely, not A, B, C, or D, who may happen to be able to scamp up an edition of the work for a fortieth of the original price. As Mr. Serjeant Talfourd observes, 'the rare instances in which copyright retains its 'value beyond twenty-eight years, are those in which the author 'had most merit; and, perhaps, received an inconsiderable remu-

neration, though adequate to the immediate prospects of his success.'

Mr. Tegg is wrong in supposing and arguing on the supposition, that the end proposed by the law of copyright is public advantage, and not individual reward. The end actually and legitimately proposed by the law of copyright is individual reward, *and, therefore,* public advantage. Is it an advantage to the public, that its authors should be worse paid than its mechanics? Is it an advantage to the public, that its authors should be supported by common charity? Is it an advantage to the public, that its authors should be robbed of the fruit of that labour which if directed in another and inferior channel, would have furnished a competence for their families? The interest of authors is not alien from, but one and the same with that of the public. The object of a copyright law is, to secure to authors their right in that property of which they have been the producers; the object is individual reward; in every case, it is the author whose remuneration is legitimately contemplated by a copyright law.

Mr. Tegg is perfectly right in saying, that when Milton meditated 'to adorn his country by some great performance,' when he wrought upon it with the divine fervour and energy of the true poet, he had no thoughts of pecuniary reward; and, that, he laboured solely under the poetic impulse, exalted as he tells us, with the pious hope 'to justify the ways of God to man.' But it is making an ungenerous and unjust use of this fact, the glory of literature, to adduce it as an argument against literary property. Was Milton's *right* in his great work as a property, less in proportion to the nobleness of his impulse? Is the interest taken in the composition of a work, or the exceeding weight of fame which it is expected to bring, a reason against high pecuniary remuneration? This is an argument which, by proving too much, proves nothing. If it were valid to show, that Milton was sufficiently rewarded by the five pounds which he received for the 'Paradise Lost,' it would as well prove, that he would have been sufficiently rewarded without money at all. And if this is true of authors, with how much more force might it be pleaded against the clerical and the medical profession. Because a sincere and zealous minister receives his highest reward for his labours in the reformed character and spiritual improvement of his hearers; or, because, the honest and enlightened physician sees his most valued remuneration in the recovery of his almost dying friend, is this a reason why the one or the other should go unpaid? Should it not rather have the opposite effect, and show that by how much the higher and nobler the impulse, by so much the larger should be the reward? The common sense and integrity of mankind have decided the question.

The booksellers who have come forward on this occasion, seem

to have little or no higher idea of literary composition than of brickmaking or paper-making. They argue as if it were labour of the same kind, to be valued by a similar scale, and regulated on the same principles. They say, that the most numerous class of literary men are those who write '*to order of a publisher*,' (these are the words of Messrs. Chambers of Edinburgh), and that the *minority* are those who write from the influence of their own fancy. It may be so. We do not deny it, but is this a wholesome state of things? Does this indicate a high order of literature, or a high-minded feeling in literary men? The bookselling idea of literary men is of literary drudges, writing hacks, book making mechanics, mere jobbers, to be worked as such, and their work to be estimated in the same way as that of other operatives? That there *are* such men we do not deny; that the opponents of Mr. Talfourd's measure know and employ such men, we do not deny; and further we do not deny that such men may be, and generally are respectable, well-deserving men, but most of them have mistaken their profession. Many of them have been absolutely *thrown* on literature. If all the authors of this class were to take to some other profession, we doubt whether we should lose much sterling literature. We believe, that the most valuable works are those which are written without any prospect of publication, which fall in the writer's own line of study, or favourite pursuit. For ourselves, we can say, and we conceive the majority of literary men will respond to the statement of our own experience, that that part of a work which has afforded us the most pleasure, has been that which we have written by the voluntary propension of our own minds, from a pure penchant for the subject, before it had assumed the form of a book, and before the pleasure of composition had been mixed with the anticipations of ulterior reward. We have, sometimes, found that as soon as we had conferred with a publisher, and had *engaged* to complete the book, it became almost a task-work instead of an amusement, it lost its peculiar charm, we continued as by compulsion, what we had begun for pleasure. As soon as composition becomes compulsory it loses its genial tone, it is up-hill work, it lacks that pleasurable and self-rewarding spontaneity of impulse which is the most salutary stimulus of learning and of genius. Far be it from us to speak querulously of publishers. We have met with uniform liberality. We only state an actual feeling, and we believe, intelligent publishers will readily appreciate its reality. They must be aware, that whatever may be *their* justice or generosity in pecuniary payment, the most abiding and inalienable remuneration of authors who are worthy of the name, is of an intellectual nature, and consists in the self-moved interest they have themselves taken in the composition; in the satisfaction they have derived from the

solution of some difficulty, or from the enucleation of some valuable but before-hidden truth, or from some happy expression by which they have succeeded in giving the exact transcript of a thought. The desire of fame, we believe, never exists as an active principle in authors, apart from these spontaneous and purely intellectual sources of reward. Isocrates is said to have shed tears on the first receipt of a stipend. It is said, that Robert Hall was more than once offered £1000 if he would write a volume of sermons for publication, and refused to do so. He *could* not have done it. The idea of the price would have haunted him in every line he wrote. He would have thought, when he had written a page, that was worth so much, two pages so much, a whole sermon so much. In fact he could not prostitute his intellect to such pounds-shillings-and-pence composition. He was not incapable of receiving £1000 for what he *had* written, but he was utterly incapable of writing a volume *for* £1000. These are two things widely different. How would the finest bursts of eloquence have been marred by the thought of the uncongeniality of the reward to the labour! At the same time, no man will be paltry enough to say, that if the sermons had been written and published, he was not entitled to regard them as his property, and, as such, to receive the profits arising from their sale; merely, because, his highest impulse was of a nobler nature.

We very often see in the preface to a book the expression of some such sentiment as this, that the author has been amply rewarded for his labour by the pleasure he has derived from the prosecution of his subject. And whoso doubts it, is a stranger to the pleasures of authorship. But as we said before, it is a mean thing in an opponent of literary property, to use this as an argument against high pecuniary remuneration for the literary achievements of genius; in the words of Mr. Talfourd, 'they make an 'ungenerous use of the very nobleness of its impulses, and show 'how little they have profited by its high example.'

What is to be thought of such a declaration as this—'Authors 'of great acquirements and talents do not want the stimulus of '*additional* pecuniary encouragement: those of the highest class 'write in many cases, from the hope of fame and professional dis-'tinction, but know also, that they need not want pecuniary remu-'neration; and what advantage is it to the public to flog on the in-'ferior artists?' (Mr. Tegg's pamphlet, p. 8). This passage shows a total misunderstanding of the question. It is not as *stimulus*, that the extension of the copyright is regarded, but as a part of that bare naked justice which is the common right of every man. It is not as a spur to genius, that the extension will operate, it is not as a favour it is asked, it is not as a matter of charity it is sought; but as the removal of a feeling of injury, a wiping out of the monstrous anomaly sometimes witnessed, of an author or his

descendants in poverty, and others battening on the profits of his labour. *Probitas laudatur et alget.*

It is supposed by the Messrs. Chambers, that our school treatises are chiefly written by literary men, 'to order of a publisher.' We do not believe that one *good* school book in twenty originates in this way. We believe that the best school books are made by practical teachers, actually and regularly engaged in the business of instruction. We believe that these books grow as wants are felt by the teacher; and that they are generally written with a primary view to the advantage of the writer's own pupils. This is, in fact, the *only* way in which a good school book (except in one or two inferior departments) can be made. The best school-book is the used-before-published school-book. No school-book ought to be published before it has been used and tried and experimented on. We will even go farther, and we shall not be going too far, we believe, when we say, that the best books in all departments of literature have, for the most part, been written by persons engaged in regular professional or other business, that they have been written as the παρέργα of active minds, by men deriving an income, on which they rely, either from some profession or business, or else from private property. The best books have not been produced by those who may be called authors-by-profession; and the advice of all literary men for the benefit of authors, and for the good of literature, is *against* relying on authorship as a profession or business. Every one remembers Sir Walter Scott's saying, that 'literature is a good walking-stick, but a bad crutch,' and Cobbett's advice is in the same spirit: 'Stick to the shop; rely upon your 'mercantile, or mechanical, or professional calling; try your 'strength in literature, if you like; but *rely* on the shop.' Coleridge's remarks are well known, but are too good not to be quoted in connexion with this subject. '*Never*,' says he, '*never* '*pursue literature as a trade.* With the exception of one extraordinary man, I have never known an individual, least of all an 'individual of genius, healthy or happy without a profession, that 'is, some regular employment, which does not depend on the 'will of the moment, and which can be carried on so far mechanically, that an average quantum of health, spirits, and intellectual 'exertion are requisite to its faithful discharge.' The fact is, that valuable authorship is too expensive a thing for a profession, it requires more buoyancy and elasticity and free scope of mind than can be enjoyed but by few men, when the means of living are depending on the composition. High authorship requires, above all, a mind not forced or hampered by necessity.

The most valuable works, then, we say, are produced by men who do not rely on those works for their living. They are pro-

duced by men on whom the Scotch threat — that 'no publisher 'would give employment to a writer, unless he (the publisher) 'was to be registered as the author'—would have little effect. And if this is the case with all books, how much more with school-books! Every teacher who teaches with zest, and enters with a genial spirit into the processes of instruction, will make and use his own plan; he will find wants, and if he possesses the time, and the talents, and the industry, he will probably seek to supply them; thus good working school-books are made. The reason why treatises on education have generally been so vapid and so shallow is, that they have so often been written by unprofessional men, by men who have not *known* and have had little or no means of *knowing*, what education is. They have written from the study, not from the school-room. After all, 'Knox's Essays on Education,' the actual result of a long experience, contain more really valuable matter, more truth, than any ten books on the subject which have been published since. And the reason why our school-books are often so bad, is that they are not written by teachers, or are not used till they are printed. One reason why so much rubbish is written is, that multitudes of persons write, not because *they have something to write*, but because *they have to write something*—two things widely different.

One of the most egregious and most palpable fallacies which have been broached on this subject is in the words of Messrs. Chambers, that 'books are ideas in print; but that these ideas, 'however much improved and embellished by genius, are after all 'only common property.' *Ideas in print!* We should like to be informed, how ideas are printed, by what process a notion is stereotyped, or a thought lithographed. Can it really have escaped the notice of those who have used this argument, that they have passed over one step, and that the most important of all. Books are *words* in print, not ideas. Copyright belongs not to ideas alone, but words expressing ideas. Now this is a most material consideration, and, at once, shows a broad distinction between a patent and a copyright. Two men without any communication whatever, by merely availing themselves of the existing state of science, which seems often in a wonderful manner to scatter germs of kindred thought simultaneously in different minds, two such men, working on the same subject, at a great distance from one another, might very possibly hit on the same development of a scientific principle, and be led to the construction of a machine on the same plan, for the same purpose. But that two men without communication should adopt the same ideas and the same modes of expression, for any number of sentences together, is not possible. It is not a conceivable case, that an author in Cornwall and an author in Edinburgh,

should independently write the same words. And to say that the ideas of A expressed in given words are public property, because, B might have expressed the same ideas in other words, is no argument at all.

We wonder that these opponents have not contended that, because all English books are composed of the twenty-four letters and the nine figures, which are public property, there should be no copyright at all. The very same arguments which would show that a copyright should cease after a few years, would show that there should be none at all; which would be palpably unjust and absurd. 'Every book,' say the Messrs. Chambers, 'issued 'to the world has been written in virtue of the author drawing 'on the common literature of the country for assistance. He 'could not have written, had he not been indebted to public in-'stitutions, public libraries, and to out-of-copyright books. The 'whole intellect of society is but a result of the free circulation of 'literature.' Is it not obvious that this argument would be as applicable to any other species of property as to books? How could a man build a house if he had not drawn on the knowledge and experience of the past? Is that a reason why he should be robbed of the fruit of his labour? Because Robert Hall formed his style, and refined his mind, by the study of the greatest authors, ancient and modern, had he therefore no claim to consider as his own those matchless compositions in which he has embodied our idea of all that is polished and graceful in language? Because Charles Lamb studied Beaumont and Fletcher, were not his writings his own productions? and were not his own productions his own property? Because Byron adopted the Spenserian stanza, was not the Childe Harold the property of the writer? We have heard of an old gentleman, in a town in the West of England, who used frequently to amuse his morning's leisure by walking into the fish-market and seeing what was to be seen. On inquiring, and being told the price of a fish, he would express a feigned astonishment, and wonder how they could have the face to ask so much for the fish. 'The fish,' he would say to the seller, 'is as much *mine* as *yours*; I have no ob-'jection to give you a trifle for *catching* it.' This is the argument of the Messrs. Chambers, of Edinburgh.

The objections of the booksellers are of a strangely contradictory character. They wish to show that authors will not be benefited by the extension of the copyright, that they will get nothing by it. Yet in the same breath they say, that they (the booksellers) will be injured. They say that books for the most part are not worth anything after thirty years! then why do they want to retain them after that time? If copyrights are so valueless as they pretend, why are they so anxious to hold them? If authors are sufficiently paid now, and would not be better satisfied with

possessing their own property than with being robbed of it, why do not authors say so? If it be true that in purchasing a work booksellers would in the vast majority of cases give no more for a copyright of sixty years, than for one of thirty years, it follows that they would give *as much* for one of thirty years as for one of sixty years, and authors would sell their copyrights for thirty years. Allowing full force to their assertion that *so few* books pay the expenses of publication, we cannot admit that *no* books are profitable. Well, in those instances, be they twenty, or be they 200 in a year, authors would have the benefit. Are we to be told that because the copyright of forty-nine books in fifty is worth nothing after thirty years, therefore the remaining *one* is worth nothing? Are we to be told that because only one book in a hundred is profitable, therefore *none* are profitable? Yet this is the meaning of the argument brought forward, if it has any meaning at all. If all they intend to convey is, that there would still be many authors who would not find their copyrights valuable at the end of thirty years, we say, no one ever supposed that it would be otherwise. But if they mean to insinuate that *no* authors would find their copyrights valuable after that time, we deny it. And yet if they do not mean this, their argument is worthless.

The retrospective part of Mr. Talfourd's Bill, which proposes that the copyrights in books already assigned, shall, after the expiration of the twenty-eight years, return to the representative of the author for the sixty years, or the remainder of that time from his death, has been objected to by some who are favourable to the general tenour of the Bill. But there seems to be no injustice in this provision, because, as Mr. Talfourd observes, the assignee is entitled in justice only to that for which he contracted and paid. He bargained only for a twenty-eight years term at the outside, and therefore he *can* have no claim beyond that time.

Mr. Serjeant Talfourd's speech is an eloquent and unanswerable statement of the principles of the proposed measure. Three of the most eminent writers of the day, Southey, Wordsworth, and Moore, have expressed their opinions on it, and their cordial concurrence in its object. We know not how we can conclude our observations better than by quoting the learned Serjeant's splendid panegyric on Wordsworth. After speaking of the curious adaptation of the present law to encourage light and frivolous works, but its palpable insufficiency for the claims of a high and enduring literature, he says—

'Let us suppose an author of true original genius, disgusted with the inane phraseology which had usurped the place of poetry, and devoting himself from youth to its service, disdaining the gauds which attract the careless and unskilled in the moving accidents of fortune—

not seeking to triumph in the tempest of the passions, but in the serenity which lies above them—whose works shall be scoffed at—whose name made a bye-word—and yet who shall persevere in his high and holy course, gradually impressing thoughtful minds with the sense of truth made visible in the severest forms of beauty, until he shall create the taste by which he shall be appreciated—influence, one after another, the master-spirits of the age—be felt pervading every part of the national literature, softening, raising, and enriching it; and when at last he shall find his confidence in his own aspirations justified, and the name which once was the scorn admitted to be the glory of his age—he shall look forward to the close of his earthly career, as the event which shall consecrate his fame and deprive his children of the opening harvest he is beginning to reap. As soon as his copyright becomes valuable it is gone! This is no ordinary case. I refer to one who, 'in this setting part of time,' has opened a vein of the deepest sentiment and thought unknown—who has supplied the noblest antidote to the freezing effects of the scientific spirit of the age—who, while he has detected that poetry which is the essence of the greatest things, has cast a glory around the lowliest conditions of humanity, and traced out the subtle links, by which they are connected with the highest—of one whose name will now find an echo, not only in the heart of the secluded student, but in that of the busiest of those who are fevered by political controversy—of William Wordsworth. Ought we not to requite such a poet in some degree for the injustice of our boyhood? For those works, which are now insensibly quoted by our most popular writers, the spirit of which now mingles with our intellectual atmosphere, he has probably not received through the long life he has devoted to his art, until lately, as much as the same labour, with moderate talent, might justly produce in a single year. Shall the law, whose term has been amply sufficient to his scorners, now afford him no protection because he has out-lasted their scoffs, because his fame has been fostered amidst the storms, and is now the growth, of years?'—p. 13.

Art. VI. 1. *Acts of Congress.* 1834.

2. *The Book of the Indians of North America.* By Samuel G. Drake. Boston: 8vo. Seventh Edition. 1837.

3. *State Papers. Indians.* Washington: 2 vols. folio, 1832—1834.

4. *Annual Report of the Commission of Indian Affairs.* Washington, 1836.

5. *Bill to provide for the Security and Protection of the Emigrant and other Indians West of the States of Missouri and Arkansas.* Washington. December, 1837.

THE attempts which are making to protect and elevate the coloured races, are among the most remarkable characteristics of the age; and the good spirit, which prompts these attempts both in favour of the slave, and of the free aboriginal inhabitants

of the colonies, not only manifests itself powerfully in England, but is sensibly influencing countries heretofore the almost hopeless scenes of oppression to both. In Britain public opinion is nearly settled in a way not to be misunderstood by the most careless, and with claims that admit of no compromise;—*elsewhere* the prospect of coming change—in this great chapter of human relations is in a high degree cheering, and chiefly so to those who estimate best the means indispensable for effecting what still remains to be accomplished for the colored race. Improvement in policy is promised even among the Portuguese whose early prosperity in new countries, only the more fatally generated a proportionate degree of corruption; and whose later mischievous policy alone it was, that ruined their once splendid colonial empire along ten thousand leagues of coast, and in the heart of three continents. An able Portuguese minister has already induced his young sovereign to pledge herself to the abandonment of this evil policy; and reverting with just pride to periods when better principles prevailed in the councils of his country, he has entered upon a new colonial career, as vigorously as the perplexed state of affairs at home permits.*

But it is the partially good effort, making by the government of the United States of North America in regard to one race of coloured people, *the Indians*, that we intend, especially, to examine in the present article. Without underrating the enormous evil done them by the American citizens, in common with all other white people who have colonized the New World, our object will be to explain the gigantic measures actually in progress for the purpose of forming a civilized people—out of broken tribes, in the Indian territory of the United States in the west. The magnitude of this scheme may be estimated by its money cost, which is more than one million sterling annually, expended in carrying it into effect. During upwards of fourteen years past, some of the ablest statesmen in America have laboured earnestly to establish its principle and work out its details.

Unfortunately for the honour of the United States, the new system is connected (although, not necessarily), with the frightful principle of REMOVING† many thousands of the Indians from their ancient homes; and if the necessity that is pleaded for this step is traceable to two centuries' abuses permitted by England in her

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* By a decree of the 12th of December, 1836, the Queen of Portugal appoints a commission for the reform of the administration of the colonies. This reform was begun by the Cortes of 1826. The minister Viscount Bandeisa Sa, who countersigned the new decree, published in 1831 an excellent paper on the subject.

† Our own government has sanctioned the *removal* principle in its worst extent in Van Dieman's Land, and in Canada. In the latter colony within two years, it has been applied in the most scandalous manner.

Indian administration, it cannot be denied, that to the American people now, as to the British colonists in former days, must justly be imputed a large share of the fault. But as the American government, with its independence, received from Great Britain all its Indian relations embittered by those abuses of two centuries, the Indian administration of the old colonies must share largely in the reproach often levelled too exclusively against their successors.

Before the war of independence, the conduct of the English towards the Indians of North America, resembled that of all Europeans to the natives of other barbarous countries. The home government, whilst professing a wish to protect and civilize them, acted in utter disregard of its profession. The colonial laws rendered the defence of their rights, and the redress of their individual grievances, impossible. Their possessions were intruded upon without ceasing. Our most vicious propensities were transferred to them without check. Our diseases were introduced among them without an attempt at prevention, or cure,—without the slightest aid to their helplessness against the fatal visitation. The benevolent efforts of sincere friends to improve them—efforts that were almost always met by corresponding advance on their parts in the slow march of civilization—were often misdirected, and always on too small a scale. These *errors of friends* have not been enough considered as they should be, along with the ordinary reproaches rightly cast on those who have either neglected or outraged the Indians. And they are the more important, as at present, both in the United States, and in this country many friends of the same cause are falling into the same errors. William Penn, an incomparable man for his time, whom puny cavillers will attack in vain,—tolerant, courteous, kind, and substantially just,—even William Penn neglected the most important guarantees for his poor people, who were, at last, driven from the lands which gave his descendants princely revenues; and those descendants were enabled by his neglect of proper guarantees to enjoy those revenues almost unburthened by every charge that ought to have been perpetual in favour of the aboriginal lords of the soil. They could get no justice in his courts; for they were not admissible as witnesses, although this was a grievance of which the members of his own sect obtained the abolition for themselves in Pennsylvania. Nor did he establish a single suitable means to elevate the condition of the Indians either moral, or social, so that they might bear the change of all about them, and gradually become their own protectors. The admirable missionaries too, Elliot, and Mayhew, although as efficient in their most important calling as any of their fellows of any age, or country, fell into equally fatal mistakes,—holding that the improving Indians ought to be kept in a state of seclusion. Con-

sequently, as they did not learn gradually to cope with civilized man in his early advances, they were altogether incapable of resisting his overwhelming progress, and therefore were destroyed by the contact from which no human power can entirely shelter them. Something like this error contributed to the ruin of the Jesuits' mission in Paraguay, and, in our own times, there is a tendency we fear among some English missionaries to fall into it.

Bishop Berkeley wasted his great powers in one vast undertaking for the benefit of the Indians, in consequence of his easy faith in a government that deluded him by half a dozen years of false promises and evasions, and then left him for as many more years to struggle against the pecuniary difficulties to which they exposed him. The minister, Walpole, who had consented to Berkeley's plan for improving the Indians, excused himself, by saying, 'that he should *not* have acquiesced in it, if not convinced that parliament would refuse its support.' Berkeley erred too, in considering that literary education alone would civilize a barbarous people.

Other eminent individuals devoted great zeal and great talents to the improvement of the Indians before the independence of the United States; but upon no *system* that fairly met the many difficulties of the case. It was, *also*, in those days, a great obstacle to the civilization of the native tribes, that the conflicting politics of the French and English, prompted both to excite these tribes to take part in wars which involved no interests of their own, aggravated all their mischievous passions, and sunk them in the melancholy degradation, with rare intervals of excitement.

The result is too well known. The whole range of the eastern colonies from Massachusets to Georgia, was stripped of its multitudinous tribes seventy years ago, with the exception of a few scattered remnants, which had marvellously withstood our blood-hounds, our gunpowder, our ardent spirits, our diseases, and our frauds, to prove how difficult of accomplishment is the cruel work of destroying human beings.

Yet do we hear every day of these tribes, '*melting away like snow before the sun;*' and other more material metaphors; as if the suffering,—the mortal suffering of body and mind of hundreds of thousands of these poor creatures were not the essence of the frightful operation. Historical details that may safely be submitted to rigorous scrutiny, prove too that all degrees of improvement were attained by Indians long before the independence of the old colonies; and an able statesman of the revolution, and one of the bravest of its generals, Knox, then declared, that it was 'more *convenient* than just,' to deny their capability of civilization.

Washington, when employed as a colonial officer, before the war, had exhibited sound and benevolent views in regard to them; and as President of the United States, he struggled hard to overcome the difficulties of the whole question. He earnestly appealed to their chiefs in order to convince them of the advantages of civilization, without sharing which, said he to them, in a solemn council, *your fate is sealed*, and *your people will sink miserably before the white men.* He succeeded, with the aid of the Moravian Missionaries, in laying the foundation of the improvement of the Creeks and Cherokees. But the old systems of trading, although modified, were not placed on a satisfactory footing; and no system either to regulate *squatters*, or to redress Indian grievances, was devised long after the time of Washington. The administration of law continued to be what it is still, a means of sheltering the oppressor, and of overwhelming the oppressed. One defect of the law itself has been already noticed, namely, the incompetency of Indian witnesses, who cannot take oaths. Its importance is obvious; and the following passage, from a book printed in the United States only last year, proves indisputably that this cruel rule of a bigotted code is not only in force, but that it is used in the most Machiavelian manner, in order to strip the Indians of their lands. The case occurred in 1834, the year before the breaking out of the Florida war, which is still raging with a degree of obstinacy that is sufficiently explained by this extract. We copy so much of the American author as will show the causes of the war, and some working of the *removal* system; which is the *bad* part of the great scheme that is the subject of our article.

The length of this and other extracts will be excused, in consideration of the rareness of the books and documents quoted, and of the importance of the matter to a race of men now standing on the brink between life and death.

'When we are told,' says our author, 'that at such a time, and such a place, commissioners of the United States government met a delegation of the principal chiefs of the Southern Indians, and made a treaty, the articles of which were satisfactory to the Indians, two or three queries present themselves for solution; as, by what means have the chiefs been got together? what other chiefs and principal men are there belonging to such a nation, who *did not* participate in the business of the treaty? Anxious to effect their object, commissioners have sometimes practised unwarrantable means to obtain it; especially in encouraging sales of territory by a minority of chiefs, or gaining their consent to a removal by presents.

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'Shortly after the cession, [of Florida to the U. S.] a treaty was made by which the Seminoles consented to relinquish by far the better part of their lands, and retire to the centre of the peninsula,—a quarter

consisting for the most part of pine barrens of the worst description, and terminating towards the south in unexplored and impassable marshes. When the time came for the execution of the treaty, old Neha Mathla, the head of the tribe, thought it savored too much of the cunning and whiskey of the white man, and summoned his warriors to resist it. Gov. Duval, who succeeded Gen. Jackson in the chief magistracy of this territory, broke in upon his war council, deposed the war leaders, and elevated the peace party to the chieftaincies. The Seminoles retired peaceably to the territory assigned them, and old Neha Mathla retired to the Creeks, by whom he was raised to the dignity of a chief.

'The next event of considerable moment in the history of the Seminoles, is the treaty of Payne's Landing. Of this affair I am able to speak in the language of the principal agent in it, on the part of the whites. The individual to whom I refer, General Wiley Thompson, will be particularly noticed hereafter, from the melancholy fate which he met in the progress of this war.

'I have, in a previous chapter, spoken of the treaty at Moultrie Creek; but, before going into the particulars of that at Payne's Landing, it will be necessary to make a few additional observations. The Indians who consented to that treaty, by such consent agreed 'to come under the protection of the United States, to give up their possessions, and remove to certain restricted boundaries in the territory, the extreme point of which was not to be nearer than fifteen miles to the sea coast of the Gulf of Mexico. For any losses to which they might be subjected by their removal, the government agreed to make liberal donations, also to provide implements of husbandry, schools, &c., and pay an annuity of 5000 dollars for twenty years; besides which, there were presents of corn, meat, &c., &c. It was required of the Indians that they should prevent absconding slaves from taking refuge among them, and they were to use all proper exertions to apprehend and deliver the same to their proper owners.'

'Our account next goes on to state, that the harmony which existed at the conclusion of this treaty was very great, and that the Indians were so well satisfied with its provisions, 'that they had a clause expressly inserted, by which the United States agent, Major Gad. Humphreys, and the interpreter, Richards, were to have each one mile square, in fee simple, as a mark of the confidence they reposed in these officers of the government.'

'Before this treaty was carried into effect, the Indians were intruded upon, and they gradually began to be rather slow in the delivery of the runaway negroes.' Clamors were therefore loud against them, and difficulties followed, in quick succession, for several years. At length it was determined that the Seminoles should be, somehow or other, got out of Florida, and the treaty of Payne's Landing was got up for this object.

'Accordingly, in 1832, on the 9th of May, a treaty was entered into 'on Ocklawaha River, known by the name of the treaty of Payne's Landing, by which they stipulated to relinquish all their possessions in Florida, and emigrate to the country allotted to the Creeks, west of the

Mississippi; in consideration of which the government was to pay 15,400 dollars, on their arrival at their new home; and give to each of the warriors' women and children, one blanket and one homespun frock. The whole removal was stipulated to take place within three years after the ratification.'

'What object the government could have had in view by stipulating that the Indians should deliver into its hands all their cattle and horses, previous to their emigration, I know not, unless it was the intention of its agents to *speculate in stock*; or perhaps the mode by which the Indians were to be transported, would not admit of their being transported with them. Be this as it might, we shall see that this stock affair was among the beginning of the sparks of war.

'It appears that between 1832 and 1834, it had become very apparent that no removal was intended by the Indians; and it was equally apparent that those who had engaged a removal for the nation, were not the first people in it,—and, consequently, a difficulty would ensue, let the matter be urged when it would. General Thompson was the government agent in Florida, and he (whether with advice or without, I am not informed) thought it best to have a talk with some of the real head men of the nation, upon the subject of removal, which he effected about a year before the time of removal expired, namely, in the fall of 1834.

'Meanwhile, the chief who had been put in the place of Neamathla, by Governor Duval, had been executed, by some of the nation, for adhering to the whites, and advocating a removal beyond the Mississippi. The name of the chief executed upon this account was Hicka. To him succeeded one named Charles, or, as he is sometimes called, Charles Omathla, and he shared the same fate not long after. Nine warriors came into his council, and learning that he insisted upon a removal, shot nine bullets through his heart! No more doubtful characters were now raised to the chieftaincy, but a warrior, named Louis, well known for his hostility to the whites, was made chief.

'In the council which General Thompson got together for the purpose of holding a talk, as has been remarked, appeared Osceola, and several other distinguished chiefs. This council was held at Fort King, and was opened by Gen. Thompson in a considerable speech, wherein he endeavoured to convict the Indians of the necessity of a speedy removal; urging, at the same time, that their own safety, as well as that of their property, required it; and requested their answer to the subject of his discourse, which he presented in form of propositions. 'The Indians retired to private council, to discuss the subject, when the present young and daring chief Aceola (Powell) [Osceola] addressed the council, in an animated strain, against emigration, and said that any one who should dare to recommend it should be looked upon as an enemy, and held responsible to the nation. There was something in his manner so impressive and bold, that it alarmed the timid of the council; and it was agreed, in private talk, that the treaty should be resisted. *When this was made known to the agent, he made them a long and eloquent harangue, setting forth the dangers that surrounded them if they were subjected to the laws of the pale faces, where a red man's*

word would not be taken; that the whites might *make false charges against them, and deprive them of their negroes, horses, lands,* &c. All this time Osceola was sitting by, begging the chiefs to remain firm.'' —*Drake's Indians of North America,* Book IV., Chap. VIII., pp. 70—72.

The treaty was, however, at length got from the Indians; and the war thus provoked is unhesitatingly declared by the American author, as it has been denounced even in Congress, to be unjust. The agent, General Thompson, fell in it—shot by fifteen bullets. Osceola has since died; a prisoner, taken under circumstances which have been harshly characterized. Five Generals of the United States have been baffled in successive campaigns in this Seminole country; the war has already cost four millions sterling, with hundreds of white men's lives; and the last intelligence from America is, that the present commander has urgently recommended to the government to give up the contest, and let these poor people remain in their 'pine barrens,' and pestilential swamps, which they now hold against an army of 8000 men.

The scheme, which such a termination of this particular contest, and *a few others like it,* would little impede, aims in its better part, at establishing a system that shall abolish the ordinary occasions of these unhappy conflicts. The character of the scheme itself may be collected from the details contained in the following abridgment of the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1836.

'The Act of Congress, of May 28, 1830, provided for an exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the States or Territories east of the Mississippi, and for their removal beyond that river. It authorized the President 'solemnly to assure the tribe or nation with which the exchange is made, that the United States will for ever secure and guarantee to them, their heirs and successors, the country so exchanged with them.' It further authorized him 'to cause such tribe or nation to be protected at their new residence, against all interruption or disturbance from any other tribe or nation of Indians, or from any other person or persons whatever.' It also empowered him to exercise over them 'the same superintendence and care,' that he had extended to them before their removal.

'Anterior to the passage of this Act, which devolved upon the Executive these high duties to the Indian tribes, the necessity of some form of government had been distinctly recognized. Stipulations were made in treaties with the Cherokees and Choctaws, for their removal and settlement west of the Mississippi, in 1817 and 1820. In 1824, Mr. Monroe, in his message at the opening of the Session, pointed to the vast extent of country 'between the limits of our present States and Territories, and the Rocky Mountains and Mexico,' as a region to which the Indians 'might be invited, with inducements which might

be successful. 'It is thought,' he observed, 'if that territory should be divided into districts, by previous agreement with the tribes now residing there, and civil governments be established in each, with schools for every branch of instruction in literature and in the arts of civilized life, that all the tribes now within our limits might gradually be drawn there.' On the 16th of December, 1824, the Committee on Indian Affairs was instructed, by a resolution of the House of Representatives, 'to inquire into the expediency of organizing all the Territories of the United States, lying west of the State of Missouri and Territories of Arkansas and Michigan, into a separate Territory, to be occupied exclusively by the Indians; and of authorizing the President of the United States to adopt such measures as he may think best, to colonize all the Indians of the present States and Territories permanently within the same.' On the 27th of January, 1825, Mr. Monroe again presented this subject to the House of Representatives, in a special message. 'The great object to be accomplished,' he said, 'is the removal of these tribes to the territory designated, on conditions which shall be satisfactory to themselves and honourable to the United States. This can be done only by conveying to each tribe a good title to an adequate portion of land, to which it may consent to remove, and by providing for it there a system of internal government, which shall protect their property from invasion, and by the regular progress of improvement and civilization, prevent that degeneracy which has generally marked the transition from the one to the other state.' 'The digest of such a government, with the consent of the Indians, which should be endowed with sufficient powers to meet all the objects contemplated: to connect the several tribes together in a bond of amity, and preserve order in each; to prevent intrusions on their property; to teach them, by regular instruction, the arts of civilized life, and make them a civilized people, is an object of very high importance. It is the powerful consideration which we have to offer to these tribes, as an inducement to relinquish the lands on which they now reside, and to remove to those which are designated.' 'To the United States, the proposed arrangement offers many important advantages, in addition to those which have been already enumerated. By the establishment of such a government over these tribes, with their consent, we become in reality their benefactors. The relation of conflicting interests, which has heretofore existed between them and our frontier settlements, will cease. There will be no more wars between them and the United States. Adopting such a government, their movement will be in harmony with us, and its good effects be felt through the whole extent of our territory to the Pacific. It may fairly be presumed that, through the agency of such a government, the condition of all the tribes inhabiting that vast region may be essentially improved; that permanent peace may be preserved with them, and our commerce be much extended.'

* * * *

'These official papers look to the removal, permanent settlement, and protection of the Indians, and the establishment of a Territorial Government as measures of vital importance to them, and demanded by

a just regard to the obligations of the United States. The treaty with the Cherokees of May 6, 1828, may be considered as the first formal recognition of and action upon these principles, as it secured to them a permanent home under the most solemn guaranty of the United States, that it should remain theirs for ever, and stipulated that the United States would give them a set of plain laws, and cause their lands to be laid off, whenever they wished to own them individually.

'In the message at the opening of the 1st Session of the Twenty-first Congress, President Jackson suggested 'the propriety of setting apart an ample district west of the Mississippi, and without the limits of any State or Territory now formed, to be guaranteed to the Indian tribes, as long as they shall occupy it; each tribe having a distinct control over the portion designated for its use.' 'There,' he observed, 'they may be secured in the enjoyment of governments of their own choice, subject to no other control from the United States, than such as may be necessary to preserve peace on the frontier and between the several tribes.' In the Report of the Department of War, which accompanied this message, Mr. Eaton remarked, 'no better plan can be thought of, than that the United States shall put in operation such a system of Indian protection and government, west of the Mississippi, as that a confidence may be reposed that they are indeed our fostered children, and the Government not only so disposed to consider, but practically to evince their good feelings towards them. At present an objection arises with the weaker tribes. They are indisposed to emigrate, from an apprehension that powerful and stronger neighbours may oppress them, and that no surer protection can be obtained from the United States in the west, than is possessed already where they reside. To remove such apprehensions will be of importance.

'I beg leave to suggest for your consideration, if an Indian territory, without the range of western States and Territories, might not be advantageously created; to give efficiency and to inspire confidence, military posts, under some able and discreet officer of the army, to be designated at some central and convenient point. Intrusions from the whites might thus be restrained, and the Indians maintained in quiet with each other. Laws for their general government and to preserve peace amongst the tribes, to be the act of the United States, with a right to the Indians in council to make their own municipal regulations.'

'The Act of Congress of May 28, 1830, was the authoritative sanction of both branches of the National Legislature to the suggestion of the President. Numerous treaties for the cession and exchange of lands have since been made with Indian tribes; and the entire number of many of them, and portions of others, have been removed. From a want of exact knowledge of the topography of the country, errors were made in defining the boundaries of the lands intended to be assigned to them, and questions arose which remained long unsettled, and proved to be of difficult adjustment. The relations between the indigenous and emigrated tribes were of novel character, and the establishment of them upon an amicable basis was evidently of great importance to them and to our own citizens. These considerations were presented

to Congress in a Report from this department to the President, dated February 16, 1832, which was transmitted to that Body on the same day. Approving the measure recommended at the close of that Report, Congress passed the Act of July 14, 1832, providing *'for the appointment of three commissioners to treat with the Indians, and for other purposes.'*

* * * *

'By the Bill of 1834, it was 'made competent for the council of confederated tribes to elect, in such manner as the general council may prescribe, a delegate to Congress, who shall have the same power, privileges, and compensation as are possessed by the delegates of the respective territories.' In the Bill of 1836, the phraseology in reference to this subject was changed, so as to provide for the residence of a delegate 'at the seat of Government during the session of Congress, who shall be entitled to the same compensation as that of a delegate from a territory.' The terms of the first Bill conform most nearly to the views of the Indians themselves, so far as they have at any time been made known. The Choctaws, in the 22nd Article of the Treaty of September 27, 1830, and the Cherokees, in the 7th Article of the Treaty of December 29, 1835, expressed a solicitude that they might have the privilege of a delegate on the floor of the House of Representatives. These treaties having been ratified without any exception being taken to these articles, may it not be assumed that Congress intended, whenever it was determined that this measure was proper, to accede to the requests of these tribes, to the extent, and in the manner they themselves desired?

'It is worthy of remark, that the proposition, to admit a delegate from the Indians to a seat in the national council, was first made to them by the United States, during the war of the revolution. In the 6th Article of the Treaty with the Delawares, of September 17, 1778, 'it is further agreed on between the contracting parties, (should it for the future be found conducive for the mutual interests of both parties,) to invite any other tribes, who have been friends to the interest of the United States, to join the present confederation, and to form a State, whereof the Delaware nation shall be the head, and have a representation in Congress.' It is apparent from the preceding part of the section, that the object was to obviate the *false suggestions of the enemies of the United States*, who had 'endeavoured, by every artifice in their power, to possess the Indians in general with an opinion, that it was the design of the States to extirpate the Indians, and take possession of their country.' In addition to the conciliatory influence of the measure, it has, at the present day, additional importance from the increased extent of our Indian relations, and the increased capacity of the Indians themselves to afford information, that will be useful in the preparation of the laws affecting them.

* * * *

'The Act of May 28, 1830, gave to this matter a new character. It distinctly authorized treaties for the exchange and cession of lands, the conveyance in fee of equivalent tracts to the Indians, and the extension to them, at all times, of adequate protection. Since its passage, the

current of emigration has been constantly flowing, with different degrees of rapidity at different times. More liberal arrangements have been made, in treaties, for the supply of the wants of the Indians, and the promotion of their comfort. The stipulations made with the Choctaws in 1830, provided reservations of land, large annuities, means for education, churches, agricultural and mechanical establishments, and ample donations of blankets, rifles and agricultural implements. The stipulations in subsequent treaties with other tribes have conformed to these, the amounts and quantities being, of course, proportioned to the numbers of the Indians with whom they were made. As a natural result, the emigrated tribes, having these advantages and facilities, have acquired property, and with property a feeling of independence and self-respect, and a desire to advance in civilization. This has been especially the case with the Choctaws, Creeks, and Cherokees, the three largest tribes within the limits of the proposed territory, as these were described in the two Bills reported to the House of Representatives. The acting Superintendant of Indian Affairs, in compliance with a circular from this office, has made a very valuable and sensible report, abounding in facts illustrative of the prosperous condition of these people. I have collated some of them, as the happy condition of things which they exhibit, forms one of the arguments, upon which the expediency of establishing a government, competent to afford security and protection, may be rested.

'It is a source of serious gratitude,' he observes, speaking of the Choctaws, 'to witness their gradual improvement.' They are governed by a written constitution, and have an annual general council, to which twenty-seven members are elected, who are paid out of the annuity, and who pass such laws as they think proper. The three chiefs of the nation meet with the council, any two of whom can exercise the veto power; but if a Bill be again passed by two-thirds of the council, it becomes a law. Their laws are reduced to writing, and copies of them, and of the constitution, are left with the agent. A new council-house and houses for their chiefs are in process of construction. The middle country, between the Arkansas and the Red Rivers, Blue Boggy and the Canadian, is particularly fitted for raising stock. The Red River part is destined soon to be a fine cotton-growing country; the native traders have erected cotton gins, and they purchase all the cotton that is raised by the common Indians and half breeds. It is estimated that about 500 bales will go down Red River, from the Choctaws, this year. There is one good grist and saw-mill near Red River, and another is building on the Poteau, from which large quantities of lumber will go down the Arkansas. To a great extent the trade with these Indians is carried on by the natives. 'I can state, from my own knowledge, that two native Choctaws on Red River have this year brought into the country 20,000 dollars worth of goods; and there are others engaged in smaller trade of from 2000 to 10,000 dollars. They make their purchases in New Orleans, and, I understand, are in good credit.' The assistants in the three public smith-shops are natives, who, in a year or two, will be able to take charge of them. Besides these shops they have five others of their own, that are used in the

farming season. 'The chase, for a living, is now nearly abandoned; many take a fall hunt, but it is more an excursion of pleasure than a pursuit of gain.'

'' Of the Cherokees,' he says, 'they are gradually progressing in civilization and the cultivation of the soil, and amongst them are many intelligent men. They raise corn, beef, pork, sheep, &c., to a considerable extent, and in travelling through their country you are quite comfortably entertained. Many of them are engaged in trade with their own people; they are, however, not located advantageously for the cultivation of cotton. They have some mills erected amongst them; and with a wide extent of country, a portion of it finely watered, they bid fair, with frugality and temperance, to become a leading tribe.' A similar account of these Indians was given by the commissioners in 1834, and they stated, besides, that a government had been organized by them, laws ordained, and enforced by a body of sheriffs, termed light horse.

''The Creeks,' continues the acting superintendent, 'have a rich country, and those of them that emigrated with M'Intosh have been engaged busily in making corn; they usually have a large surplus, as high some years as 30,000 bushels, besides stock of every description. As there is now a large emigration coming to the country, they will find a sale for all they may have to sell. They have not yet engaged in trade.'

'In another communication, he mentions that there are seventeen churches within the limits of these three tribes: ten in the Choctaw, four in the Cherokee, and three in the Creek country.

* * * *

'The obligations which the United States have assumed in their negotiations with some of these Indians, and in their legislation in regard to them, have no inconsiderable bearing upon this matter of protection and government. With the largest of the emigrated tribes, the Choctaws, Creeks, and Cherokees, the United States have made treaties containing stipulations, which bind them to secure to these Indians 'the jurisdiction and government of all the persons and property that may be within their limits west.' This language is quoted from the fourth article of the treaty with the Choctaws, of September 27, 1830. The fourteenth article of the treaty with the Creeks, of March 24, 1832, and the fifth article of the treaty with the Cherokees, of December 29, 1835, secure to those tribes similar powers. By the twenty-fifth section of the Intercourse Act of 1834, it is provided, 'that so much of the laws of the United States, as provides for the punishment of crimes committed within any place within the sole and exclusive jurisdiction of the United States, shall be in force in the Indian country: Provided, The same shall not extend to crimes committed by one Indian against the person and property of another Indian,' Thus the right to form and administer all laws is solemnly guaranteed to these Indians. And it is stated by General Stokes, the agent for the Cherokees, that they 'are in the habit of making written wills, deeds of gift, bills of sale, written judgments of their courts, written judgments of arbitration, and written settlements of the es-

tates of deceased persons.' The relations of debtor and creditor between the native and the native trader, and between the latter and our own citizens, now becoming important in extent and amount, are also to be regulated and guarded by them.'—pp. 6—16.

The Indian *territory* which is the subject of this report, contains upwards of 60,000,000 of acres, of which the removed tribes have already had 32,000,000 assigned to them. The residue are to be assigned to the remaining tribes, or belong to the Indians already on those lands. The number of emigrants in 1836, was 45,690; the number of the Indians still within the limits of the States, was 57,333; the number of the indigenous tribes, was 150,000. The expense incurred in removing the emigrants was £16,000,000 sterling. The quantity of lands within the limits of the States required by the government under the removal treaties, is 93,000,000 of acres, which must far exceed the expense of the scheme. The state of education and religious instruction among the Indians is described as being imperfectly known. But it is asserted in the report already quoted, that the tribes, generally, strongly desire education for their children. The best instructed tribes, the Choctaws, have 391 pupils at the smaller schools under twenty teachers, of whom five are Indians. These twenty smaller schools are supported, twelve by the American Missionary Society, three by the United States under treaty, and five by the Choctaw nation itself; sixty-seven Choctaw students, besides eighty-nine other Indians, are, also, at a remarkable academy in Kentucky, managed by the Baptists. The eighty-nine belong to eight other tribes, one of which is the unfortunate Seminoles. Four Indians, also, are students at law. The schools among the Choctaws are favorite institutions with them, and under the teaching of competent men, and the supervision agent, have produced and are producing essential benefits. The Shawnees and Delawares, so well known to the readers of the Moravian Missionaries' history, have been improved by the labours of instructors long established among them. Minor scholastic institutions exist in their infancy among three other remote tribes, who regard them with favour. In all these establishments, instruction in manual mechanical arts and in agriculture is combined with intellectual culture; and there is an increasing disposition among the Indians to have them located in their own country, where they are said to become objects of common feeling and interest.

These institutions are supported partly by sums stipulated for in treaties between the United States and the Indians; partly by voluntary Missionary Societies, partly by the tribes themselves; and partly by an annual grant of Congress paid over to the missionaries. A portion of the annual grant, called for many years the *civilization fund*, and amounting to £2500 a-year, is chiefly

'A Bill to provide for the security and protection of the emigrant and other Indians west of the States of Missouri and Arkansas, of which the 1st section enacts, That the country, beginning at the sources of the Puncah river; thence, down said river, to Missouri river; thence, down Missouri river, on the south-west bank, to the State of Missouri; thence, along the western line of the State of Missouri, to the north-west corner of the State of Arkansas; thence, along the western boundary of the State of Arkansas, to Red River; thence, up Red River, to a point 200 miles in a direct course west of the State of Arkansas; thence, in a direct line, to the beginning, be denominated *the Indian Territory*, and be reserved for the use of the various Indian tribes who have, or may have, a right to the same: *Provided*, That the lands secured to any tribe shall revert to the United States when such tribe shall abandon the same, or become extinct: *Provided, also*, That the United States shall have the right to make military roads through the same, and to occupy a sufficient quantity for military posts, and for the residence of such persons as shall be authorized to reside in the Indian country, in conformity with treaties and the laws of the United States: *And provided, also*, That no white person, either citizen of the United States or of any other country, shall be allowed to reside in the Indian territory, under any pretence whatever, without the authority of the United States.

'Section 2, enacts: That a superintendent of Indian affairs, for the said Indian territory, who shall continue in office for the term of four years, with a salary of 2,500 dollars per annum, shall reside in the said Indian territory, and execute such duties as shall be enjoined by law, under such regulations as shall be established by the President, to whom, as often as he shall require it, the said superintendent shall report his proceedings.

'Section 3, enacts: That a secretary of said Indian territory, appointed for the term of four years, with an annual salary of 1500 dollars, shall reside at the place appointed for the residence of the superintendent, and keep a record of all the official proceedings of the superintendent, and annually transmit a copy of the same to the President, to be laid before Congress; and perform the duties of superintendent during the vacancy of such office, or during the absence of the superintendent.

'Section 4, enacts: That each of the tribes residing within said Indian territory may establish and maintain such government and laws, for the regulation of their internal concerns, as to them may seem proper, not being contrary to the stipulations contained in any existing treaty with such tribe, or to the laws that have been or may be passed by Congress to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes.

'Section 5, enacts: That the superintendent shall invite the chiefs of the various tribes, or parts of tribes, embraced in this Act, to unite in a general council, for the purpose of forming a confederation, for regulating the intercourse and preserving peace with each other, and for their assent to such of the provisions of this Act as may require their co-operation or assent; and such articles of confederation and such assent shall not be binding on any tribe unless subsequently

assented to by such tribe in council, or by its delegates duly authorized for that purpose; and duplicates of the articles of confederation, and of such act of assent, shall be made, one of which to be transmitted to the President, and the other retained in the office of the superintendent: *Provided*, That said articles of confederation shall be of no effect until approved by the President; and, if not approved by him, they shall be returned to the superintendent, to be again submitted to the council for such modification as he may think proper: *Provided, further*, That copies of the articles of confederation, that may finally be adopted, shall be laid before Congress at its next session: *And provided further*, That the said confederation may be carried into effect by any number of tribes that may choose thus to unite.

'Section 6, enacts: That any of the tribes now within, or that may hereafter emigrate to, said Indian territory, shall be entitled to be admitted into the said confederation on an equal footing with the tribes first assenting thereto.

'Section 7, enacts: That after the formation of such confederation, and according to an article to be contained in it, a general council of the tribes composing such confederation shall be annually held, at such place as the superintendent shall appoint, to consist of not more than five, nor less than two, from each tribe, who shall be chosen by their respective tribes, in such ratio, and in such manner, as shall be provided in such articles of confederation. The superintendent shall secure to each member equal privileges, and a majority shall constitute a quorum; and the said council shall have power to make all necessary regulations respecting the intercourse among their tribes, and with other tribes, for the preservation of peace, to put an end to hostilities, and generally to enact such laws as the welfare of the confederation shall demand, and adopt such measures as may be necessary to give effect to this Act, without infringing the rights of the tribes, severally, to manage their own internal concerns; and the members shall receive from the United States their necessary subsistence while attending and returning from the council, until otherwise provided by law: *Provided*, The laws and regulations so passed be not repugnant to the provisions of this Act, nor to the treaties with such tribes, or with any other tribe of Indians; and, to that end, all laws and regulations passed by a majority of the council shall be submitted to the superintendent, and shall have no force until approved by him: *Provided, further*, That said laws and regulations shall be reported by the superintendent to the President of the United States, and shall not take effect until approved by him: *And provided, further*, That a regular journal of the proceedings of the council shall be kept, in the English language, and certified by the superintendent, and copies thereof be printed, at the close of each session, for each tribe, for the Superintendent, Secretary, the Office of Indian Affairs, the Committees on Indian Affairs in the Senate and House of Representatives, and the library of Congress.

'Section 8. And to promote the advancement of such confederated tribes in the science of civil government, to afford them a convincing proof of the desire of the United States that they may be secured the enjoyment of the benefit of free government, and to enable them at

all times to represent their condition to the Government, *It is enacted, That such confederated tribes, or their general council, may elect, in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct, a delegate to reside at the seat of Government during each session of Congress, who shall be of Indian descent, and an acknowledged member of an Indian tribe, and who shall be entitled to the same compensation as that of a member of Congress: Provided,* That the council may, after the two first years, enact laws prescribing the mode of such election; which laws shall be approved by the President of the United States before they take effect.

'Section 9, enacts: That all persons employed under treaty stipulations, and all persons travelling in or through said Indian territory, not being residents therein, shall be under the protection of, and subject to, the laws of the United States; and if any such person shall, within said Indian territory, commit any offence against the laws of the United States, it shall be the duty of the superintendent to cause such persons to be apprehended, and removed for trial to the judicial district having jurisdiction of such offence.

'Section 10, enacts: That, for the purpose of carrying this Act into effect, all that part of the said Indian territory that lies south of the north line of the lands assigned to the Osage tribe of Indians, shall be, and hereby is, annexed to the judicial district of Arkansas; and that all that part of said territory that lies north of said line shall be, and is hereby, annexed to the judicial district of Missouri.'

The success of this better part of the new system, is, however, seriously endangered by two errors unworthy of an enlightened and humane people.

In the first place, to say nothing of the extreme sufferings attendant on the emigration of large bodies of people, when not consoled by the feeling that they are free agents seeking to better their condition, the forcing men in any state of society to quit their homes, is a wrong not to be compensated by even great possible benefit; and it is an abuse of language to say, that many of the *removal* treaties of the Indians with the United States, have been free acts on the part of the tribes. The will of every man of them, therefore, who is reluctant to leave his ancient home, ought to be respected, and every vestige of compulsion erased from the whole system. It is the more reasonable to require this modification in it, inasmuch as its better parts, namely, *its good civilizing institutions in the new territory,* with the extension of missions, and other aids now in preparation, will make it abundantly attractive; as, indeed, it is already proved to be by the fact of a large body of Upper Canadian Indians having voluntarily abandoned their lands under the British government in order to go to the West.

There is another motive for pausing in this project of removing so many people, unwilling to exchange their ancient homes for the new country. This is, the fear of their resentment;

and the ordinary intelligence of the day from Washington on the subject proves, that the dangers of hostility on the part of the United Indians, are not unnoticed in the States; as will be seen from the following remarks, on the present state of Indian affairs:

'The rejection by Congress of the memorial of the Cherokees against being compelled to emigrate, has created so much dissatisfaction among them, that troops are sent to their country. Further Indian troubles may, also, be anticipated on the Missouri frontier, where a band of starving Osages having applied to some *settlers* to BUY food, were refused. A collision was the consequence, and several whites were killed.

'The Florida war has cost many millions, and now employs an army of 8000 men, whose exertions hitherto have not been attended with success. The moral effect too of the Seminoles so long withstanding the arms of the republic, might, if known to remote tribes, induce them to make common cause. The Indians, one and all, both by traditions of the wrongs of two centuries, as well as by present suffering, are constantly incited against the whites, as despoilers of their lands. Many experienced statesmen, therefore, in the United States, begin to fear that banishing them all into one particular region, may, in the end, prove impolitic, as the various tribes will constantly communicate with each other, all animated by a principle of enmity against *civilization*. And if a chieftain should arise, crafty, eloquent, ambitious, and warlike,—such, for example, as *Tecumseh*,—it is possible, that he might prevail upon them to unite against the republic. If, under such circumstances, they were to engage in a war of vengeance, the consequences to the border states would be too frightful for contemplation. Although their ultimate subjugation would be inevitable, yet thousands upon thousands of the whites, in such a contest, would be sacrificed to the bullet, the arrow, the tomahawk, the scalping knife, and the burning stake. May heaven avert such a calamity from the people of this land! and, yet, without the adoption of a firm, humane, and cautious policy towards the Indians, these horrors, to a certain extent, are far from impossible. The unquelling courage, the ferocity, the craft, and perseverance of the North American Indian, together with the cruelties attendant on his savage mode of warfare—his remarkable contempt of danger, pain, and death, render him one of the most dreadful enemies on the face of the earth.'—*Correspondence of the Morning Chronicle from Philadelphia, May 5th*, 1838.

Instead then of the pains now rashly bestowed upon the removal of the broken tribes, amounting to 45,000 souls, the strong powers and resources of government ought to be turned to their protection at home. At the same time, their *civilization at home* should be sought by measures like those taken with acknowledged success beyond the Mississippi in our days,—just as in other times, very considerable progress was really made by exertions in favour of Indians *so far as those exertions were carried, and where*

obstacles existed that MIGHT *have been removed*, even in the midst of the white men's settlements.

Wrong feelings alone in the Americans themselves, in regard to the coloured race, obstruct this course; and it is those feelings that have led to the second great error alluded to; namely, the attempt to realize the impossibility of keeping Indians *separate* from white people. Universal experience has proved such impossibility, and suggests that every care should be taken to qualify the Indians for bearing the intercourse which cannot be prevented. The evil of attempting, as the Americans are doing, to keep the races separate, does not end with the attempt being merely fruitless—it renders the wrong feelings which so much require to be conciliated or controlled, uniformly more mischievously obstinate.

The wisest policy is to make intercourse useful, by endeavouring to make *laws* just. What American law is to coloured people has been shown by the disqualification inflicted on their witnesses. If the rule as to the oaths, and other similar points be changed, the progress of the savage will be cleared of incalculable impediments. The course of justice between man and man being thus permitted to become more and more steady, improvement in manners on both sides will gradually follow the equality of legal conditions.

Many more topics might be suggested for legislative and administrative reform, on which we have not left space to expatiate. But the whole subject is at length brought to that practical stage which must present future occasions for reconsidering it. The American people are beginning to treat it as one of real national concern. All that is good in the scheme before us, sprung out of the popular efforts of one individual, the venerable Dr. Morse, who, sixteen years ago, succeeded in forming so numerous a society for obtaining justice for the Indians, that some influential American statesmen opposed him as likely to create a dangerous body that might dictate to the state. Books and documents of all kinds, and in enormous quantities, have been published upon the Indians within the last ten years. The bad parts of the new scheme were strongly opposed, and were only adopted in consequence of the powerful objections made to all other existing systems; and if in England, as some persons believe, a *better* system than any heretofore devised, is on the eve of being established for the improvement and safety of coloured people, the happy state of our political relations with America may recommend it to a favourable reception there.

Art. VII. BRIEF NOTICE.

The Little Sanctuary: a Series of Domestic Prayers for Morning and Evening during Four Weeks: to which are added Offices for Special Occasions. By the Rev. R. Winter Hamilton. 8vo. London: Hamilton & Co. 1838.

We should be sorry to find that such volumes as the present were in extensive demand. Nevertheless, as there are some who need them, and to whom they may be useful, it is both kind and wise in the Christian minister to furnish them. Mr. Hamilton, in his preface, carefully guards against the supposition of his designing to supersede free prayer. 'My only attempt,' he remarks, 'is to assist those heads 'of households, who cannot or will not offer free prayer. Compositions 'of the highest order, the noblest rituals, are imperfect substitutes for 'its ministration, and doubtful apologies for its neglect.' In such cases his volume will be found useful. It is thoroughly evangelical in sentiment, devout in spirit, extensive in its range, and varied in its topic. If we were to make any exception, it would be to the length of some of the prayers, and to an occasional stiffness and want of ease in their composition. But it is in vain to look, in such a publication, for the simple utterance of the heart, the flowing out of pure and ardent, yet chastened emotion which mark the devotion of the closet. Mr. Hamilton, however, has succeeded to a happy extent; and to such as need the aid he has furnished, we warmly recommend his volume.

Art. VIII. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Just Published.

Life and Administration of Edward, first Earl of Clarendon. With Original Correspondence and Authentic papers never before published. By T. H. Lister, Esq. 3 vols. 8vo.

Lectures on Divine Sovereignty, Election, the Atonement, Justification, and Regeneration. By George Payne, LL.D. Second edition.

Memoir of the Life of Mrs. Hannah More. By W. Roberts, Esq. A new edition, abridged. (Christian's Family Library.)

An Enquiry into the Use of Church Authority, Tradition, and Private Judgment in the Investigation of Revealed Truth. By the Rev. John Moore Capes, B.A. 8vo.

Six Years in Biscay: comprising a Personal Narrative of the Sieges of Bilboa, in June, 1835, and October to December, 1836; and of the Principal Events which occurred in that City and the Basque Provinces, during the years 1830 to 1837. By John Francis Bacon. 8vo.

China; its State and Prospects, with special reference to the spread of the Gospel; containing allusions to the Antiquity, Extent, Population, Civilization, Literature, and Religion of the Chinese. By W. H. Medhurst. 8vo.

The Life and Ministry of the Rev. Samuel Walker, B.A., formerly of Truro, Cornwall. By the Rev. Edwin Sydney, A.M. 2nd. edit., revised and enlarged.

An Analytical and Comparative View of all Religions now extant among Mankind; with their internal diversities of Creed and Profession. By Josiah Conder.

The History, Antiquities, Topography, and Statistics of Eastern India; comprising the districts of Behar, Shahabad, &c., &c., &c., in relation to their Geology, Botany, Agriculture, Commerce, &c., &c., &c. By Montgomery Martin, Author of the 'History of the British Colonies,' &c. 3 vols. Vol. I.

Lectures on Church Establishments. By Thomas Chalmers, D.D.

ERRATA.—Page 567, line 30, *for* returns *read* retains.
Page 572, line 37, *for* Captain Basil *read* Captain Basil Hall.
Page 572, line 41, *for* Syria *read* Styria.

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